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## ADDENDUM AND CORRIGENDUM

*The Modern Review* for May, 1935 :

P. 615, col. 2, l. 7, after the words "challenged the", add the words, "right of the".

*The Modern Review* for June, 1935 :

P. 718, col. 2, l. 12, after the words "Dominion Status", add the words, "except as a step towards full freedom and independence".

P. 743, col. 2, l. 4 from the bottom, for "Barcelona. Spain", read "Madrid, Spain".



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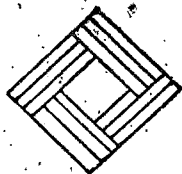


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## POEMS

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

My heart sings at the wonder of my place  
    in this world of light and life ;  
    at the feel in my pulse of the rhythm of creation  
        cadenced by the swing of the endless time.  
I feel the tenderness of the grass in my forest walk,  
    the wayside flowers startle me :  
    that the gifts of the infinite are strewn in the dust  
        waken's my song in wonder.  
I have seen, have heard, have lived ;  
    in the depth of the known have felt  
        the truth that exceeds all knowledge  
        which fills my heart with wonder and I sing.

— — — — —  
You have drunk the draught of songs  
    that I poured for you,  
    and accepted the garland of my woven dreams,  
My heart straying at the wilderness  
    was ever touched by the pain that was your own touch.  
When my days are done, my leave-taking hushed  
    in a final silence  
My voice will linger in the autumn light  
    and rain-laden clouds  
    with the message that we had met.

— — — — —  
Have you come at last to my door  
    to seek me out with that call of yours  
    which fills the naked branches with tumult of flowers  
    and invokes secret life out of the veil of dust,  
        which finds a sudden answer in the dark  
        from the young dawn carrying a wreath of light  
        round her dusky hair ?



## THE SEPARATION OF SINDH

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

EVER since the annexation of Sindh by the British it has formed part of the Bombay Presidency. The Commissioner in Sindh, the chief administrative officer of the Province, has been vested with larger powers than the other Commissioners of the Presidency and is entitled to a salute. In certain matters he exercises the powers of a local Government; in others he is subordinate to the Bombay Government. Several decades ago there used to be fugitive agitations and paper controversies for the transference of Sindh to the Panjab, but these were vigorously and even bitterly opposed by the people and public of Sindh and were at no time seriously entertained by the Government of India. Now for the first time since the acquisition of Sindh by the present Government it is seriously proposed to make Sindh a separate administrative unit under a Governor in Council, with a Legislative Council, an independent cadre of the public service, a separate University and all the other requisites of a new province.

This proposal is an outcome of the new scheme of Federation which is to mark the next constitutional advance of India. With the complicated details of this scheme we are not concerned at present. For the last two decades the prevailing idea has been to give India a constitution of its own within the Empire. Royal Commissions on which India has had no representation have been appointed after each decennial term to decide the next step that should be taken and the ultimate decision has taken the shape of an Act of Parliament. On the last occasion the Royal Commission over which Sir John Simon presided submitted a report which gave rise to a bitter controversy and had to be shelved. "Round Table Conferences" to which the "representatives of the people" and Princes of India were invited in a consultative capacity were held in London. There were no propositions and no voting. The two

main facts that have to be borne prominently in mind are first that India has had no share in deciding the constitution that is being laid down for her; it is being imposed on her from outside. Secondly, the ostensible aim of the constitution is to conciliate India and India has not been reconciled.

Similarly, it has never been fully and impartially considered whether the creation of Sindh into a new separate province will be to its advantage and in its own interest. These are apparently minor details overshadowed by the magnificent idea of Federation. In a prophetic dream, part of which has been most remarkably fulfilled, the poet Tennyson dreamed of a time when he heard

Far along the world-wide whisper  
of the South wind rushing warm,  
With the standards of the peoples  
plunging through the thunder-storm;  
Till the war-drum throb'd no longer  
and the battle-flags were furled  
In the Parliament of man, the  
Federation of the world.

Is the proposed Federation of the various Provinces and States of India a step towards the fulfilment of this prophecy? That is scarcely likely, for a federal arrangement must be founded upon mutual agreement, but there is no such agreement either in India or between England and India. India has merely to accept the constitution and arrangement laid down by England. The essence of Federation is absent. For real federation we have to look to the United States of America where the mutual agreement is real and there is no imposition of terms by any paramount power outside. A Federation is conceivable between England and Colonies like Canada and Australia, which do not submit to dictation by the parent country. The position of India is wholly different. She cannot take independent action without laying herself open to a charge of disloyalty and rebelliousness. The federal agreement proposed is not of her choosing, nor of her



making. It is not as if there were two parties with equal status and equal rights to an understanding. India has no power to reject any scheme of federation that may be decided by the British Government and the British Parliament. Her share in the partnership must be submission to the will of the predominant partner.

Taken at its face value, the creation of Sindh into an independent province should be welcomed by the people of Sindh because of the independent control over home affairs and the higher status conferred upon the Province. The Commissioner in Sindh is subordinate to the Government of Bombay; the Governor of Sindh will be subordinate to the Government of India. As a matter of fact, however, there is a sharp cleavage of opinion in Sindh itself in regard to the proposed elevation of Sindh to a Governorship. The most regrettable feature of all administrative and other problems in recent times in India is that it assumes a communal phase. It has inevitably manifested itself even in the proposed separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency. It will be remembered how the discussions at the "Round Table Conference" were marred by communal differences and how the Prime Minister of England was called upon to make a communal "award"—an "award" which gave rise to a bitter and heated controversy. In the case of Sindh the Hindus in a body are opposed to the separation, while the Mussalmans strongly favour it. Why? How are the interests of the Hindus different from those of the Mussalmans? Why should there be any conflict of interests, any antagonism between them? The Hindus and Mussalmans of Sindh, as indeed of all India, are the same people. The Mussalmans are no more aliens in India than the Hindus are. They belong to the same race and followed the same religion at one time. Almost all the Mussalmans of India have become so by conversion. What does that matter? Islam is one of the great religions of the world. All Hindus and Mussalmans in India are Indian, children of the same Motherland. They are bound by the same ties to the country that gave them birth, they have the same aspirations, they have the same destiny. What hurts the Hindu hurts the Mussalman as well; what helps the Hindu

equally helps the Mussalman. Could the two communities have lived together for hundreds of years, sharing one another's joys and sorrows, if there had been perpetual hostility between them? Who ever heard of communalism in Sindh fifty years ago? And now the grim and sinister spectre of communalism is stalking over this ancient land filling it with strife and bitterness. Neither the Hindus nor the Mussalmans are primarily responsible for this lamentable state of affairs. There is some other cause for the strained relations between the two largest and most important communities in India, which have lived at peace with each other for centuries and between whom there is the strongest community of interests. No advancement is possible if a perpetual state of feud exists between the two communities. The difference of religion is no bar to the growth of a common nationalism. Hindus and Mussalmans have to live together, to work together, to strive together, to achieve together and to attain their destiny together. United there is nothing that they may not hope to win; divided they are certain to lose everything. The entire future of India is being jeopardized by this bane of communalism.

Among a people which should be one and indivisible, one in thought and aspiration and striving, the dividing factor of ratios has been introduced. One hears of nothing but minorities and majorities. It is assumed as a fact beyond question that the interests of minorities are not safe in the keeping of majorities and the interests of majorities should not be entrusted to minorities. This feeling of insecurity and the attitude of suspiciousness are sedulously promoted by the system of representation, the creation of communal electorates, the elaborate devices for safeguarding the interests of minorities. What is the real cause of Hindus and Mussalmans taking different views of the proposal to create Sindh a separate Province? It is nothing more or less than the sordid thought of the divisions of loaves and fishes, the humiliating scramble for the crumbs that may fall from the master's table. The Hindus apprehend that under the new regime all prizes will go to the Mussalman majority. The Legislative Council will have a perpetual and large



Mussalman majority, the majority of Executive Councillors and Ministers will be Mussalman, the Public Service will be recruited mainly from Mussalmans. This is precisely the reason why the Mussalmans are pleased at the prospect of the separation of Sindh and its constitution as an independent province. One feels deeply humiliated by the thought that all the dreams of nationhood, the prospect of an India emerging as an equal and a peer of the great nations of the world should end in this inglorious struggle for place and office, this ignoble rivalry and jealousy for petty things that are of no consequence. What does it matter who gets the offices and places in the public services as at present constituted? After all, the number of appointments available in the service of the Government of any country is very small and provides a living for only a small number of persons. Place-hunting can never be the chief occupation of a nation or a large section of the people. Since we hear so much about majorities and minorities it has to be remembered that only a small minority can be provided for in the public service of any country; the majority must find other avocations in life. There need not be any heart-burning or rivalry about appointments. It is the first condition of nationhood that the nation should cease to be dependent upon service for a living. Other ways of a means of livelihood have to be explored. Agriculture, industries, trade, arts and crafts are the chief sources of sustenance for the bulk of the people and these should absorb the energies and activities of a nation. Service is a negligible thing and certainly not worth squabbling or wrangling for.

There is evidence that under the early Aryans in ancient times Sindh was a kingdom. The early Aryan settlers and colonists of Aryavarta, or the Panjab, must have trekked down the banks of the Indus along the Indus valley to Sindh and founded a colony. Of the pre-Aryan civilization in Sindh of which very interesting relics have been found at Mohen-jo-Daro we know nothing and it is unprofitable to speculate about it in the absence of any data. But there is indisputable evidence that in the epic age of the Mahabharata Sindh was a kingdom and Jayadratha, the brother-in-law of King Duryodhana, was

the king. He was also the king of Sauvira, an adjoining territory. It is further noted that Sindh was famous for its fine breed of horses. The Kingdom of Sindh is mentioned again when Arjuna, who had slain King Jayadratha on the field of Kurukshetra, following the sacrificial horse for the performance of the Asvamedha Yajna by King Yudhisthira invaded Sindh and put the warriors of Sindh to flight. The ancient city of Brahmanabad in the Thar and Parker District, of which the ruins can still be traced, was undoubtedly an Aryan city and there is an old tradition still extant as to how as a judgment for the sins of the King the city was overwhelmed and buried under whirling columns of sand. In the Buddhist period also Sindh was a flourishing kingdom with large Buddhist monasteries filled with monks and nuns. Of the territorial boundaries of that ancient kingdom we can form no conception. The Mahabharata makes no mention of any other kingdom between Indraprastha, the site for which is located by tradition at Purana Killa in Delhi, and Sindhu, to call Sindh by its ancient name. It is more than likely that the present state of Khairpur formed part of that kingdom. It may not be a wild surmise that part of the province now known as the Panjab north of Pano Akil was included in the kingdom of Sindhu, the desert belt north of Multan forming the natural line of demarcation between Aryavarta and Sindhu. There is a close affinity also between the language of Sindh and that spoken in southern Panjab. Originally Sindhi was the most direct derivative from Sanskrit, though later it became largely intermixed with Persian. Towards the north of Sindh the Sindhi language gradually merges into the Multan dialect, which is part Sindhi, part Punjabi.

Sindh is not unconnected with the later history of India. So great a personage as the Emperor Akbar was born at Umerkot in Sindh. Quite recently, according to historic evidence, Sindh was a separate kingdom under the Kullhoras and the Talpurs, both Beluch dynasties. The mausoleums of the Mirs of Sindh are still to be found in Hyderabad and the descendants of the Mirs are pensioners of the British Government. Most probably large sections of the rural population of Sindh and the bulk of the peasantry were converted to Islam



during the time of the Mirs. Most of the urban population remained Hindu and are so to the present day. Under the Mirs almost the entire administrative and ministerial work was carried on by Hindus. Hence the distinctive designation of Amils. The Amils were the Amlahs of the Mirs, Ministers, Secretaries and clerks. The titles Munshi and Dewan indicate the nature of their work, ministerial or administrative. The other section of the Hindu population, the Baniyas or Bhaibandhs, stuck to trade and commerce, and were not tempted by offers of service under the Mirs. There was a humiliating differentiation in the treatment of the trading class as compared with the Amils. As beasts of burden and riding animals camels were available for all, but a line was drawn at steeds of other kinds. The most prized riding animal was the ambling mule, handsome animals bred from large Egyptian donkey stallions. The mule was reserved for the Mirs, their children and favoured officials. The horse came next in rank and it was freely used by Hindu officials and Mussalman zemindars. The Bania, however prosperous or wealthy, was forbidden the use of both mule and horse, and had to content himself, like Sancho Panza, with the humble ass, which alone he was permitted to ride. Remembering that Jesus Christ, the King of kings, rode an ass no one need be ashamed of riding a donkey. The titles of Dewan and Munshi, so largely in use among the Amils, undoubtedly date from the time of the Mirs and prove that the Hindu officials were the actual administrators of the kingdom of Sindh under the Mirs. Who thought of communalism in those days, or of minorities and majorities? The Mussalmans of Sindh were in a very large majority, their religion was the religion of the rulers, but they were perfectly content to be ruled by the Hindu officials. There was no ill-will between the Hindus and Mussalmans, no communal claims, no invidiousness, no jealousies. The Mussalman cultivators were happy, the Hindu tradesmen were unmolested, the Hindu officials carried on the administration smoothly.

The first condition of a separate province or principality is that it should be self-contained, financially independent and its resources should be sufficient for its needs.

There is no such assurance in the proposed elevation of Sindh to a Governorship. There is no suggestion, so far as we are aware, of increasing the territorial boundaries of Sindh by taking away a slice from the Panjab or British Beluchistan, though the inclusion of Beluchistan has been unofficially suggested. A time may come when the revenue of Sindh may be appreciably increased by the income from the waste lands which may be brought under cultivation by the water supplied from the Sukkar Barrage, but that prospect is still nebulous and no reliable figures are yet available as to the likely increase of revenue. The present idea is that as soon as Sindh is raised to a Governorship with a full complement of Executive Councillors, Ministers, Secretaries, heads of departments and a separate University the annual revenue of Sindh should be supplemented by a grant from the Government of India sufficiently large to balance the budget every year. As a scheme of this kind has not yet been worked out no details are yet available but no one can hesitate to characterize such a proposal as extremely unsatisfactory. It is not as if the Government of India will be called upon to come to the help of Sindh in a year of extraordinary stress. There will be the unprecedented instance of a province being required to maintain an administration altogether beyond its income. The administration of Sindh will be in part a permanently recurring charge upon the revenues of the Government of India. The coffers of that Government have never been overflowing with money. Of late years owing to a world-wide depression in trade and certain other conditions peculiar to India Indian finance has been verging perilously close upon bankruptcy. The borrowings by the Government of India have been as frequent as they have been large. It is not a national debt beyond the grim fact that the burden of the debt and the taxation falls upon the people of India. On the 31st March, 1934, the debt of India had reached the staggering figure of 977 crores and a half. The nation has no part and no voice in incurring the debt. The nature of the emergency is decided by the Government which raises a loan whenever necessary. The heavy and constantly growing interest charges have to be borne by the revenues of India. Common prudence



should forbid all increases of expenditure of a permanent nature in the present financial strain of the country. But India must have a federal constitution, though the funds may be lacking and the evil of communalism may be increasing.

It must be remembered that even in pre-historical times Sindh was an independent kingdom. The details of the administration and the financial position of the principality in those times are unknown, but even under the Mirs in recent times Sindh was prosperous, the people were well off and the administration was free from financial embarrassment. It is only under the present regime that the resources of Sindh have been found insufficient to make both ends meet and this is conclusive proof of the extravagance of the present system of administration.

In view of the doubtful favour about to be conferred upon Sindh it may be pertinently asked what sort of treatment she has received since the annexation and what has been her position as part of the Bombay Presidency. Without intending any reflection upon the Government of Bombay it may be truthfully said that Sindh was left very much to herself and to her own resources. From the first the powers conferred upon the Commissioner in Sindh implied that the Government of Bombay was divested of much of its responsibility. The entire judicial administration was controlled by the Judge of the Sadar Court who was the Judicial Commissioner and the highest court of appeal and whose status was that of a first grade District and Sessions Judge. Thus from the beginning Sindh was more or less isolated and the level of the administration, revenue and judicial, was certainly lower than that of the Presidency proper. There was a Sindh Commission as distinct from the Indian Civil Service and military officers were recruited for that Commission. They held office as Assistant Collectors, District Magistrates and District and Sessions Judges. There is a story of a reference to the Bombay High Court from the decision of a Sessions Judge in Sindh who was a Lt.-Colonel. Referring to a certain point at issue counsel appearing in support of the Judge's decision said, 'This point has been adjudicated by the learned Judge.' 'Yes, my Lord', retorted the opposing counsel amidst

laughter, 'by a gallant Colonel in Her Majesty's Staff Corps.'

Until almost recently there was no railway communication between Bombay and Sindh. The shortest passage by sea took forty-eight hours. In spite of this and also of the dearness of living in Bombay as compared with that of Sindh, the Bombay Government never established a college in Sindh. The first and subsequent colleges in Sindh have all been founded by the people of Sindh. The Government maintained only a few schools teaching up to the Matriculation standard. Even at the present day there is no Medical College or a College of Commerce, an Agricultural College or a Veterinary College in Sindh. And now it is proposed to dower Sindh with a full-blown University. Federation appears to be swinging the high tide of fortune all in favour of this hitherto neglected Province. If Karachi has grown it is due to her own initiative and efforts; if Sindh has prospered it is due to the enterprise and industry of her own people. Now Federation is going to take a hand and play Providence, and it must be frankly owned that the announcement fills all sensible people with a feeling of great uneasiness. Will the University of Sindh be anything better than a replica of the University of Delhi on a slightly larger scale? Will a new Central Government College be established or will the existing college be transformed straightway into a University? Will there be Faculties for Law, Medicine and Commerce, or will Sindh continue to be dependent for these as hitherto on the Bombay University? If communalism is a danger the multiple universities in India are no less so, for they are constantly adding to unemployment and the consequent discontent. The modern universities of India were established mainly to supply certain needs of the administration; these needs are very easily filled by a small percentage of the graduates of the universities. For the balance of the graduates left, a number increasing steadily every year, there is no occupation and no employment. Even in Sindh at the present moment there is a glut of graduates in Arts and Law. Will the Sindh University earn public gratitude by adding to their number thereby increasing the unrest which is seething in the country? Even in Sindh the prosperous traders owe



very little to any University. If the peace and prosperity of India are to be assured new universities on the old lines should not even be thought of, because it is no exaggeration to say that they may prove to be sources of danger. What is really wanted is to thoroughly overhaul and reorganize the entire university system of India. Education must be made really productive and not barren as at present. Agriculture, trade, commerce, applied science for commercial purposes, iron and oil engineering, the conversion of raw materials into finished products—these and similar other subjects must be placed in the forefront of the programme of every university. There must be a straight and short path from the university to production. The hand must be trained equally with the head. Graduates in Arts and Law may have to starve but craftsmen never. We do not want universities to produce starvelings but men capable of doing a man's work and so of earning their daily bread.

Apart from the inordinately heavy cost of the administration in India there is an enormous loss to the country by the wholesale exports of raw materials like cotton, hides and unfinished leather, oil-seeds and many other articles, a great deal of which comes back to the country as finished products and brings large profits to the manufacturers and dealers. Why should not the Indian Universities help India to become a great producing as well as manufacturing country? In Germany, every industrial and manufacturing factory has a laboratory attached to it and this is in charge of university men, experts and specialists who are engaged in experiments to improve the quality of the manufactured articles and to cheapen the cost of production. Why cannot the same system be introduced in India and the universities be authorized to train experts and specialists?

To restore financial equilibrium in India it is imperatively necessary that the present extravagant scale of salaries should be revised and reduced and the administration of the whole country should be placed upon a more economical basis. Loans are justifiable in times of emergency and for public works from which a sufficient return is assured, but to raise loans constantly for the purposes of ordinary administration is the height of thrift-

lessness and unwise finance. The immediate and most pressing need of India is the strictest and most ruthless economy and the readjustment of the entire system of finance. Instead, fresh burdens are being placed upon the already overstrained resources of the country by the launching of new administrative schemes entailing a huge outlay and an alarming growth in the permanent recurring expenditure. What is supposed to be an admirable project of Federation will in reality prove to be a series of watertight compartments, each unconcerned with the others, without reciprocation of any kind. For instance, the graduates of the Sindh University will not be eligible for appointments outside the province just as is the case in other provinces. Instead of Federation there will be insolation and intolerance. How is it consistent with the spirit of nationalism and federal union to raise the cry that is heard everywhere—Bihar for the Biharis, the Panjab for the Panjabis, Sindh for the Sindhis, and so on and so forth? If this is patriotism what is provincialism and parochialism? It strikes at the very root of nationalism, the unification of the race. Mingled with provincial exclusiveness and provincial jealousy is the far greater evil of communalism, which is threatening to overwhelm the whole country and is rapidly widening the breach between the two most important communities in India, without whose political fusion it is impossible to have a nation in India. No constitution, no scheme of federation can bring the slightest benefit to India unless the canker of communalism is radically excised from the body politic of India.

To raise Sindh from a Commissionership to a Governorship certain conditions precedent to the change must be fulfilled. Since there is so much anxiety for the protection of the interests of minorities care must be taken that no minority is opposed to the proposed change. There must be a unanimous consensus of opinion in favour of the separation of Sindh and its constitution as an independent province. It will not be sufficient to contend that such a change is favoured by a majority of the population. The views of a minority are of equal importance and entitled to equal weight. No heart-



burning is permissible in connection with an important change like the reconstitution of a Province. The evil spirit of communalism will have to be exorcised. There must be no jealousies between the Hindus and Moslems of Sindh, no scramble or hustling for the loaves and fishes and the small fry of office. The idea of maintaining the administration of Sindh by annual doles paid by the Government of India must be ruled out. No province can be said to be independent if its revenues are not sufficient for its maintenance and have to be eked out by subsidies from the Central Government. A Federation which spells isolation and exclusion from the rest of the country cannot commend itself to any section of the people. It is really a negation of federation. There must be a constant interchange of every description between all the provinces of India.

If there is to be a separate University for Sindh it must be constituted on lines wholly different from the existing universities in India. There is no call for creating fresh nurseries of disappointment and discontent and political unrest. The country does not want any addition to educated unemployment.

Is it possible to create a new province of Sindh on these lines? If so, it will be warmly welcomed on all hands. But the signs are ominous. The spirit at work is not of conciliation but the imposition of a paramount will, an unrestrained desire to play Providence with the destiny of a nation. It is the sowing of the wind, leaving the distracted people of the Province to reap the whirlwind.

Since the above was written, the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, recommending the formation of Sindh into a separate Province, has been published.

## STATUTORY RAILWAY AUTHORITY

### ITS EVOLUTION UPTO JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE REPORT

By NALINAKSHA SANYAL, M. A. (Cal.), Ph. D. (London)

#### DANGER OF POLITICS IN RAILWAY MANAGEMENT

**T**HE problem of securing freedom for railway administration from unhealthy political interference is an old one and in almost all countries this problem had to be tackled at some stage or other of railway development. As early as 1878-1881 an important enquiry was carried out in Italy by experts, both local and foreign, who held that "in addition to being more costly, state-management was very liable to political dangers", and it was apprehended that "politics would corrupt railroad management and the railways would corrupt politics". In fact this has always been regarded as one of the most important objections to state-management.

#### INDIA'S DEMAND FOR STATE-MANAGEMENT

In India, however, circumstances had been such that state-management was found more to the interest of the country and state encouragement and control remained as essential features of railway development. The Acworth Committee, after carefully examining all aspects of the question, gave their verdict in favour of state-management in India and recommended certain

safeguards for the removal of most of the evils complained of in this connection. Indian public opinion had all along favoured this view and held that the ill-treatment of third-class passengers, the unsuitability of rates and fares for the advancement of indigenous industry and commerce, preferential treatment of British firms in the purchase of stores, and discrimination in favour of Britishers and Anglo-Indians in railway services could only be checked through state-management. From 1910 onwards this opinion was systematically pressed in the Viceroy's Legislative Council by eminent men like the late Mr. Gokhale, Sir V. D. Thackersey, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola and Mr. Vijayaraghavacharya. The essence of this belief lay in the greater possibility of making the railway administration amenable to public demands and careful about public needs while under state-management than if the railways were left in the hands of companies or under completely irresponsible executives. This belief found ample justification in recent changes in the outlook of our railway administration, and in the progressive recognition of the claims of Indianization of services, revision of stores purchase policy, interests of third-class



passengers and need for more sympathetic rates policy.

#### BRITISH DISLIKE OF STATE-MANAGEMENT

British commercial interests and those of the Britishers who enjoyed and hoped still further to enjoy special privileges and discriminatory considerations could, of course, never look upon state-management with favour. From the very beginning of Indian railway projects they have been systematically pressing for company management, so that British control could be perpetuated and British interests could always be maintained supreme. Unfortunately, these gentlemen always found a ready hearing both in the Government of India as well as in Great Britain. Even so late as February, 1923, Sir Charles Innes, Commerce Member of the Viceroy's Council, declared: "As India is more and more democratised, she will find state-management more and more expensive and inefficient".

The Acworth Committee, however, gave an almost final seal to the question of State *vs.* company management, and British vested interests had thereafter to change their cry. A few members of the Acworth Committee, who happened to represent British commercial interests and private railway companies, drew attention to the "dangers of interference by the growingly democratic Indian Legislature with railway management", and ever since the Government of India began to think of measures for reducing the control of the Legislature over the Railway Board. The examples of some democratic countries like Austria, Germany and Japan, whose local experience proved the value of independence in railway management, came handy in this respect.

#### ANXIETY FOR SAFEGUARDING BRITISH-INTERESTS

With the proposals for further constitutional reforms another aspect of the question was brought to notice. The safeguarding of British commercial interests in different spheres was emphasized and it was urged by a powerful section that adequate protection should be provided for the large amount of British Capital invested in Indian railways and for the British element in Indian railway services. The Simon Commission did not pay any heed to this demand and left it to the Government of India to provide for, if necessary, but the Government of India were in some difficulty.

#### INDIAN LEGISLATURE AND INDIAN RAILWAYS SINCE 1920

With the constitutional change effected through the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1920 the position of the Railway Department had largely altered. The Legislative Assembly three-quarters of which were elected by popular vote had thereafter acquired considerable control, both of legislation and administration, and in particular exercised much influence through its vote on the

railway budget. The Governor-General, and through him the Secretary of State, have, of course, reserve power to veto the opinion of the legislature, and this power has often been exercised, but the constitutional change modified greatly the responsibility of the Secretary of State for the management of Indian railways. The Acworth Committee recommended that in future the Railway Commission (Board) will be responsible for its own administration, will prepare its own programme of work and expenditure, and within the limits of its budget as approved by the Government of India and the Secretary of State and accepted by the Legislative Assembly, will carry it into effect; that, in a word, though remaining an integral part of the Government machine and subject to control on general questions of policy and the major questions of finance on which policy must depend, it will be an independent administration. (Paras 125-127 Report.) To meet the new constitutional position the Government of India followed the advice of the Acworth Committee with regard to the policy about the Central Controlling Agency and began to look upon the railways as comprising a big commercial undertaking requiring strictly commercial outlook. The demand of the British vested interests could not very well be fitted into such a policy, nor could the sectional demands of communities and classes in India be provided for. While on the one hand Government were resisting the demand of Indian public opinion for substantial revision of the railway rates policy, the policy for purchase of stores and Indianization, on the ground of making commercial success of the railway management, on the other hand they could not very well recommend the employment of less efficient or equally efficient Europeans and Anglo-Indians on higher grades of salary, nor could they justify placing orders with British firms whose prices were not always the lowest. Embarrassed in this manner the Government of India appointed Brigadier-General Hammond to study the question and, after investigating the administration of railways in some foreign countries, to make his recommendations.

#### STATUTORY RAILWAY BOARD PROPOSED

Early in 1932 General Hammond's recommendations were received and examined by the Government of India and the Consultative Committee that was sitting at Delhi in connection with the Round Table Conference decided on 3rd March, 1932, that "a clause be inserted in the Constitution Act that there shall be a Statutory Railway Board for the Administration of the Railways while the functions, compositions and powers of the Board would be determined by an Act of the Federal Legislature" (*Italics mine*). Two members of the Committee, dissenting, urged that "the Act should itself contain provisions embodying General Hammond's principal recommendations". This was the thin end of the wedge.



### OPPOSITION OF INDIAN PUBLIC OPINION

Indian public opinion rightly grew suspicious and in connection with the Railway Budget discussions in March 1932 the question of the future of the Railway Board was raised. A confidential circular published by an Indian newspaper of Calcutta showed that Mr. Benthall (now Sir Edward) had, on behalf of the Europeans, declared that, as far as possible, the railways and ports must be removed from political control, and the Europeans were urged to press for the creation of an independent Statutory Railway Board. Indian Members of the Legislative Assembly headed by Sir (then Mr.) Shanmukham Chetty recorded their strong protest against the manner in which this important question was being disposed of, and Mr. B. Das declared that "the whole British Government were in conspiracy to take away the control of the railways from the Indian Legislature." He warned that if a Statutory Board was established, "all money would go to England and all British Stores would be purchased at the expense of Indian industries." "In the name of Swaraj", he said, "every economic right of the people is being taken away and placed in alien hands".

### FEDERAL STRUCTURE COMMITTEE ON STATUTORY RAILWAY BOARD

The Federal Structure Committee mentioned the Statutory Railway Board as though everything had been decided upon and although none of the Indian members knew exactly what was proposed a draft recommendation was forwarded in the name of the Committee to which many of the members taking interest in the subject objected. Yet that remained as the recorded opinion of the Federal Structure Committee.

### WHITE PAPER PROPOSALS ON STATUTORY BODY FOR RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION

Then came the White Paper proposals. The subject of railway administration was not given as much importance as it deserved and in one paragraph only the desire of His Majesty's Government in this respect was recorded. It was felt essential that "while the Federal Government and Legislature will necessarily exercise a general control over railway policy, the actual control of the administration should be placed by the Constitution Act in the hands of a Statutory Body so composed and with such powers as will ensure that it is in a position to perform its duties upon business principles and without being subject to political interference". With regard to company-managed lines it was proposed that such existing rights as the companies possessed under terms of their contract to have access to the Secretary of State in regard to disputed points, would be preserved, and if they desired they might be allowed to proceed to arbitration. The suggestions of the Government of India were thereupon asked for on the questions of principle as well as on details of the scheme.

### LONDON COMMITTEE OF JUNE 1933 ON STATUTORY RAILWAY AUTHORITY

In June 1933 the Secretary of State appointed a Committee in England, composed mostly of selected Round Table Conference delegates, to examine the note prepared by the Government of India and to formulate definite proposals for the future administration of Indian railways. This Committee prepared a more or less detailed sketch for the proposed Statutory Board, the fundamental features of which were as follows:

1. The Federal Government and the Legislature would control the general policy of Indian railways, and subject to this control the administration was to be entrusted to a "Railway Authority" composed of seven members chosen from persons possessed of special knowledge of commerce, industry, agriculture or finance, or having had extensive administrative experience.

2. Not more than three out of the seven members were to be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion, the remaining four being appointed by him on the advice of the Federal Government. The President of the Authority, who should have right of access to the Governor-General, was to be appointed by him at his discretion from amongst the members.

3. The Federal Minister responsible for Transport and Communications would have the right to convene a meeting of the Railway Authority for the purpose of discussing matters of policy or questions of public interest, and at such meetings he would preside. He would further have the right to direct by order the Railway Authority to give effect to decisions of the Federal Government and the Legislature on matters of policy and it would be obligatory on the Railway Authority to give effect to such decisions.

4. No Minister or Member of the Federal Legislature or any other Legislature in India would be eligible to hold office as a member of the Authority till one year had elapsed since he surrendered his office or seat, nor would a person be so appointed who had been a servant of the Crown in India, a railway official in India, or one who had been directly interested in railway contracts, till one year had elapsed from the date of termination of such connection.

5. The Railway Executive would be composed of a Chief Commissioner possessing expert knowledge of railway working, together with a Financial Commissioner, and such additional Commissioners with expert knowledge as might be found necessary. These Commissioners would be appointed by the Railway Authority subject to the confirmation of the Governor-General or the Federal Government as the case may be. The Chief Commissioner would carry out the duties from time to time delegated to him by the Railway Authority and in his turn would delegate such powers to his subordinate officers as might be approved by the Railway Authority.



6. The Railway Authority was to be responsible for the proper maintenance and efficient operation of the railway vested in the Crown, either state-managed or company-managed, and was further to exercise the control over other railways in British India at present exercised by or on behalf of Government. Provision was also contemplated for safeguarding the existing rights of companies working under contracts with the Secretary of State.

7. The Railway Authority would be guided by business principles, due regard being paid to the interests of agriculture, industry and the general public and to defence requirements; and the surplus of railway earnings over all charges was to be disposed of in such manner as may be determined from time to time by the Federal Government under a scheme of quinquennial apportionment.

8. Revenue estimates of the Railway Authority though submitted to the Legislature annually would not be subject to vote unless General Revenues would be required to contribute, whereas capital expenditure programme would have to be voted by the Federal Legislature, unless the Railway Authority be generally authorized to incur capital expenditure subject to prescribed conditions.

9. Regarding services, the Railway Authority would be empowered to make rules for recruitment, and would appoint or deal with employees as found necessary, subject to (a) the powers of the Governor-General in the exercise of his special responsibilities, (b) the safeguarding of the rights of all officers in the services at the time of its establishment and (c) such instructions or directions as may be laid down to secure the representation of various communities. In regard to the rules for recruitment of superior railway services the Public Services Commission was to be consulted.

10. With regard to rates and fares the Railway Authority would fix maxima and minima, subject to the control of the Federal Government, and complaints regarding these would, subject to such conditions as the Federal Government might prescribe, be referred to an Advisory Committee to be appointed by the Federal Government. Before the Federal Government would pass any order on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee it would consult the Railway Authority.

11. Disputes between the Railway Authority and the administration of an Indian States railway on certain matters would have to be referred to arbitration by a tribunal.

JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON  
STATUTORY RAILWAY AUTHORITY :  
CRITICAL

During the three sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference the question of the Statutory Railway Board did not come up for discussion, as

it was considered to be of comparatively minor importance. It was assumed that there was general agreement about the establishment of the Statutory Board, although public opinion in India as reflected in the speeches of the non-official members of the Central Legislature, and in the deliberations of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, was opposed to the idea under present circumstances. The Joint Parliamentary Committee have acted on this assumption, and their recommendations have been based more or less on the White Paper proposals. The Committee consider that the scheme outlined by the London Committee of June 1933 provides a suitable basis for the administration of Indian railways, subject to two conditions to which they attach importance, namely, that (a) not less than three of the seven members of the proposed Authority should be appointed by the Governor-General *in his discretion* and that (b) the authority should not be constituted on a communal basis. In the latter respect the Committee's recommendation is quite welcome to all right-thinking men, but it is difficult to understand why they are so insistent upon the Governor-General appointing three members at least at his discretion, unless it be to provide assured seats for a substantial number of Britishers in the Indian Railway Authority.

The second and more fundamental proposals of the Joint Parliamentary Committee is with regard to the powers which the Governor-General will possess of taking action in virtue of his special responsibilities. This power is now proposed to extend to the giving of directions to the Railway Authority, and in the event of a breakdown of the constitution, to assume to himself the powers vested in the Authority. These are provisions fraught with great danger and throw overboard both the Consultative Committee's recommendations as well as the White Paper proposals. The real anxiety to secure for British interests perpetual position of privilege has now come out in all its glaring nakedness. In all earlier proposals, including the White Paper, two things were considered essential, namely, (a) a general control of the Federal Government and Legislature over railway policy and (b) such composition, function and powers of the Railway Authority as would ensure the administration of the railways upon business principles, due regard being paid to the furtherance of India's agriculture, industry and commerce and to general public interest. The Joint Parliamentary Committee kept significantly quiet over these two essential points and they have emphasized only those conditions whose main objective appears to be the consolidation and safeguarding of British interests.

With regard to the question whether the Statutory basis for the new Railway Authority should be provided by the Constitution Act or by



Indian Legislation, the Committee finds "no objection to the necessary steps being taken to this end in India", but they have urged that the governing principles should be laid down by the Constitution Act, and lest the new Federal Legislature be not as tame as the present Legislative Assembly, they have proposed that the necessary legislation may be undertaken "at the earliest possible date". The governing principles have also been defined and these include not only the extent of the control of the Federal Government and the Indian Legislature over the Railway Authority, but also the principles which should guide the Authority, the method of appointing members, the conditions of separation of Railway finance, the safeguarding of existing interests of companies working some railways under contract with the Secretary of State and machinery for arbitration on disputed issues in the railway field. They have further enjoined that in future prior consent of the Governor-General "at his discretion" would be necessary to any legislation affecting the constitution or powers of the Railway Authority. Special importance is also attached to the provision of arbitration procedure for disputes between the Railway Authority and the Indian State Railways and it has been proposed that the Constitution Act should contain adequate provision to ensure reasonable facilities for the Indian State's railway traffic and to protect its system against unfair or uneconomic competition or discrimination in the Federal Legislature. These are wide reservations and fettered like this it is doubtful if the Federal Indian Legislature will retain any effective voice in the shaping of our Railway policy or in controlling the work of the Railway Authority in the interests of India.

In all these respects the Joint Parliamentary Committee recommendations go far beyond what even His Majesty's Government contemplated through the White Paper proposals and at every subsequent stage in the evolution of the idea of Statutory Railway Authority new and meticulous conditions have been imposed.

No silver lining is to be discovered even in Major Atlee's draft which was submitted as Labour amendment to the J. P. C. proposals and from which something more encouraging was expected. Major Atlee proposed two things, namely, that the Statutory Railway Board should be set up by the Central Indian Legislature to whom it should be responsible, and that the Federal Minister responsible for Transport should be the *ex-officio* chairman of the Railway Board. Evidently, both these suggestions are fundamentally antagonistic to the conception of an independent statutory authority.

The entire course of events unmistakably proves the supreme anxiety of the British Parliamentarians to manufacture every possible fetter to retard India's political or economic emancipation from British bondage, and the Joint

Parliamentary Committee Report presents yet another sad document of complete mistrust of Indians in every field of Indo-British relation.

#### CONCLUSION :

##### SOME CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS

Be that as it may, the question naturally occurs to everybody as to what one should do with regard to the proposals for Statutory Railway Authority as they stand. Should we reject them or should we try to get them suitably modified? This is a question more or less for the politician to answer. The Joint Parliamentary Committee Report in its entirety has been condemned by all sections of progressive opinion in India, and it is difficult and risky to propose piecemeal modifications. Yet, if one has to examine the proposal for the Statutory Railway Board by itself, it should not be impossible to suggest suitable improvements.

It must be pointed out at the outset that although the management of big commercial undertakings owned by the State should better be managed by a semi-independent Body or Trust in a democratic state so that politics may not stand in the way of efficient administration, the peculiar circumstances of India do not permit of such a course without detriment to the interests of the country. The political life of India and her economic history are full of numerous instances of preferential treatment to foreigners and the whole demand for political reforms is born out of a yearning for emancipation from British domination. In the railway sphere the superior railway services have been kept a more or less close preserve for the Britishers, preference is still given to British Stores, and the invidious distinction made between Indians and Europeans in every respect from the provision of booking office, waiting room, carriages and restaurants upto discriminatory rates and fares is still existent and is extremely galling. Unless there is a definite assurance that the Statutory Railway Authority will see to the complete removal of these discriminations and will ensure the management of the railways in the interests of India's trade, agriculture, industry, public convenience and defence requirements, it is difficult to agree to the formation of a Statutory Authority under present circumstances.

Having defined the obligations of the Statutory Authority as above provision should be made for securing at least the following essentials, namely,

1. The Railway Authority should be constituted by an Act of the New Federal Legislature, the Constitution Act only laying down the bare outline and defining the relation between the Railway Authority and the Federal Government and Legislature. The Federal Legislature is to remain free to extend or modify the powers and constitution of the Railway Authority in future as found necessary.



2. At least five out of the seven members of the Authority should be Indians by birth, parentage and permanent residence and not more than two should be from the Indian States.

3. The incompatibility of membership of Railway Authority with membership of the Legislature, of Indian Civil or Military Services, of a firm of a railway contractors, as laid down in the London Committee scheme, should be emphasized.

4. The Railway Authority should have certain statutory obligations laid down regarding Indianization of services, purchase of stores in India, removal of public grievances, provision of rates and fares suitable for indigenous trade, industry and agriculture, economical management, and maintenance of railway property intact.

5. The entire railway administration of India, comprising state-managed and company-managed lines as also Indian State railways, should be under the direct or indirect control of the Railway Authority and there should be no more interference by the Secretary of State. Disputes, if any,

may be referred to arbitration by the Governor-General.

6. There should be a Permanent Railway Commission or Court established with a view to adjudicating on complaints regarding rates and fares, unfair competition as between railways, and between them and other transport services, as also on all matters arising out of the statutory obligations of the Railway Authority.

7. The Railway Authority should not come under the purview of the Governor-General in exercise of his "Special Responsibility" but in case of break-down of the constitution the Governor-General may assume such control of the Railway Authority as he may think necessary.

8. The policy should be laid down once for all that the contracts with Companies for the management of some Indian Railways shall be terminated as and when opportunity arises, and as soon as possible all the Railways of India should be brought under a uniform system of management.

## THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

"Make for thyself a definition or description of the thing which is presented to thee, so as to see distinctly what kind of thing it is; in its substance, in its nudity, in its complete entirety, and for thyself its proper name, and the names of things of which it has been compounded, and under which it will be resolved. For nothing is so productive of elevation of the mind as to be able to examine methodically and truly every object which is presented to thee in life, and always to look at things so as to see at the same time what kind of universe this is, and what kind of use everything performs in it and what value everything has with reference to the whole."

MARCUS AURELIUS

**I**n my last article I promised to deal with the distribution of wealth so that we could the better understand why it is that wages tend to fall to the bare line of subsistence despite the advancements of science and the arts.

I make no apology for venturing on what may seem to be academic and abstruse questions affecting the social life of the people. Too often are our minds diverted by the excitement of current political events and our interest absorbed by mere political expedients devised by statesmen in their

endeavour to overcome immediate economic difficulties, and too little time is devoted to analysing the fundamental laws which govern and determine social relationships in society.

I am convinced that an understanding of these fundamental laws would do more to bring about social justice in society than would programmes and schemes or political expedients, no matter how well intentioned their authors may be, for we must not forget that the road to a well-known place is paved with good intentions. Also, it is not enough to arouse the people against injustice; what is wanting is direction. You cannot dissolve a problem by shouting at it, nor will vested interests be uprooted by the colour of a shirt or the violence of a song. It is thinking and thinking alone that will destroy ignorance. So let us proceed to deal with facts. As old Carlyle shouted in a fit of temper: "Facts, facts! Feed me on facts!"

### WEALTH

Taking to heart the instruction of Marcus Aurelius, let us arrive at a definition and



description of this thing called wealth. The best definition I know is the following: Wealth consists of natural substances or products which have been secured, moved, combined, or in other ways modified by human existence, so as to fit them for the gratification of human desires.

There are many things which today are deemed to be wealth which in fact are not wealth at all. They are bonds, mortgages, promissory notes, bank bills or other stipulations for the transfer of wealth. If every bank note, bond, bill and promissory note were destroyed, no wealth would disappear.

The ownership of slaves is sometimes deemed to represent wealth. If their ownership were dissolved, no wealth would be destroyed. The ownership of land is also deemed to be ownership of wealth. Equally so, if this ownership were dissolved, no wealth would be destroyed.

Wealth is something produced by labour applied to land in some shape or form and no wealth can be produced in any other way. But it must be remembered that that which is produced from land by labour, in order to constitute real wealth, must have the capacity to gratify human desires, and we would know it to be wealth if by its destruction society would be the poorer.

#### LABOUR AND LAND

It will be observed above that I said wealth is produced by labour applied to land. So that we may at once define the primary factors in wealth production to be labour and land: labour the factor and land the passive factor. Sir William Petty aptly put it, more than a hundred years ago, that labour and land were the father and mother of all wealth production. I lay stress upon the important character of these factors, that they are primary factors. Now let us define what we mean by "labour".

When we speak of labour in the economic sense we include within that term all human exertion in the production of wealth. This naturally includes mental and physical effort.

The next definition is that of "land". This term necessarily includes not merely the surface of the earth as distinct from water and the

air, but the whole material universe outside of man himself.

In a primitive state we observe man using his labour power to draw from nature those things he requires to sustain life. There is also an interesting fact to be observed and it is this: even in these primitive conditions nature will always repay a labour exertion with more than is immediately necessary to keep the worker alive from day to day. I mean that with a given amount of labour exertion, the labourer will have an excess of wealth over and above what is needed for his immediate sustenance—which will give him time to turn his mind to other activities than that of merely seeking his food.

The constant urge of man "to gratify his desires with the least possible amount of exertion" has caused man to invent and make tools which will assist him in producing still greater quantities of this wealth. Should this process continue, it would seem self-evident that with the development of inventions in the sciences and in the arts there would come a time when the mere production of wealth would cease to be a problem, and that finally, having entirely conquered the forces of nature, man would become the master of his own economic and social destiny.

I have stated that man will produce things to help him to produce more wealth than he could by the use of his mere physical ability. This brings us to the third factor in wealth production, namely, capital—so that we define 'capital' as that part of wealth used for the production of more wealth.

#### CAPITAL

At this point I must again emphasize that land and labour are the primary factors in wealth production; capital, being a mere part of wealth used to produce more wealth, is a secondary factor and depends entirely upon the two primary factors for its very existence.

This amazingly simple fact seems not to be appreciated by modern economists and politicians. For all of them with few exceptions are preoccupied with the problem of capital and its operation—as if indeed it were of greater importance than the two primary factors that give it its day to day existence.

It has been shown by Professor Shearman



that modern capital—that is machinery, tools and all instruments used in wealth production—is subject to ever greater wear and tear, and that its life at the most would not exceed two years were it not reconditioned, repaired and replaced by ever fresh supplies of the raw material produced by labour from the land. In South Wales it would seem an obvious truth to say that capital would cease to function entirely if the miners ceased going down into the bowels of the earth to produce the coal which creates the energy that gives life to the moving capital on the surface. In fact, we are greater land users now than were our forefathers. They cultivated the surface and fished in the seas. We now mine and quarry into the land to maintain our enormous capital structure. I am stressing this point because not infrequently we hear those who tell us that the land is not as important now as it was in feudal days.

#### DISTRIBUTION

Having clearly defined our terms of the factors involved in wealth production, let us turn our attention to the distribution of the wealth so produced.

We define "wages" as that return which labour receives for its exertion. This return or wages will be high or low according to the place on which labour exerts itself. The miner knows that he will produce more coal on a good thick seam of good coal than he will be able to produce on a narrow seam of coal where there is a tortuous stratification. (I am not here concerned with the proportion received by the miner in wages. That I will come to later.)

This makes the point clear that the return to labour in terms of wages is determined by the character of the natural opportunity upon which labour power is exerted. A farmer may labour equally hard on two fields but owing to the natural advantages of one field over the other the returns to his labour will be different.

It was this difference in the productivity of land, despite the amount of labour exerted upon it, that gave rise to the conception of what is called "rent." Where men would compete to get at the best piece of land, there would naturally arise some tribute

which a willing user would be prepared to pay for a good natural opportunity. And thus it was observed that wages were largely determined by what a labourer could get for exerting his labour power upon a piece of land where no rent was paid.

To put it another way: If a worker could gain a certain standard of life by working for himself upon some piece of land where no rent was paid, he would refuse, under these circumstances, to exert his labour power on some other piece of land, no matter how valuable, if the return he received was likely to be less than that which he could secure by working on rent-free land.

#### RENT

"Rent" is defined as the difference in value between the best piece of land in use and the poorest piece of land in use. Let me say at the outset that if the land belonged to the whole community, this difference in land value would not in any way disturb the just distribution of the wealth produced. It will be observed that rent operates against wages because if rent is to be paid for the right to use a natural opportunity, it means that the wages of the labourer can only be that portion of his produce which he retains to himself after rent has been paid. Hence the logical deduction that the wages of all workers are determined finally by what labour could secure for itself were it using land for which no rent was paid.

It may be necessary here to explain that when we speak of "rent", we are using the term in its strict economic sense as that payment which is made for the use of land. The term rent is loosely applied to payments made for the use of houses, shops and other premises. This loose use of the word "rent" must not be confused with the rent we are discussing here. Rent is strictly payment in respect of land.

I have shown that wages are determined by what labour could secure for itself on free land. Let me give an illustration of how this actually happens. Immediately after the Boer War, the Kaffirs in South Africa refused to work in the gold mines as a result of a threat made to reduce their wages. They remained out on strike and would have defeated the mine-owning companies had not



the British Government consented to the importation into South Africa of Chinese coolie labour. There was a great protest made against these Chinese blacklegs and the Government was compelled in 1905 to send out a Commission to make an enquiry into the Kaffir labour trouble. In the same year they issued their report and stated therein that the economic power of the Kaffirs to defeat the exactions of the mine-owners was due to the fact that the Kaffirs had free land upon which they could live, and that they only worked in the mines as a mere supplement to their means.

Here you have in an official document a recognition of the economic fact that where men can make a certain standard of living on a free natural opportunity, they naturally refuse to bind themselves to employment for a wage that is less than that which they could secure for themselves.

Karl Marx, in this famous book *Capital*, states the same principle when he says (on page 794): "Where all land is free, and each man can procure a piece for himself, not only are wages very high as regards the labourer's share of the produce, but the difficulty under these circumstances is to get combined labour at any price at all."

The deduction from this is that where land is dear, difficult to get at, wages will be very low as regards the labourer's share of the produce, and you will with ease be able to secure combined labour on starvation wages.

Any working man knows that the chances he has of getting better wages are threatened if there are a large number of unemployed competing for his job. He knows at first hand that in these circumstances his wages are determined by what it takes to keep body and soul together and his security in employment is daily threatened by an unemployed competitor.

If by any chance the natural opportunities in the land of England were opened to these unemployed, and they disappeared from the labour market, then wages would immediately rise.

These are but illustrations to prove the deductions I have made above.

#### DISTRIBUTION

It will be noticed that the factors in wealth production are land, labour and the secondary

factor, capital. Where rent tends to increase, wages tend to fall.

We have also noticed that with the development of the sciences and the arts there will follow an intensified demand for the use of land and its raw materials—coal, iron, clay, slates etc., sites for houses, factories and so on. This intensified demand for land means an enormous toll will be annually paid in the form of rent for the use of land.

If we keep in mind the fact that the land of this country is in private hands, it means that the rent-drawers receive vast fortunes in rent out of the pool of wealth without as much as striking a blow for it. Aggravating this situation is the tendency amongst private landowners to restrict the use of land. In this way they are able to exact monopoly prices, thus sending rent up to an artificially high level.

In the distribution of wealth, rent is taking the lion's share, leaving labour to struggle for a bare subsistence. In every large city the value of land is rising, by leaps and bounds, side by side with falling wages and in many cases falling prices.

Many concerns which are wrongly designated as capitalist undertakings are in fact largely land monopoly or specially privileged combinations. What they draw out of the pool of wealth is designated "interest on their capital" but is in reality rent. This tends to confuse the student of economics and leads him to the belief that capital is an all-powerful and absorbing controller of production.

#### TAXATION

Annually the Government and the local authorities are required to raise large sums in the form of taxation and local rates. We have seen in our time the Budget of 1913 which totalled £250 millions rising to the figure of £800 millions. Local rates collected throughout Great Britain were £73 millions in 1913 and this year they stand at a figure of £164 millions.

This levy, which amounts to £964 millions, is imposed upon industry—that is to say, the workers have to hand over that tribute to the Government and the Local Authorities before they can count on a penny of wages.



It is well to remember that income taxes called by whatever pleasing name, are ultimately borne by the working classes. Indirect taxation is never borne by the person upon whom it is imposed, but is ultimately passed on to the consumer of goods, *i. e.*, the workers. That is why it is called indirect taxation.

Professor Jevons, in his *Elements of Political Economy*, says "the purpose of an indirect tax is that the person who is expected to pay it will recoup himself against the consumer."

Super-taxes seem to indicate that the Government is throwing heavy exactions on large income receivers and indeed there are many people in the Labour and Socialist movement who advocate this form of taxation in the belief that they are in some way compelling the privileged capitalists to disgorge. But the plain facts are quite against this theory. Adjustments are made by capitalist concerns and company promoters to pass on these taxes as far as is humanly possible.

It is a great travesty to believe that by a process of predatory income taxes you are accomplishing anything of a permanent character in the proper distribution of wealth. If at death the Government took all that a millionaire left in death duties, they would not remove the causes that make one man a millionaire and another man a pauper.

I have said that all of this taxation is levied upon industry, so that not merely has the worker to contend with the impediment of landlord operations but he has to carry the burden of this heavy levy upon his labour. The economic result of this form of taxation is to create unemployment. This in turn necessitates the raising of more taxation to keep the unemployed from breaking into revolution. The institution of unemployment schemes, and public works schemes, necessitate the raising of more millions out of taxation, most of which passes into the hands of land speculators and rent receivers, increasing the burden of taxation on the workers. More taxes have to be raised for health services, slum clearances, and the like. This tribute of taxation creating unemployment is again increased to carry out

the salvage work which the unemployment necessitates!

It has been said by a French wit that the person who devised the British canons of taxation and local rating would be fully qualified in France for a padded cell in a lunatic asylum. But we in England are not cynical.

If we set aside the operation of rent, and consider the economic effects of taxation alone, it must be clear that the proper distribution of wealth is utterly impossible as long as our system of raising national and local revenues continues to operate. They are imposed in such a way as to benefit privilege and monopoly and depress the return to labour.

From what has been said above, therefore, the following deductions can be made. In the distribution of wealth under our present economic dispensation the greatest portion goes to rent. The steadily increasing demands of taxation, national and local, are absorbing the next greatest portion. And the residue is distributed in wages.

This maldistribution of wealth is the besetting problem of the day. And every month brings out a fresh crop of schemes to bring about what is called in the parlance of economics "an equilibrium for the disequilibrium" (see Professor Keynes).

Then we have those who think that the problem is to be discovered in the banking systems and that if only we could print negotiable instruments and advance credit on the potential power to produce wealth, we could then all put on green shirts and follow Major Douglas to the promised land. But the problem as we have seen is not a problem of banking or even of money. It is a problem rather of restoring to men their birthright—the right to use freely those natural elements provided by nature and necessary to human existence. We cannot hope to solve the problem of distribution by a more perfect system of banking or monetary technique and leave unchallenged historic vested interests.

Later, I hope to deal with the solution of this problem.



## SOME ASPECTS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE REPORT

### 1. THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE AND THE GUBERNATORIAL AUTONOMY

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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#### I

THE White Paper on Indian Constitutional Reform (1933) was naturally very unfavourably received by even the most moderate sections of Indian political opinion as the scheme of Government outlined in it fell far short of the legitimate political aspirations of the peoples of this country. The safeguards suggested therein were rightly considered even by moderate political opinion in India as far too many to make responsible Government a reality under the proposed new Constitution. But even those safeguards were on the whole not so reactionary and unsatisfactory, except in regard to one or two minor points, from the point of view of the people of this country as the safeguards now proposed in the Majority Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, which was published on the 22nd of November last. Explaining the nature and objects of these safeguards the authors of the Report have frankly stated that, on the one hand, the safeguards they contemplate "have nothing in common with those mere paper declarations which have been sometimes inserted in constitutional documents, and are dependent for their validity on the good-will or the timidity of those to whom the real substance of power has been transferred. They represent on the contrary (to quote a very imperfect but significant analogy) a retention of power as substantial, and as fully endorsed by the law, as that vested by the Constitution of the United States in the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Army—but more extensive both in respect of their scope and in respect of the circumstances in which they can be brought into play. On the other hand, they are not only not inconsistent with some form of responsible Government, but in the present circumstances of India it is no paradox to say that they are the necessary complement to any form of it, without which it could have little or no hope of success." Further, it is held that the proposed statutory safeguards are designed to supply flexibility in the constitutional framework, strong Executives both in the Provinces and at

the Centre, a pure and efficient administration, and an impartial authority, armed with adequate powers, able to hold the scales evenly between conflicting interests and to protect those who have neither the influence nor the ability to protect themselves. It has also been alleged that none of the following four factors, which are essential, according to the Joint Committee, to the success of Parliamentary Government, as it is understood in the United Kingdom, can be said to exist in India today, namely: (1) the principle of majority rule; (2) the willingness of the minority for the time being to accept the decisions of the majority; (3) the existence of great political parties divided by broad issues of policy rather than by sectional interests; and (4) finally the existence of a mobile body of political opinion, owing no permanent allegiance to any party and therefore able, by its instinctive reaction against extravagant movements on one side or the other, to keep the vessel on an even keel. It is difficult either to prove or to disprove these *ipse dixit*s. Much depends upon one's attitude of mind. The true test is how far the proposed safeguards will be consistent with any real measure of responsible Government. That is the question I proposed to consider here. In this first article I shall confine myself only to the Provincial Executive—its constitution, nature and powers.

#### II

The Joint Select Committee has repeatedly emphasized the necessity for securing a strong Executive in each Province. The Committee has said:

We have no wish to underrate the legislative function; but in India the executive function is, in our judgment, of overriding importance. . . . There must be (to quote . . . the Statutory Commission) an executive power in each Province which can step in and save the situation before it is too late. This power must be vested in the Governor, and so strongly have we been impressed by the need for this power, and by the importance of ensuring that the Governor shall be able to exercise it promptly and effectively, that, among other alterations in the White Paper, we have felt obliged to make a number of additional recommendations in regard to the Governor's sources of information, the protection of the police, and the enforcement of law and order.



Again,

If the responsibility for government is henceforward to be borne by Indians themselves, they will do well to remember that to magnify the Legislature at the expense of the Executive is to diminish the authority of the latter and to weaken the sense of responsibility of both.

I shall therefore consider first the proposed Provincial Executive as such, and, secondly, its relation to the Provincial Legislature, so far as space will permit me to do this.

The Joint Committee has, generally speaking, endorsed the proposals of the White Paper both in regard to the Constitution and the working of the Provincial Executive. The White Paper recommended the abolition of the existing dyarchic system. Under the scheme of provincial Government outlined in it there would be in British India (excluding Burma) eleven Governors' Provinces including Sind and Orissa. They would become autonomous units, and the Government of each Province would be administered by a Governor as the representative of the King, with the advice and assistance of a Council of Ministers who would be responsible to the Legislature of the Province. The whole executive authority in a Governor's Province would be vested in the Governor himself who would hold office during the King's pleasure, and all executive acts would run in his name. The Council of Ministers would be entitled to tender advice to the Governor on all matters which would fall within the provincial sphere, except in such cases where the latter would have under the Constitution Act special responsibilities or where he would have certain powers exercisable at his discretion.

In regard to the selection of Ministers the White Paper proposed that the Ministers would be appointed by the Governor and would hold office during his pleasure. Further, the Governor would be directed in his Instrument of Instructions to select his Ministers in consultation with the person who in his judgment would be likely to command the largest following in the Legislature (and who would therefore practically be his Chief or Prime Minister), and to appoint those persons, including so far as possible members of important minority communities, to be his Ministers who would best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the Legislature. In this connexion the following extract from the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare given before the Joint Committee on July 11, 1933, may be of some interest to the reader:

Q.5622. Marquess of Salisbury: That brings me to the question of the formation of the responsible Government. I do not quite understand from, I

think it is paragraph 66 or 67, whether it is contemplated that there should be a Prime Minister in the local Governments, and Prime Minister in the Central Government?

Sir Samuel Hoare: We have felt that these kinds of things must grow up, and that we cannot prescribe in detail in a Constitution Act exactly how these Provincial Governments will work. In no case, except the case of the Irish Free State Constitution, has it been definitely stated how a Government should work. It has been left to grow up organically, and we felt that it might be that in certain Provinces there would be a Prime Minister at once; in other Provinces there might not. As far as we are concerned, we look forward to a time when procedure will conform with the procedure in this country, but we do not think we can prescribe it at the outset.

5623. You mention on the third line of page 55 mand the largest following in the Legislature. 'the person who, in his judgment is likely to command the largest following in the Legislature?—It does.

5624. And it is contemplated that the Government should be formed of persons in whom this person who is likely to command the largest following has confidence?—Yes.

5625. He will, to some extent, help to select his colleagues?—Yes.

5626. Will the responsibility of the Government be joint?—My answer to that question is very much the answer I have just given about the Prime Minister. We should like to see the responsibility joint. At the same time we do not think we can prescribe it. Joint responsibility never has been prescribed in any Constitution Act in the British Empire, except in the case of the Irish Free State. Moreover, we do see difficulties in India that had better not be ignored, namely, the fact that the Governor has got to consider the representation of minorities in forming his Government, and in the case of the Governor-General he has also got to consider the representation of the States. That makes it more than ever difficult for us to prescribe in so many words that responsibility is to be collective. We hope it will be collective, but we do not think any good will be done by stating, in so many words that it is to be collective.

It was proposed in the White Paper that the persons who would be appointed Ministers must be, or become within a stated period,—the Joint Committee understands this period to be of six or twelve months—members of the Provincial Legislature. The Joint Committee has approved the mode of appointment of Provincial Ministers as proposed in the White Paper.

It was not clear, however, from the White Paper whether every Provincial Minister must be, or become within the stated period, an *elected* member of the Legislature. But Indian opinion attaches, as the Joint Committee has rightly remarked, a great importance to this qualification as securing in the most effective manner control by the Legislature over the Executive. Although, as the Committee has further observed, such qualification is unknown to the law of the United Kingdom, yet it has long been the rule



there 'that a Minister must either find a seat within a reasonable time or resign his appointment, unless the Prime Minister should see fit to recommend him for a peerage; so that the qualification exists in practice, if not in law, though during the war there were instances of Ministers who had a seat in neither House.' Besides, under the existing Constitution of India no Minister can hold office for a longer period than six months unless he is or becomes an elected member of the local legislature. In Australia too, after the first general election no Minister of State can hold office for a longer period than three months unless he is or becomes a Senator or a member of the House of Representatives. The Committee itself, however, *appears* to have understood the White Paper to mean that Ministers should be, or become within a stated period, elected members of the Legislature. But the following extract from the reply of Sir Samuel Hoare to Question No. 5725 put by Sir Austen Chamberlain before the Joint Committee on July 11, 1933, is significant:

Under the White Paper proposals a Minister has to be a Member of one or other House only after a period. We had in mind an emergency in which it might be necessary for the Governor to make an emergency appointment. When the emergency comes to an end I would have thought that, looking at the whole picture, there was more to be gained by making the Cabinet as responsible as possible, and that if it was a case of a Minister who either did not wish to face an election, or was not likely to be returned in an election, then I should have thought anyhow in Provinces where there is a Second Chamber, that the Governor might have, with the approval it may be of his Cabinet, nominated him as a Member of the Second Chamber. I agree the difficulty is where there is no Second Chamber.

At any rate, if, as Major Attlee has rightly stated in his Draft Report, the fullest opportunity is to be given in the provincial field for the experiment of parliamentary Government on the British model, all Ministers should be elected members of the Legislature, and there should be no power in the Governor to appoint as Minister a non-elected person except for a temporary period as in Australia.

The White Paper also proposed that the number of Ministers and the amounts of their respective salaries would be regulated by Act of the Provincial Legislature, but that until the Provincial Legislature would otherwise decide, their number and salaries would be such as the Governor might determine, subject to the limits to be laid down in the Constitution Act. The salary of a Minister would not be subject to varia-

tion during his term of office.<sup>1</sup> The Governor would whenever he would think fit, preside at meetings of his Council of Ministers, and would be authorized, after consultation with his Ministers, to make at his discretion any rules which he might regard as requisite to regulate the disposal of Government business and the procedure to be observed in its conduct and for the transmission to himself of all such information as he might direct. All these have been generally approved by the Joint Committee.

### III

#### POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR

It should be made clear at the very outset that the White Paper did not contemplate the establishment in a Governor's Province of a system of administration analogous in all respects to that prevailing in Britain today. Nor, according to the Joint Committee, was there any inconsistency in this. The Committee has argued that it cannot be assumed *a priori* that usage and practice which may be eminently adapted to the circumstances of the United Kingdom can be applied without any qualification to the circumstances of India. The usual plea is advanced that the picture presented by India is that of a country with a population so far from homogeneous and so divided by racial and religious antagonisms that Government by majority rule as it is understood in Britain is admittedly impossible at the present time. In these circumstances, says the Committee, the White Paper rightly recognized that the Governor, in whom the Executive power of his Province would be legally vested, might from time to time have to exercise on his own responsibility powers which elsewhere and under other conditions might be exercised on the advice of Ministers. Let us now consider this matter in detail.

Under the constitutional scheme outlined in the White Paper and as modified by the Joint Committee, the Governor's office will be one of great prestige, influence and authority and will be far from that of a constitutional Governor as in a Dominion. It was proposed in the White Paper that in the administration of the Government of the Province the Governor would be declared to have a special responsibility in respect of (a) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part thereof; (b) the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities; (c) the securing to the

1. This is an important departure from the English practice or even the existing Indian law regarding the granting of salaries to Ministers.



members of the Public Services of any rights provided for them by the Constitution and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests; (d) the prevention of commercial discrimination; (e) the protection of the rights of any Indian State; (f) the administration of areas declared, in accordance with provisions in that behalf, to be partially excluded areas; and (g) securing the execution of orders lawfully issued by the Governor-General. Moreover, it was suggested that the Governors of the North-West Frontier Province and of Sind would respectively have in addition a special responsibility in respect of (h) any matter affecting the Governor's responsibilities as Agent to the Governor-General in the Tribal and other trans-border areas; and (i) the administration of the Sukkur Barrage.

It would be for the Governor to determine in his discretion whether any of special responsibilities described above were involved by any given circumstances.

Under the White Paper Scheme the Council of Ministers would be entitled as we have seen before, to offer advice on all matters falling within the provincial sphere except in such cases where he would have, under the Constitution Act, special responsibilities or where he would have certain matters exercisable at his discretion. Ordinarily, the Governor would be guided by the advice tendered to him by his Ministers; but he would be empowered to disregard his Minister's advice and to act, subject to any directions contained in his Instrument of Instructions, as he might think fit, in respect of any matter in which he would have a special responsibility or in regard to which he would have discretionary power under the Constitution Act. In the exercise of his special responsibilities or his discretionary powers, however, he would be required to act in accordance with such directions, if any, not being inconsistent with anything in his Instrument of Instructions, as he might receive from time to time from the Governor-General or from one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. The Instrument of Instructions would be issued to the Governor by the King. Under the White Paper proposal as modified by the Joint Committee, the original Instrument or any subsequent amendment thereto must be approved of by Parliament before it can be issued by the Crown.

The Joint Committee is of opinion that the inherent legal power of the Governor to act upon his own responsibility has not been set forth with sufficient clearness in the White Paper. It has,

therefore, recommended that this power should be more explicitly defined.

It may be of interest to note here the constitutional implications of the "special responsibilities" of the Governor as understood by the Joint Committee. Says the Committee:

We do not understand the declaration of a special responsibility with respect to a particular matter to mean or even to suggest that on every occasion when a question relating to that matter comes up for decision, the decision is to be that of the Governor to the exclusion of his Ministers. In no sense does it define a sphere from which the action of Ministers is excluded. In our view, it does no more than indicate a sphere of action in which it will be constitutionally proper for the Governor, after receiving ministerial advice, to signify his dissent from it and even to act in opposition to it, *if in his own unfettered judgment* he is of opinion that the circumstances of the case so require. Nor do we anticipate that the occasions on which a Governor will find it necessary so to dissent or to act in opposition to the advice given to him are in normal circumstances likely to be numerous; and certainly they will not be, as some appear to think, of daily occurrence.

The point, however, to be noticed here is that the judgment of the Governor is absolutely "unfettered," and that means everything. In this connexion it may be both fair and interesting to quote the following statement of Sir Samuel Hoare made before the Joint Committee on July 11, 1933.

Perhaps, I might review in a sentence or two the kind of way in which I think the Governor will exercise his special responsibilities. I imagine that the Governor will keep in very close touch with what is happening over the whole field of Provincial administration. He will have at his disposal the officials to advise him, but what is much more important, I am contemplating that he will keep in very close touch with his Ministers and that there will not be this gulf between them, one side going one way and the other side the other; but that the Governor will be keeping in very close touch with them, and he will know some time in advance before a situation arises in which it might be necessary for him to exercise his special responsibilities; and, I believe, in that case, if the Governor is a sensible person—and we have, after all, to assume a certain measure of commonsense in any proposal that we make—what the Governor would then do would be to talk over the situation with the appropriate Minister and, if necessary, with the Cabinet, and to get the Cabinet to so act as to prevent that situation arising at all. I believe myself that in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred as a result of that kind of consultation and co-operation, the situation will not arise at all under which the Governor would have to intervene. If the situation does arise, then the Governor will have to take what action he thinks fit. He will have to give his direction to the Civil Service; he will have to give his direction, if necessary, to the Ministry, and if there is then a cleavage, it may lead to the Minister's resignation or dismissal. It may lead eventually to the Government resigning, to an election taking place, and eventually to a break-down of the constitution altogether, and to the



resumption by the Governor of full powers; but, I believe myself that that kind of contingency is very unlikely to happen. If it does happen, we have given both the Governor-General and the Governor full powers to deal with it; but we rely very much upon a system of co-operation growing up between the Governor and his Ministers, under which the Ministers of their own initiative will take such action as to make it unnecessary for the Governor to intervene under his special responsibilities at all.

Let us now see how some of the "special responsibilities" have been interpreted by the Joint Committee. In regard to special responsibility (a) stated before, namely, 'the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part thereof,' the Joint Memorandum of the British-India Delegation rightly urged a double limitation on the scope of this special responsibility; first, that the special responsibility itself should be restricted to cases in which the menace arises from subversive movements or activities tending to crimes of violence; and, secondly, that any action taken by the Governor under it should be confined to the department of law and order. The Committee has observed that it cannot accept these suggestions.

Terrorism, subversive movements, and crimes of violence, are no doubt among the graver menaces to the peace or tranquillity of a Province; but they do not by any means exhaust the cases in which such a menace may occur, and we can see no logical reason for the distinction which the Joint Memorandum seeks to draw. Still less can we see any justification for restricting the Governor's action to the department of law and order, by which we suppose is meant the police department. There are many other branches of administration in which ill-advised measures may give rise to a menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province; and we can readily conceive circumstances in connection with *land revenue* or *public health*, to mention no others, which might well have this effect.<sup>2</sup>

Nobody ever thought that such an interpretation would be put upon special responsibility (a). And if this interpretation is allowed to stand, then the responsibility of provincial Ministers in respect of Departments entrusted to them will be really shadowy and the Governor will be truly autocratic head of every provincial administration. It should be borne in mind in this connexion that it will be, as I have already stated, for the Governor to determine in his discretion whether any of the special responsibilities are involved by any given circumstances.

With regard to special responsibility (b), the Joint Memorandum suggested that the phrase "legitimate interests" should be more clearly defined, and that it should be made clear that the minorities referred to would be racial and

religious minorities. The Committee doubts if it would be possible to define "legitimate interests" any more precisely. Observes the Committee:

The obvious intention is to secure some means by which minorities can be reasonably assured of fair treatment at the hands of majorities, and 'legitimate interests' seems to us a very suitable and reasonable formula . . . . . We need hardly say that we have not in mind a minority in the political or parliamentary sense, and no reasonable person would, we think, ever so construe the word.

To prevent, however, any misunderstanding in future, the Committee has recommended that the Instrument of Instructions should make this plain, and further that this special responsibility is not intended to enable the Governor to stand in the way of social or economic reform merely because it is resisted by a group of persons who might claim to be regarded as a minority.

In regard to (c), the Joint Memorandum proposed that here also the expression "legitimate interests" should be clearly defined, and that the Governor's special responsibilities should be restricted to the rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution. The Committee has stated in reply that it assumes that the intention of the White Paper is to guarantee to public servants not only their legal rights but also *equitable treatment*, a thing not susceptible in its opinion of legal definition. The Committee continues:

The authors of the Joint Memorandum would no doubt say that Ministers can be trusted to act in these matters in a reasonable way, and we do not doubt that this is so; but we think that they should also assume that neither will Provincial Governors act unreasonably in discharging the special responsibilities which the Constitution Act will impose upon them. If Ministers in fact act reasonably, as no doubt they will, the occasions on which a Governor will find it necessary to dissent from the advice which they tender to him may never in practice arise.

Now the point is that the Governor will be empowered to judge of the reasonableness of his Ministers' actions and to act accordingly; but the reverse will not, for obvious reasons, be permitted. Besides, the words like "reasonable" and "equitable treatment" are very vague and elastic.

Lastly, in regard to (g), namely, securing the execution of orders lawfully issued by the Governor-General, the Committee remarks that it is clear that this must be a special responsibility of the Governor. Continues the Committee:

The Governor-General exercises a wide range of powers in responsibility to the Secretary of State and through him to Parliament. The exercise of some of these powers may from time to time require the co-operation of Provincial administrations, and a Governor must be in a position to give effect to any directions or orders of the Governor-General designed



to secure this object, even if their execution may not be acceptable to his own Ministers.

It may also be noted in this connexion that if a difference of opinion occurs between Federal and Provincial Ministers in regard to any matter in the ministerial sphere, arising out of directions given by the former (in the name of the Governor-General as the executive head of the Federation) which the latter are unwilling to obey, it would be the duty of the Governor to secure, in the exercise of this special responsibility, their execution in opposition to the policy, and (it must necessarily follow) to the advice, of his Ministers.

#### LAW AND ORDER

One of the matters, says the Joint Committee, falling within the Provincial sphere on which there is any substantial dispute, is whether the administration of the subjects compendiously known as "law and order" should be retained in the Governor's hands. The question is one on which strong views are naturally held on both sides. On the one hand, the Committee continues,

it is urged that the grant of responsible government to an autonomous Province would be a mockery, if the administration of law and order were withheld. On the other, it is objected that the maintenance of law and order is in India so vital a function of the Executive that it would be incurring too great a risk to transfer it to Indian Ministers, until they had proved their capacity in other and less dangerous fields; that the morale of the Police would be imperilled by political pressure upon Ministers, which they might not have the strength or courage to resist; and that the impartiality of the Force in the event of communal disturbances might become suspect.

Nevertheless, 'after an anxious consideration of all circumstances,' the Committee does not see its way 'to differ from the general conclusion reached, not without hesitation, by the Statutory Commission,' namely, 'the department of Law and Order is to be no exception to the general rule of provincial responsibility'; that is to say, it should be transferred to Ministers. The Committee's attitude is so far sympathetic. It is

Unable to conceive a government to which the quality of responsibility could be attributed, if it had no responsibility for public order. In no other sphere has the word "responsibility" so profound and significant a meaning; and nothing will afford Indians the opportunity of demonstrating more conclusively their fitness to govern themselves than their action in this sphere. From one point of view indeed the transfer of these functions to an Indian Minister may be in the interest of the police themselves, whom it will no longer be possible to attack, as they have been attacked in the past as agents of oppression acting on behalf of an alien power; but we

prefer to base our conclusion upon the broader grounds indicated above.

It must not be supposed, however, says the Committee,

That we are blind to the risks implicit in the course which we advocate; for these, in our opinion, cannot be regarded lightly or as the phantoms of a reactionary imagination. The qualities most essential in a police force, discipline, impartiality, and confidence in its officers, are precisely those which would be most quickly undermined by any suspicion of political influence or pressure exercised from above, and it would indeed be disastrous if in any province the police force, to whose constancy and discipline in most difficult circumstances India owes a debt not easily to be repaid, were to be sacrificed to the exigencies of a party or to appease the political supporters of a Minister. If, therefore, the transfer is to be made, as we think it should, it is essential that the Force should be protected so far as possible against these risks.

And with a view to securing this protection the Committee makes certain recommendations as stated below.

In the first place, the Governor is to have as proposed in the White Paper,

(1) A special responsibility for 'the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province, or any part thereof.' The effect of this as of all other special responsibilities, is to enable the Governor, if he thinks that the due discharge of his special responsibility so requires, to reject any proposals of his Ministers, or himself to initiate action which his Ministers decline to take.

Moreover, observes the Committee,

There flows from this special responsibility, not only the right to overrule his Ministers, but also special powers—legislative and financial—to enable him to carry into execution any course of action which requires *legislative provision or the provision of supply*. If, therefore, the Governor should be of opinion that the action or inaction of Ministers jeopardising the peace or tranquillity of the Province it will be his duty to take action to meet the situation. If the situation is one requiring immediate action, he can issue any executive order which he may consider necessary. If the situation is one which cannot be dealt with by an isolated executive order—if the Minister in charge of the Department appears unable to administer his charge on lines which the Governor regards as consistent with the due discharge of his special responsibility—the Governor can dismiss and replace the Minister, or if necessary, the Ministers as a body, with or without resort to a dissolution of the Legislature. If he fails to find an alternative Government capable of administering law and order on lines consistent with the discharge of his special responsibility, he will be obliged to declare a break-down of the constitution, and to assume to himself all such powers as he judges requisite to retrieve the situation. We are not contemplating such a course of events as probable; but, if it occurs, we point out that provision is made to meet it.

In spite of this provision in the White Paper which is drawn, to quote the words of Major



Attlee, 'in such wide terms as to enable the Governor to step in and overrule Ministers over a very wide field,' and which is therefore 'likely to reduce that sense of responsibility' which he wishes 'to see created in Ministers and Legislatures,' the Joint Committee has made its "*own further recommendations for the specific protection of the Police Force itself.*" The Committee admits that, of course, the due discharge of his special responsibility for peace and tranquillity will, in itself, entitle the Governor to intervene immediately if, by reason of ill-timed measures of economy or the attempted exertion of political influence on the Police Force, or from any other cause, the morale or the efficiency of that Force is endangered. Further, "the Governor has another special responsibility: it is his duty to secure to the members of the Police, as of other Public Services, any rights provided for them by the Constitution Act and to safeguard their legitimate interests." The Committee continues:

These are important safeguards, but there is one element in police administration which requires to be specially protected. We refer to the body of Regulations known as the "Police Rules," promulgated from time to time under powers given by the various Police Acts . . . the subject-matter of some of the Rules is so vital to the well-being of the Police Force that they ought not, in our opinion, to be amended without the Governor's consent; and the same consideration applies *a fortiori* to the Acts themselves, which form the statutory basis of the Rules. Our aim is to ensure that the internal organization and discipline of the Police continue to be regulated by the Inspector-General, and to protect both him and the Ministers themselves from political pressure in this vital field. We, therefore, recommend that the prior consent of the Governor, given in his discretion, should be required to any legislation which would amend or repeal the General Police Act in force in the Province or any other Police Acts . . . It will of course be open to the Governor-General to give directions to the Provincial Governor as to the making, maintenance, abrogation or amendment of all such rules.

Not satisfied with this reactionary departure from the proposals of even the White Paper in regard to the subject of law and order, the Joint Committee has further recommended, with a view to ensuring that the records of that branch of the Police which is concerned with the suppression of terrorism in a Province are protected from even the slightest danger of leakage, that the Instrument of Instructions of the Governors should specifically require them to give directions that "*no records relating to intelligence affecting terrorism should be disclosed to anyone other than such persons within the Provincial Police Force as the Inspector-General may direct, or such other public officers outside that Force as the*

*Governor may direct;* and that the Constitution Act should contain provisions giving legal sanction for directions to this effect in the Instrument of Instructions. It, therefore, follows from these recommendations that, unless the Governor otherwise directs, an Indian Minister in charge of law and order, who may have to defend subsequently before the Legislature an arrest or prosecution made or begun by his orders, will not have the right to satisfy himself that the information on which he is invited to act is in all respects trustworthy; nor will be permitted to know the names of the informants or agents from whom the information has been obtained. The arguments adduced in support of this recommendation are, first, that the sources of information would at once dry up if the identity of confidential informants became known, or were liable to become known, outside the particular circle of Police officers concerned, and secondly, that the practice in England is that in a Secret Service Case the names are not disclosed even to the Minister most immediately concerned. The Committee has no reason to suppose that Indian Ministers will not adopt the same convention; but the difficulty arises, not because Indian Ministers are likely to demand or disclose the names of informants or agents, but because the informants or agents themselves would not feel secure that their identity might not be revealed. In regard to the second point, it may be said that the analogy of the English practice is unfortunately not applicable to Indian conditions. In England the Government of the country is national and its Police Force is not regarded by the public as "an instrument of an alien power." In India the Police Force, rightly or wrongly, is now and will, under the proposed new Constitution, be so regarded. Besides, there are the traditions of liberty there which influence the character as much of a member of the public as that of a member of the police force. As Professor Dicey has said in another connexion, even a despot exercises his powers in accordance with his character, which in itself is moulded by the circumstances in which he lives, including under that head the moral feelings of the time and the society to which he belongs. Moreover it is preposterous to insinuate that a person who has been appointed by the Governor to the responsible office of Minister in charge of law and order, cannot be expected to keep the names of confidential informants absolutely secret. Nor should the informants themselves be in any way encouraged to entertain such a doubt. Ordinarily, an Indian Minister may follow the English practice and may



not seek for information from the Chief of Police as to the names of those on whose information action is taken. But in case of his genuine suspicion he must satisfy himself, when he has got to defend his action in the Legislature, that the information on which he is invited to order an arrest or prosecution is in all respects trustworthy and that it has come from an unimpeachable source. This will require that he must, if necessary, know the names and character of the confidential informants of his own authority and must not, consistently with his prestige and self-respect, depend for the exercise of this power upon the good-will of the Governor. When public feeling will be aroused over the question of an arrest or prosecution under the orders of the Minister who is in the confidence of the Legislature, a definite statement by him that he satisfied himself thoroughly regarding the genuineness of the information on which he acted, would go a long way to satisfy the public mind.

In addition to the powers in regard to law and order already stated, the Governor must, says the Committee, be armed with powers which will ensure that the measures taken to deal with terrorism and other activities of revolutionary conspirators are not less efficient and unhesitating than they have been in the past. Although it is proposed not to absolve Indian Ministers, in Bengal or elsewhere, from the responsibility for combating terrorism, but to lay upon them clearly such executive duty, yet the issues at stake are so important in the opinion of the Committee and "the consequences of inaction, or even of half-hearted action, for even a short period of time, may be so disastrous, that the Governor of any Province must have a special power, over and above his special responsibility for the prevention of any grave menace to peace and tranquillity, to take into his own hands the discharge of this duty, even from the outset of the new Constitution." Continues the Committee:

This purpose would not be adequately served by placing the special Branch of the provincial police alone in the personal charge of the Governor. That course has been urged upon us, but we are convinced that it falls short of what is required. Instead, we recommend that the Constitution Act should specifically empower the Governor, at his discretion, if he regards the peace and tranquillity of the Province as endangered by the activities, overt or secret, of persons committing or conspiring to commit crimes of violence intended to overthrow the government by law established, and if he considers that the situation cannot otherwise be effectively handled, to assume charge, to such extent as he may judge requisite, of any branch of the government which he thinks it necessary to employ to combat such activities, or if necessary to create new

*machinery for the purpose.* If the Governor exercises this power, he should be further authorized, at his discretion, to appoint an official as a temporary member of the Legislature, to act as his mouth-piece in that body, and any official so appointed should have the same powers and rights, other than the right to vote, as an elected member . . . . . We should add that if conditions in Bengal at the time of the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy have not materially improved, it would, in our judgment, be essential that the Governor of that Province should exercise the powers we have just described forthwith and should be directed to do so in his Instrument of Instructions, which, in this as in other respects, would remain in force until amended with the consent of Parliament.

The only protection proposed against any abuse of these powers on the part of a Governor is that since the powers would be discretionary powers, the Governor would be subject to the superintendence and control of the Governor-General, and ultimately of the Secretary of State, in all matters connected with them. This protection to my mind is not adequate. If the Governor, as the man on the spot, regards the peace and tranquillity of his province as endangered by the activities, overt or secret, of persons committing or conspiring to commit crimes of violence, and if he considers that the situation cannot otherwise be effectively handled, any exercise of these additional powers on his part or any proposal made by him for such exercise is sure to be supported by the Governor-General and ultimately by the Secretary of State.

Finally, the Committee has recommended, as an additional safeguard, that the Central Intelligence Bureau should, under the new Constitution, be assigned to one of the Reserved Departments of the Governor-General as part of its normal activities, and that the change in the form of government whether at the Centre or in the Provinces, should not involve any change in the relationship which at present exists between the Central Bureau and the Provincial Intelligence Departments; and that the Governor-General will possess complete authority to secure, if necessary, through the Governor the correction of any deficiencies, and indeed to point out to the Governor, and require him to set right, any shortcomings which he may have noticed in the organization or activities of the Provincial Intelligence Branch.

The additional safeguards for the maintenance of law and order—by additional safeguards I mean the safeguards in addition to those recommended even by the White Paper—as referred to above, have been designed, according to Ministerial circles in England, obviously for the purpose of meeting the views of moderate



Conservatives, "whose support is necessary for the passage of the (India) Bill in Parliament" and not "merely for the purpose of conciliating the Die-hard element."<sup>3</sup> Thus they are not necessitated by the inherent requirements of the situation in India. The following remarks may be interesting in this connexion:

"Some modifications in the White Paper which were deemed essential have been completely met and in no case do the *recommendations run counter to our claims*. Where our definite recommendations have been rejected the alternative recommendations are such that our community must obviously give them most earnest consideration."—Sir Hubert Carr, a former President of the European Association.<sup>4</sup>

Lord Derby, speaking at Rochdale, has said that, when he went into the Committee, he had had many doubts and fears but he believed that the amendments to the White Paper really met most of them.<sup>5</sup>

Again, speaking at Manchester on the 22nd of November last he said:

He was hopeful it would be found that the natural fears of some opponents of the White Paper would be dispelled and satisfaction found at the Select Committee recommendations.<sup>6</sup>

Further, Sir Edward Campbell, Secretary of the Conservative India Committee, has said that he is very pleased to see the various recommendations to safeguard the position of the police and has expressed the opinion that it should allay any reasonable anxiety in that regard.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, Mr. Baldwin said at a meeting of the Central Council of the Conservative Party held in London on 4th December, 1934:

I am indeed glad that the subjects which have most worried you are subjects to which the Select Committee have given a great deal of attention and in all of which they have made changes which ought to relieve your genuine anxieties to a great extent—*police, pensions and commercial discrimination*.<sup>8</sup>

Thus it is clear from the above that the Joint Committee has altered the White Paper proposals regarding law and order—by themselves sufficiently retrograde—with a view to placating a section of the Conservative Party. Indeed, die-hard Toryism has indirectly scored a victory by persistent agitation. It may be interesting to note here what Major Attlee has said in his Draft Report in regard to law and order:

The success of a Police Force depends very largely on the extent to which it is recognized by the people as being maintained in their interests. It would be fatal to the efficiency of the force in the future if it were to be regarded as an instrument of an alien power.

#### THE GOVERNOR AND THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

In regard to the question whether the Governor under the proposed new Constitution will have at his disposal sufficient information as to the current affairs of his province in order to enable him to take timely action in a case in which the due discharge of any of his special responsibilities seems to call for his intervention, the Committee observes that this is a vital issue, for the special powers of the Governor would be entirely nugatory if, by reason of his divorce from current administrative business, the circumstances which might require the exercise of those powers were brought too late to his notice.

With a view, therefore, to preventing such a divorce from current administrative business, the Committee has made several suggestions. The Governor presides today at meetings of his Ministers, and "they are accustomed to look to him for assistance and support." The Committee sees no reason "why for many years to come a Council of Ministers, advising over the whole field, and not only over a part, of the provincial administration, should be anxious to deprive themselves of the assistance which a Governor of ripe experience will be able to give them, or regard themselves as representatives of an opposing interest." Further, as much of the information of the Governor with regard to current affairs is now derived from his intercourse with the Secretaries to Government, almost always members of the Civil Service, the Committee proposes that obviously the Governor as the head of the Provincial Executive must continue to have the unquestionable right to send for and to see any officer of his Government at any time, although no doubt under the new order such personal communication between a Governor and the Secretaries would not occur without the knowledge of the Ministers concerned. Moreover, the Committee has felt that, not only for avoidance of error or misunderstanding, but also as a protection to the Governor in cases where his relations with Ministers may not be always harmonious, it is desirable to place certain specific powers in the Governor's hands. Accordingly, it has endorsed the White Paper proposal, to which I have referred before, that the Governor will be empowered, after consultation with his Ministers,

3. Vide *The Statesman*, dak edition, of November 25th, 1934.

4. Vide *The Statesman*, dak edition, November 26th, 1934.

5. Vide *Ibid.*

6. Vide *The Statesman*, dak ed., Nov. 24th, 1934.

7. Vide *Ibid.*

8. Vide *The Statesman*, dak ed., Dec. 6th, 1934.



to make at his discretion, rules of executive business. Secondly, it has recommended that it "shall be specifically laid down in the Constitution Act that the rules of business shall contain a provision laying upon Ministers the duty of bringing to the notice of the Governor any matter under consideration in their Departments which involves or is likely to involve any of his special responsibilities; and requiring Secretaries to Government to bring to the notice of the Minister and of the Governor any matters of the same kind."

Thus it is proposed to continue the present pernicious system under which Secretaries to Government have a right of access to the Governor.

In order to enable the Governor to carry out his manifold duties, it is proposed that the Governor should have at his disposal an adequate personal and Secretarial staff of his own with a capable and experienced officer of high standing, to be designated as Secretary to the Governor, as the head of the Staff. The salary and allowances of such a staff are to be fixed by Order in Council, and, though included in the annual proposals for the appropriation of revenue, are not to be submitted to the vote of the Legislature.

The Committee has also suggested that recruitment to Governorships should continue to be made as now both from the United Kingdom and from among distinguished members of the Indian Civil Service.

#### SPECIAL POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR

(i) The Joint Committee agrees with the authors of the White Paper that purely executive action may not always suffice for the due discharge of the Governor's special responsibilities and that in some circumstances it may be essential that certain reserve legislative and financial powers should be at his disposal. The Committee also agrees that a law enacted by the Governor in the exercise of his reserve power of legislation should be declared to be (what indeed it would be) to be a Governor's Act as distinguished from an Act of the Provincial Legislature. Further, the Committee has concurred in the view of the British Indian Delegation that it is undesirable that the Governor should be required to submit a proposed Governor's Act to the Legislature before enacting it. That procedure will be a useless formality in the only circumstances in which a Governor's Act can reasonably be contemplated.<sup>9</sup> If the obstacle to any legislation, says the Com-

mittee, which the Governor thinks necessary to the discharge of his special responsibility, lies in the unwillingness of the Legislature, there can clearly be no point in submitting the proposed legislation to it, and to do so might merely exacerbate political feeling.

The Committee has suggested, however, that all Governor's Acts should be laid before Parliament and that the Governor before legislating or notifying his intention to legislate, should have the concurrence of the Governor-General.

(ii) Secondly, the Committee approves the White Paper proposal that the Governor should be empowered to restore any sums, for the discharge of his special responsibilities, included by him in the original proposals for appropriation, if the Legislature has subsequently rejected or reduced them.

(iii) Thirdly, the Committee agrees with the White Paper proposal that the Governor should, for the discharge of any of his special responsibilities, be armed with the power (for use in emergencies) of issuing temporary ordinances, to be valid for not more than six months in the first instance, but renewable once for a similar period; and that all such temporary ordinances, if extended beyond six months, should be laid before Parliament. It has suggested however one slight modification of the White Paper proposal, namely, that the concurrence of the Governor-General should be obtained before the Governor issues a temporary ordinance for the discharge of any of his special responsibilities.

(iv) The Committee also concurs in the White Paper proposal that the Governor shall have power to make, on the advice of his Ministers, ordinances for the good Government of his Province at any time when the Provincial Legislature is not in session, if the Ministers are satisfied that an emergency exists which renders such a course necessary. Such an ordinance is to be laid before the Legislature and will cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the date of the re-assembly of the Legislature, unless in the meantime the Legislature has disapproved it by resolution, in which case it will cease to operate forthwith. Thus there are two kinds of ordinance contemplated.

It may be noted here that under the existing Constitution of India the Governor of a Province has no power of issuing any ordinance.

(v) Lastly, the Joint Committee agrees with the proposal of the White Paper that the Governor should have power at his discretion, *if at any time he is satisfied* that a situation has arisen which for the time being renders it impossible

9. For details in this connexion, see para. 104 of the Joint Select Committee Report.



for the Government of the Province to be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution Act, to assume to himself by Proclamation all such powers vested in any Provincial authority as appear to him to be necessary for the purpose of securing that the Government of the Province should be carried on effectively. A Proclamation so issued will have the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament, and will cease to be in force at the expiry of six months unless previously approved by resolutions of both Houses of Parliament though it may be at any time revoked by similar resolutions. The Committee reads, however, the White Paper as meaning that the Governor, in the event of a breakdown of the constitutional machinery, is not bound to take over the whole Government of the Province and administer it himself on his own undivided responsibility, and conceives that the intention is to provide also for the possibility of a partial break-down and to enable the Governor to take over part only of the machinery of Government, leaving the remainder to function according to the ordinary law. Moreover, it observes that a constitutional break-down implies no ordinary crisis and that it is impossible to foresee what measures the circumstances may demand. It is right, therefore, that the Governor should be armed with a general discretionary power to *adopt such remedies as the case might require.*

It should in fairness be noted here that the Committee has approved of the principle that both for the discharge of his special responsibilities and the exercise of his discretionary or special powers, the Governor will be constitutionally responsible in the first instance to the Governor-General acting in his discretion, and through him to the Secretary of State and ultimately to Parliament. But in effect this will not mean much: the views of the man on the spot will be ordinarily allowed to prevail by the higher authorities.

#### IV

In conclusion, I should like to state that I have attempted to describe in this article, in a fair manner, the constitution, nature and powers of the Provincial Executive as contemplated by the Joint Select Committee. A careful perusal of what has been stated above will convince the reader that the recommendations of the Committee regarding the Provincial Executive are much worse, except in regard to one or two minor points, than the corresponding White Paper pro-

posals. This is one of the reasons why practically every section of Indian political opinion has unequivocally condemned the Report of the Joint Committee as more retrograde and reactionary in fact than even the White Paper. The dominant consideration which has led the Committee to strengthen and extend the wide discretionary powers proposed to be vested in the Governor under the White Paper Scheme has been, to quote the words of the Committee itself, the vital importance in India of a strong Executive. With a view to ensuring this the Committee has disregarded the considered views of even the moderate section of Indian political opinion. As Major Attlee has rightly put it, any Constitution (to be acceptable) must satisfy Indian public opinion, and a faulty constitution which will be worked with good-will by those whom it most closely concerns is better than a more perfect piece of machinery which no one will operate. It would perhaps be unfair to say that the scheme of Provincial Executive as embodied in the Joint Committee Report is not an improvement on the present Constitution of the Major Provinces in India. But judged from the point of view of substance of power of Indian Ministers, the scheme has certainly fallen far short of the just and reasonable aspirations of the people of this country. There are too many checks and safeguards to make the responsibility of the Provincial Ministers real under the proposed Constitution. Besides, it is idle to expect any good-will in an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion. Certainly, the transfer of power in the provincial sphere proposed by the Joint Committee is not either "generous" or in an ungrudging spirit. Major Attlee writes in his Draft Report:

The demand of Indian politicians for responsible government has been stressed over and over again and was reiterated by the Indian Representatives who were our colleagues on the Committee. We are emphatically of the opinion that where responsibility is given it must be real. It involves such an amount of freedom from external control as will allow of profitable experience being derived even from mistakes. A form of responsibility where there is power in some other authority to step in and save people from the consequences of their own errors, except in extreme emergencies, is unreal. We have been impressed, as, indeed, were the Members of the Indian Statutory Commission, with the fact that under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms there was a tendency to breed irresponsibility. The fact that in the Legislatures it was possible for elected representatives to vote against unpopular but necessary measures, secure in the knowledge that a Governor or Governor-General would be at hand to set things right was, in our opinion, a very unfortunate feature of the last ten years.

These remarks should be carefully considered



by Parliament before it enacts the next India Act. Certainly, it will be ill-advised for Parliament to give legislative shape to the recommendations of the Majority Report in regard to the Provincial Executive as they are now. The placating of conservative opinion in England should not be its only consideration: the good-will of the people of India must be secured by satisfying their just political demands. That will alone ensure peace in India and the prosperity of British Commerce in this country. As Mr. Attlee has beautifully said,

The only real safeguard for British interests in India is the good-will of the Indian people . . . . generosity and fair dealing will create generosity

and fair dealing, and the spirit in which a gift is made is as important as the gift itself.

Sir Samuel Hoare is reported to have said in the House of Commons on 10th December, 1934:

The only wise form of Provincial Autonomy was *real* Provincial autonomy . . . . That was the system of Provincial Autonomy recommended by the majority of the Select Committee.

*The News Chronicle* has, however, described the proposed new Constitution as "*autonomy in leading-strings*." I think it would be better to characterize the proposed scheme of Provincial Government as "*Gubernatorial Autonomy*" and not *Provincial Autonomy*.

## ZANZIBAR AND EAST AFRICA

By C. F. ANDREWS

### I

A NEW danger is rapidly coming to a head in Zanzibar and East Africa which had not been foreseen in earlier years. The restriction of the Indian population, which could not before be effected by political measures, now seems likely to come about by economic pressure, destructive of Indian trade.

The dislike of the Indian by the European in East Africa has been of long standing. Even when it diminishes for a season it crops up again. Though the Indian was there long before the European, the latter still thinks of him as an intruder, and has also persuaded himself that the presence of the Indian is bad for the African. Many Europeans honestly believe this: others use it as a political weapon.

Ten years ago, the one persistent aim of the European leaders in Kenya was to endeavour to get all Indian immigration stopped by statute.

Just as South Africa had 'shut the back door,' (so the phrase ran) so East Africa must 'shut the front door.' No further immigration of Indians into Kenya ought to take place on any terms whatever. The 'Indian menace' was frequently spoken of in extravagant terms. Lord Delamere and Major Grogan were the promoters of this doctrine of the exclusion of Indians from the whole of Africa, "The front door into Africa," proclaimed Major Grogan, "is Mombasa.

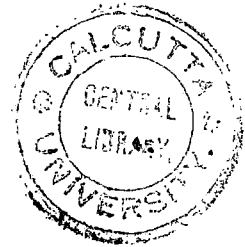
That door must be shut! Durban has been closed to Indians: Mombasa must be closed also!"

He went on to produce scare-headlines about Indians swarming over the Indian Ocean, and, sooner or later, swamping East Africa. Therefore, just as South Africa had excluded Indians, so Kenya must do the same. "It must be done at once," cried Major Grogan arrogantly, "otherwise we shall be swamped!" Lord Delamere echoed the same words.

When I was in London, as Adviser to the Kenya Indian Deputation, in 1923, this was the main object which Lord Delamere had in view. He sought to gain it out of the 'Kenya Conversations.' As it happened, he lost this point; but he gained two things, almost equally important from his own racial standpoint, namely, a racial franchise, and a racial bar in the Highlands of Kenya.

It was strange to me that the Colonial Office, which so weakly gave way on the franchise and the Highlands, remained strong on the question of immigration. But there it was. Freedom of Indian immigration was *not* cancelled. The racial bar was *not* put up on that one subject.

It was probably only the logic of events that pacified at that time the more obstreperous European colonists. For they were ready to do anything, just then, to get their own way. But facts went the other way and told a different story. It became more and more evident that





Major Grogan's cry about 'swarms of Indians' coming over in every ship to Kenya was absurd. They never *had* come in 'swarms' before; and they were never likely to do so in the future. Major Grogan and Lord Delamere had cried "Wolf"! too often. In the end, the cry lost its effect.

So, after the 'Conversations' in London, in 1923, Kenya affairs seemed for a time to settle down. The Europeans felt that they had won completely two out of the three major issues:

- (1) They had obtained for the future the franchise on a strictly racial basis.
- (2) They had obtained also the exclusive right of owning agricultural land in the Kenya Highlands.

In this way, they had finally established a 'colour bar' in East Africa, not unlike that which had already been established in South Africa.

But on the third point, 'Restricted Immigration,' the Europeans, as I have said, had been defeated. Both races were allowed to come in, on payment of a deposit, provided their entry could not be shown to be detrimental to the interests of the African native.

One further point told in favour of the 'open door' for Indians into Kenya. Tanganyika, which is Kenya's neighbour, was placed under the League of Nations, after the War, as a Mandated Territory. Great Britain took it over, in trust, from the League of Nations, under certain express conditions. One of these conditions was that there should be no discrimination against any Nation, which was an original signatory of the Covenant of the League. India, as a signatory, held that position. Therefore, Indians could not be excluded from Tanganyika, which was under the Covenant of the League of Nations. This obviously made it more difficult to exclude Indians from Kenya; for it would be invidious to admit Indians into Tanganyika and exclude them from Kenya.

These two practical arguments, (1) that the Indians were not increasing rapidly in Kenya, (2) that the Indians could not be, in any circumstance, excluded from the neighbouring territory of Tanganyika, told in the end with the European settlers in the Highlands, who were the political leaders in Kenya.

A further event happened later which modified the whole position of the settlers.

The two protagonists, Major Grogan and Lord Delamere, no longer took the lead. Major Grogan retired from active politics having made a very large fortune. Lord Delamere passed

away. His death occurred suddenly in Kenya, in the midst of the struggle.

Sir Francis Scott, who now leads the Europeans settlers, is not intransigent, on the Indian question, as these two former leaders were. He has a greater sense of proportion.

Therefore, during the past five years, the restriction of Indian immigration, which was such a burning question during the Kenya Conversations in London, in 1923, has tended to fall more into the background. This does not imply that the Indian in Kenya has become less unpopular with the average European. It only means that the constant anxiety lest the Indian should get the upper hand, through weight of numbers, has begun to diminish. Each year the Government statistics tell the opposite story. The Europeans are increasing, while the Indians are decreasing.

## II

Quite unexpectedly, the change in the world economic position has put a new weapon against the Indian into the European settler's hands, and we are on the eve of a new struggle to oust the Indian from East Africa, as far as possible, not by the political means, but by using the new economic factors.

This weapon is the employment of economic monopolies for marketing African 'native produce.' These monopolies would be usually either European or State-owned, and they would eliminate the Indian trader as middleman and creditor of the African native.

The Indian in East Africa from time immemorial has been the trader of African 'native produce.' He has always pressed forward with his store (or *duka*, as it is called in East Africa), wherever it has been possible to obtain trade. He has marketed for the African native the surplus produce which the latter wished to sell in order to obtain in return cotton cloth and other things. In carrying on this form of trade, the Indian has often undergone very great hardships; and I have wondered at his bravery in facing the dangers of the climate and the wild surroundings.

He lives out on the edge of the jungle and in the most malarial regions in order to get close to the Africans from whom he purchases goods and to whom he sells goods in return. Very many Indians die of fever. Some are injured by wild beasts, or even by human violence, in such out of the way places. There is very little police-protection.

All these risks are taken for what, after all, is often a miserable pittance. The Indian trader



passes a wretchedly lonely existence. No other people would undertake such work and no European could stand such untoward and solitary conditions.

There is also keen competition between these Indian store-keepers. The African soon realizes where he can get the best price for his own produce and also the cheapest cloth for his own use, and he has learnt to have a shrewd eye for making a good bargain. The one thing that has encouraged the Indian to continue such an isolated existence is the comparative freedom to make his money in his own way, with very little interference and every encouragement given to thrift. Thrift is in his very nature, and here is an open field for it. That is the main inducement to him to live such laborious days.

I have often visited such store-keepers, when on tour. They are called *duka-wallas* in East Africa. Also I have met them in other parts of the world, such as Southern Rhodesia, Trinidad, Fiji and elsewhere. They are all of the same type. They have many kindly virtues, of which hospitality is one of the greatest. Nothing was too good to offer me on such occasions, if they had anything to offer; and they would be indignant if I even suggested any payment. I have sat in such shops for a long time, after some tiring journey, and have watched the Africans, or other races, come and go, for barter or purchase.

The very first thing which I have noticed is the familiar and friendly relationship between the Indian and the African. The African will stay for hours, loitering about the shop, picking up this or that, and asking its price. Meanwhile, others come in, and the shop is almost turned into a club, where they laugh and talk, and in the end make some very small purchases. *Never once have I seen any rudeness or rough treatment on the part of the Indian store-keeper.*

A European would be driven frantic by such methods of business and such leisurely purchasers; but the Indian easily puts up with it in a good-humoured manner. He knows a little of the language of the African, after a curious fashion, pronouncing it in his own way, but somehow making himself understood. There is no fear in the relationship between the two races; and this makes all the difference in a country where the 'fear of the European' is almost everywhere dominant. Only with certain missionaries, who have been able to cast out such fear by love, is there such freedom as there is with Indians.

I would like to make this point well under-

stood; for it is the key to the whole matter. The Indian may have some bad qualities. His penurious thrift may induce him to take advantage of the ignorance of the African. He may drive hard bargains. There may be other vices also. But he is entirely free from that curse of bullying and terrorizing which haunts him in the presence of many Europeans and adds another 'fear' to the African's terror-ridden existence. The African can always be at his ease with an Indian store-keeper, while he can very rarely be at ease with any European. I have seen this, not in one land only, but in many countries, and I have put it to the test in a hundred ways. Therefore, I know it to be true.

Let me give one slight example. Only a short time ago I was at Enkeldoorn, in Southern Rhodesia, where I stayed for a time, during a long and trying journey, at the store of Mr. Desai. He dealt in what was called 'native produce,' from the Reserve, which was near at hand. There were about five other Indian store-keepers in the place and we decided to hold a meeting, at which I should tell them about the Indian Earthquake in North Bihar, and also about Mahatma Gandhi. There were African men and women in the shop who had come out of the Reserve. While we had our meeting, Mr. Desai closed his store. He did it very quietly and the Africans obeyed immediately when he asked them to go outside the shop for a short time.

As soon as our meeting was over, Mr. Desai opened his store again, and I noticed that every African, both man and woman, who had been there before, came back to the shop and began bargaining and laughing and talking. Not one had gone away!

Surely this complete absence of fear and restraint is a human asset of very great value. I asked Mr. Desai about this and he said to me that the same leisurely way of doing business, or even of looking on, went on every morning and afternoon and sometimes late in the evening. It was the only way of doing trade; and he personally did not mind the inconvenience, for it seemed to suit the African native. But what European could ever afford the time and patience to carry on trade like that?

### III

The last visit which I have just paid to different parts of Africa, has saddened me. I have been where Indians are congregated, engaged in trades such as I have pictured. On every side I have seen something approaching destitution.

Owing to the economic depression, the Europeans who are in authority seem to have



determined, *in the interests of the native Africans*, (as they assert), to scrap the economic system of trading, bargaining and marketing, in which the Indian has played such an important part, and to make the 'native produce' a monopoly which only the monopoly-holder can buy and sell under Government authority. It is held by them that in this way the value of the 'native produce' can be raised and the African can get a better price for it than he could under the old system of individual bargaining and competition.

Under the old system, the European says, the African native did not get a fair deal. It was ruinous, wasteful, extravagant. Indians, as middle-men and money-lenders, on a small scale, really had the African natives at their mercy. Thrift and business astuteness gave the Indian an advantage over the lazy, good-natured African.

Furthermore, the European argues, the price of the 'native produce' had gone so low, partly owing to unwholesome competition that the African native and the Indian store-keeper himself were getting nothing out of the trade. The 'bottom had gone out of the market.'

Thus the European, who is in authority, justifies the creation of these new monopolies, controlled by the State, as being the only way of rescuing the trade in 'native produce' from bankruptcy.

In Zanzibar, for instance, the Clove market had very greatly suffered, owing to the economic depression. The Indian middleman had gone on advancing credit to the clove-growers to enable them to tide over the depression. In doing so, without any return, the Indian himself had become nearly bankrupt. The Government was at its wit's end and appointed two Commissions.

Mr. C. F. Strickland, an old Indian Civilian, was asked to come over and advise the Zanzibar Government on the economic situation. He examined the whole field and warned the Zanzibar Government against the short-cut of a Monopoly. Instead of this, he put forward a carefully thought-out scheme of co-operative credit and marketing. This proposal, the Indian middlemen and traders were ready loyally to accept and also to help to make a success.

But the Zanzibar Government, listening to the advice of Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Last, two of their own officers, who formed the second Commission, decided that Mr. Strickland's proposal would take too long to develop, and the crisis was urgent. Therefore, they determined to take the short-cut of a 'Clove Monopoly.' That is to say, they decided to do the very thing against which Mr. Strickland had warned them.

It may be said that these economic problems will in the end right themselves; that the Zanzibar Government, when they have burnt their own fingers over a State Monopoly, will come back to the old method of trade which they are now discarding. It may be said further that in Kenya and Tanganyika things may right themselves, in their own way, by the inevitable law of supply and demand, which is greater than all monopolies, and that then the Indian trader will have his rightful place given to him once more. This argument is being used by those who have given way to the new economic pressure and failed to resist it.

But meanwhile, serious things are happening. Fundamental rights are being threatened. For instance, in Zanzibar, one of the methods of obtaining a State monopoly in marketing is to make the land of Zanzibar inalienable to Indians. This takes away, at one sweep, the right of land purchase, which Indians as citizens have possessed for over a hundred years. By the new Act, the land of Zanzibar has now been actually alienated from Indians in the same way as the Kenya Highlands. No Indian can now purchase land without the Resident's sanction. With one stroke of the pen, this fundamental human right is abolished by racial legislation.

Or again,—to show what is happening beyond repair,—owing to these new monopolies in 'native produce' the Indian store-keeper is almost doomed. The only fate left to him will be to take a post under the monopoly itself. This monopoly, however, is almost certain to fall into the hands of a European, and the European may act on the principle of eliminating as many Indians as possible. He may even take credit for doing so, and believe that he is 'protecting the African native.' If he adopts this position the Indian must leave the country.

Even today the result of this has become obvious. The steamers going back to India are loaded with deck passengers. The net loss of Indian population in Kenya alone, during the last six years, has been six thousand persons. The Indian population, instead of increasing, has fallen from 40,000 to 34,000 and it is likely to fall even more rapidly if this new economic system of monopolies gets a firmer footing in all the territories.

Already this system of monopolies has been adopted and laws have been passed in Uganda, Zanzibar and Tanganyika. Only in Kenya, has there been as yet no actual legislation. But we are told that new laws are now impending there also.

The most specious thing about this is that



the whole of this economic monopoly system is being put forward in the supposed interest of the native African. He himself, of course, has no voice in the matter. There is no attempt, even, to explain it to him, or to get his own opinion. But the news is circulated everywhere that in these hard economic times the only way to save the African is by means of these monopolies, which will eliminate the middleman, who is making all the profits.

Since the middleman is usually an Indian, the matter at once takes a racial aspect.

With the well-known dislike of the Indian present everywhere among the European settlers, it is easy to paint the Indian in the darkest colours, as being the chief cause of the trade

depression and of the misery that has followed from it. In this way, prejudices are accentuated and the bitterness between the races, which seemed to be dying down, has been once more stirred up. The primitive African himself is being taught to look upon the Indian store-keeper as his enemy rather than as his friend. The Arab in Zanzibar is taught to do the same.

The picture that I have drawn is a dark one; and it may happen that some sudden rise in staple prices, due to world economic improvement, may take away some of its gloom. But while the present state of things lasts, the position of Indians in East Africa, as traders, becomes more and more untenable.

## THE MAURYAN POLITY

By PROF. U. N. GHOSHAL, M. A., Ph. D.

THE substantial volume\* forming the subject of the present paper consists, apart from a short prefatory note, of seven chapters bearing the titles—sources of information, extent and character of the Empire, the central administration, provincial and local governments and the State in relation to *Dharma*. Two lengthy appendices “The authenticity of the Kautalya” and “Megasthenes and Kautalya” bring it to a close.

It is not possible to deal here adequately with all the interesting points raised by the author in the course of his exhaustive survey. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with noticing a few important points from the first four chapters of his work. In the first chapter relating to the sources of information the author complacently accepts (pp. 4-5) what he calls “the categorical list of the thirteen kings of the Maurya dynasty” with their total reign-period of 232 years, though in the same breath he admits that some Purāṇas mention only nine kings with their reign-period of 137 years. It is difficult to understand the justification of this dynastic list in the present work, since the author has not attempted even to trace the development of political institutions through the successive reigns. In the same chapter, while dealing with the Arthaśāstra, the author seeks at great length (p. 6 ff.) to disprove the arguments of Profs. Keith, Winternitz and Jolly against the traditionally accepted date of the work. But he is content for the most part to repeat the well-known arguments of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Dr. Shamasastry and the late Mm. Ganapati Sastri. The author, however, for once cuts the gordian knot by deriving

the words ‘śulba’ and ‘suruṅgā’ of the Arthaśāstra (reputed by his opponents to be of Greek origin) from the Dravidian languages. This etymology, to say the least, is uncertain and it does not exclude the possibility of the ultimate derivation of the words from a Greek source.

It is difficult to agree with the author’s view (p. 49) [for which the only direct authority is a late 12th century inscription] to the effect that the dominion of the Nandas certainly included a considerable portion of Southern India; nor are we convinced of the soundness of the arguments advanced by him to deny a possible set-back of the Maurya power at the beginning of its history. The heading of the section *Rājaviśayas* (pp. 67-69) is belied by its contents which are concerned with the dependent states of Aśoka’s Empire. Such territories are rightly called (p. 68) ‘vassal’ or ‘feudatory’ States by the author, though he equally applies to them the singularly inappropriate title of ‘sovereign States within the Empire.’

The author’s views (p. 72 ff) on the character of Ancient Indian empires in general and of the Maurya Empire in particular aim at a scientific exactitude which is not justified either by the vague and indefinite character of the evidence, or the known diversity of types of the Ancient Hindu empires. Premising that the Ancient Indian empires were overlordships of the ruling authority and nothing more, he proceeds, on hardly sufficient grounds, to bring them into relation with the *Maṇḍala* theory of the Arthaśāstra and the *Niti* literature. It would indeed be quite extraordinary, if the Indian imperial systems sketched in the literature on polity and those existing through all the centuries of the pre-Muhammadan period should belong to one and the same uniform type. The author further holds (p. 78) that “the State in Ancient India, at least so far

\* THE MAURYAN POLITY: By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M. A., Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras. (Madras University Historical Series No. VIII.)



as the Mauryan India (sic) was concerned, was not unitary in type but federal in character." The constitution, he goes on to explain (p. 79), was "a confederation of a number of states effected not necessarily by treaty, but with the express consent of the parties themselves." This comfortable theory is not affected by the acknowledged fact that the imperial officers were stationed at the provincial headquarters, for their function, according to our author, was merely to suppress political risings and enforce payment of tribute. It is difficult to attach much weight to such statements as they are unsupported by any evidence worth the name. Equally unconvincing is the author's statement (p. 80 ff.) regarding the ends of the Mauryan State. According to him, it was not a military rule at all, but it was 'spiritual in character' and religious in scope (sic), "nay more, it approached the Hegelian doctrine of morality being the end of the State. His only argument, as it appears, is the traditional view regarding the king's duty of enforcing *Dharma*. Apart from the fact that it fails to make allowance for the divergence between theory and practice, this view is open to the objection that it completely ignores the known difference in the character of the Mauryan State between the period of aggressive militarism under Candragupta and Bindusāra and the period of Aśoka's *Dhammaviya*. We may incidentally remark that the Hegelian 'sittlichkeit' is very imperfectly translated by the author as 'morality' and should rather be rendered as 'Social Ethics' (cf. Barker, *Political Thought in England* from Herbert Spencer to the present day, p. 27). In the same context the author applies von (wrongly printed as in similar cases with a capital 'v') Holtzendorff's doctrine of the triple end of the State to the Mauryan polity. This may have the merit of novelty, but unhappily the arguments in its favour are never explicitly stated. In this connection, we notice a typical example of the author's habitual method of forced reasoning in his explanation of *der nationale Machtzweck* as 'claiming a position of overlordship over other states.'

Hardly less unsatisfactory is the author's view (p. 86 ff.) regarding the nature of the Mauryan monarchy. Neither the authentic record of the Mauryas, nor the text of the *Arthasāstra* justifies the statement that "generally elder sons succeeded, while other sons were sent out as provincial viceroys or posted in other superior stations." At least, the example of Mahendra should have shown that some princes of the imperial blood shunned the allurements of official honours for the yellow robe of the Buddhist monk.

The author mentions (p. 87) practically as an Ancient Indian constitutional rule or maxim that the king could not hold regal titles or assume regal functions before performing the *Abhisecaniya* ceremony for which there was an age limit of 24 years. But this view is only a matter of inference from very incomplete data, while the rendering of *Abhisecaniya* (twice translated as 'anointing ceremony' p. 87) cannot but be regarded as very unfortunate.

The author holds with Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (p. 90) that the Maurya king was a constitutional monarch. His arguments on this important question, however, are hardly convincing. He takes Aśoka's *Sāsana* to mean not the promulgation of a new law but the declaration of an old one and he tries to support this interpretation by saying that Aśoka's penalty for creating schism in the Saṃgha was

"only a counterpart of the penalty of banishment to the misbehaved according to the *Dharmaśāstras*." It is difficult to understand how this line of reasoning can be applied to other measures of the great Maurya such as his suppression of certain types of Samājas and his comprehensive regulations for restricting the slaughter of animals. In the same connection we are told (p. 95) that "the king usually consulted his councillors and the assembly of ministers as well" before finally deciding upon an action. We fail to understand how this right of being consulted (which according to the author's showing was not a universal practice) can be construed into a right to control the king. We do not again know on what authority it is asserted that "the representatives of the groups and communities sat and discussed the affairs of the state" (sic) in "the chambers of the council and of the assembly," thus practically forming a counterpart of the representation of Estates in Mediaeval Europe. Proceeding with his argument the author follows the authority of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in interpreting a text of the *Divyāvadāna* to mean that "the pariṣad (council) exercised real executive powers and the king was only a nominal sovereign authority"—nay more, 'he goes so far as to state that the polity of the ancient Mauryas resembled "the present parliamentary system of Great Britain" where "the real sovereign authority is the parliament though the formal assent of the king is necessary to every administrative measure". The author evidently is not aware that Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of the above passage was subjected to a long and destructive criticism by the present reviewer in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Vol. VI. No. 4), where it was shown that the alleged deposition of Aśoka was taken in all the versions of the legend to be an act of usurpation and nothing more. It is interesting to note that elsewhere (p. 90) the author explains the identical passage of the *Divyāvadāna* to mean that Aśoka entrusted the kingdom to his servants, which of course is fatal to his theory of constitutional sovereignty of the ministers. We further notice that the author in another context (p. 132) makes the discovery that there was no permanent council and that "new ministers were appointed (evidently by the king himself) every three or five years" to prevent administrative abuses. We leave the author to reconcile this statement with his theory of real sovereignty of the ministers. Turning to another point, we fail to see how Aśoka's well-known solicitude for the welfare of his subjects can be made to prove that he was no despot but a constitutional sovereign (p. 100). On the contrary, it means, if anything, that his government conformed to the best type of benevolent despotism. That this is also the author's real view is shown by his words in the preface (p. 8) where we are told that 'the (Mauryan) constitution was a benevolent form of monarchy with democratic institutions'.

The section on taxation and accounts (p. 141 ff) is not only incomplete but also misleading. This is all the more regrettable as the point has been fully treated by the present reviewer in his work *Hindu Revenue System* which is quoted by the author in the list of 'Books consulted'. To begin with the branch of the land revenue (loosely called by the author 'land-tax'), we find him including under this head even *sītā* (tr. as 'produce of the crown lands'). This item again is dismissed in less than a line, though the *Arthasāstra* describes it at some length. Dealing with *bhāga* (the king's share of the produce of private



lands) the author thinks it sufficient to quote Hopkins's authority for discrediting Megasthenes. But he completely ignores the brilliant interpretation of Dr. Berleor, which has put the vexed text of Megasthenes in an altogether new light, as has been shown in the "*Hindu Revenue System*". In connection with this point the author thinks that 'bhāga' was fixed at the traditional rate of one-sixth, but it has elsewhere been shown (*Hindu Revenue System*—p. 35) that the king's grain-share in the Arthaśāstra is assessed at different rates on different classes of soils. The author's account of the remaining branches of revenue mentioned in the Arthaśāstra is hopelessly incomplete and consists practically of a catalogue of names.

We shall conclude this review by making a few remarks on the style of the present work. Of lapses of idiom and composition there are numerous examples—cf. 'included into' (p. 1), 'detracts the value' (pp. 37 and 330), 'incorporating into' (p. 74), 'the social organisation insisted in the Arthaśāstra' (p. 83) 'bestowed special care to' (p. 87), 'iron hands' (p. 95), 'taking the stand at the pedestal' (p. 130), 'calls as' (p. 319), 'bears to the fact' (p. 312) etc. etc. On page 88 "on the eve of his life" is a serious misprint for

'in the evening of his life'. On page 149 'cavalry-soldiers' and 'elephant-men' can only be regarded as exceedingly awkward. The transliteration is often inaccurate—cf. 'prayachati' (p. 97), 'ārabdhānuṣṭāna' and 'anuṣṭitaviṣeṣa' (p. 134), 'bhūyistah' (p. 136), 'Gotamukha' (p. 317), 'Irāvada' and 'Sākara' (p. 318) etc. For want of uniformity in transliteration—cf. *Candragupta* (pp. 195, 197 etc.) and *Chandāsoka* (p. 130). The use of foreign words which is a notable feature of this work is often faulty—cf. 'argumentum ex silentium' (p. 12), 'edito princeps' (p. 311), while instances of misprints are—'sittlicheit' (p. 81), 'gezelleschaftliche culturzweek' (p. 82). All those faults of omission and commission are conspicuously present in the long and formidable list of *Books consulted*, occurring at the end of the work. We find there among examples too numerous to mention, such strange forms as *Buddhagoṣa's Samantapadasika*, *Dandi—Daśakumāracaritram*, *Vyavahara-mayuka*, *Pāṇini Vyākaraṇa*, *Walter's Yuan Chwang*, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Society*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Bengal, Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, *Childer's Pali Dictionary*, *U. N. Gosāl*, *A. Hildebrandt*, *Uvasaga Dasi*, *Les Theories Diplomatiques in Ancien Indien*, *H. C. Rayachaudri*. Comment is Needless.

## DECCAN'S PRE-HISTOTY

### SIX-THOUSAND YEAR OLD FINDS IN MYSORE

BY R. RAMASWAMI, B.A., B. L.

**R**ICH already in ancient monuments of a large variety, present excavations in the Mysore State have produced richer Archeological Treasures dating back to several centuries, B. C. Complete success has attended the labours of Dr. M. H. Krishna, M. A., D. Litt (London), the Director-General of Archaeology in Mysore, the Chandravalli valley near Chitaldrug in North Mysore forming the site of excavations.

The excavations reveal over half a dozen inhabited layers of varying dates. The oldest dates back to 4,000 B. C., being contemporaneous with the Campignian culture of France and the Getulan of Africa as also the Pygmy flint culture of the Vidhyas.

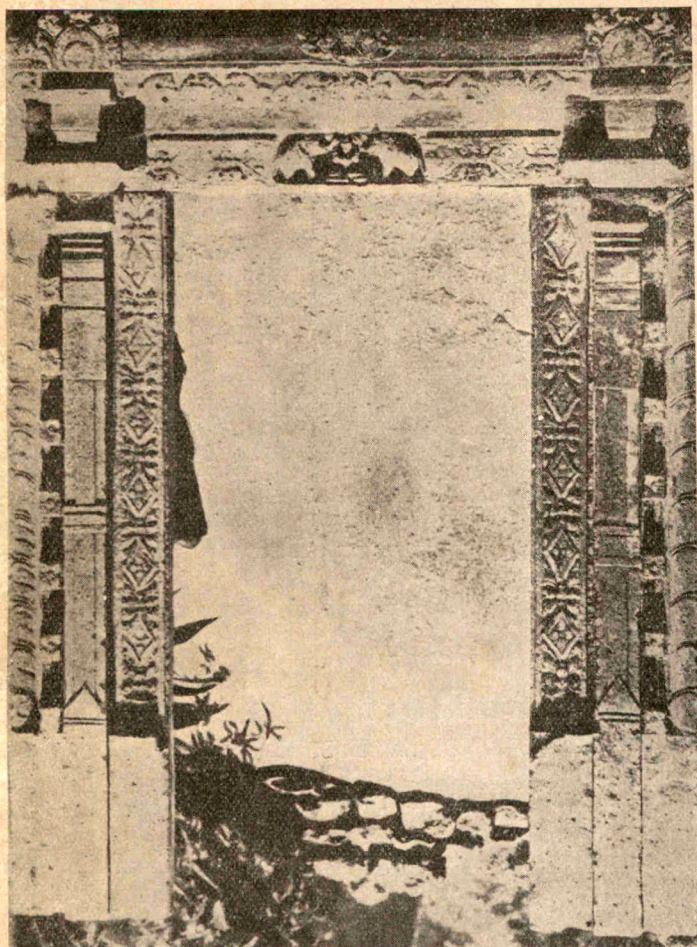
While men of the different periods of the Stone as well as the Iron Age have admittedly lived here, an interesting discovery is the presence of implements from both Ages in one and the same place in parts of the site under excavation. This not unnaturally leads Dr. Krishna to infer that "the Chandravalli valley area was one of those in the Deccan in

which neolithic man passed from the Stone Age to the Metal Age", and the pre-historic



Pottery discovered in one of the lowermost levels  
Copyright : Archeological Survey of Mysore





An artistic door-frame in an upper level  
Copyright : Archaeological Survey of Mysore

men of Chandravalli might therefore "have been among those who invented or at least were among the first to adapt the use of iron."

Among the tools found and identified as belonging to the prior period may be mentioned a crystal arrow-head, finely retouched, knife-blades, scrapers, small well-ground, flat and triangular-shaped celts etc. Those of the adjoining higher levels include fishing hooks, iron-slugs as well as iron-smelting appliances.

#### POTTERY

In addition to plenty of potsherds of a wide range, specimens of pottery in their entirety have also been recovered. Some from the lowermost levels were ornamented

with geometrical and plant designs ; while pottery of a somewhat later date were polished, glazed and beautifully finished.

The following are the entire contents of one of the many stone cists from the lowermost levels : polished blackware cups ; bowls with tight-fitting saucer or pagoda-shaped lids ; miniature vessels ; phials for unguents ; small three-footed red-ware vases ; pieces of an elephant-legged urn.

Marks of sun-burning as well as fire-burning, and hand-turning as well as wheel-turning are noticeable. Clay freely mixed with mica has been used.

The archaeologist has come across an interesting stone drain too. It is vaulted above, and some feet over it, at one spot, was a stone cist ; from this the drain's age has been estimated at 2,500 years at least from now. Following the course of the drain, a stone cistern was discovered. The arrangement for discharge into it was found to be through a brick-pipe—cylindrical in shape and well-burnt in appearance—measuring five inches in diameter.

#### THE HIGHER LEVELS

Now commence what may be called the historical levels ; for, the Satavahanas, their occupants, are pretty well known monarchs who wielded power over large tracts about twenty centuries ago. A number of foundations—one evidently of a palace—have been dug up. The bricks—large, strong and well-burnt—were found cemented in the fashion now commonly known as 'English bonding'.

Seals, coins of lead and gold, articles of ivory and gold, pretty human and animal figurines also come from this layer. Some stray coins from here were previously sent to and have been identified by Mr. Rapson of the British Museum.

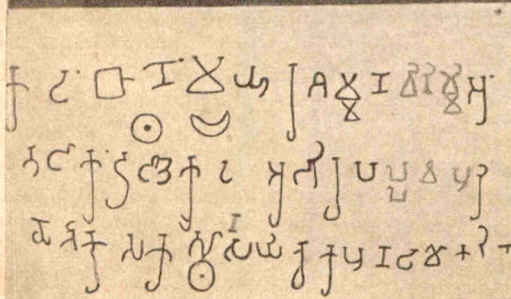




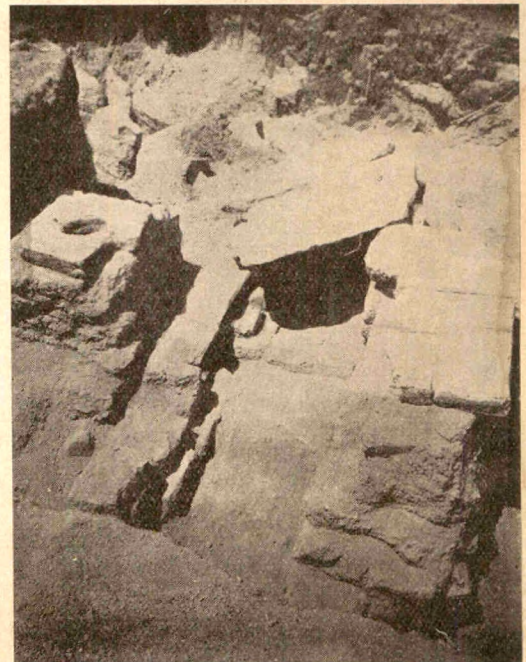
A stone drain nearly 5,000 years old  
Copyright : Archaeological Survey of Mysore



One of the Pots found in a Satavahanan layer  
Copyright : Archaeological Survey of Mysore



The Kadamba Inscription  
Copyright : Archaeological Survey of Mysore



The Cistern at one end of the stone drain  
Copyright : Archaeological Survey of Mysore



A Chinese coin of 130 B. C., and some silver Roman coins—the oldest being of Augustus Caesar—also deserve mention.

The first layer to be met—and the latest in date, about 800 years old—has been identified as belonging to the Hoysala period. (The Hoysalas were a line of noted Mysore monarchs from whom the present ruler claims descent.) Among finds of their design and authorship are coins, figurines and sculptures, excavated from this level. A particularly pleasing and valuable specimen is an artistic door-frame carved with swans, floral designs and Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity.

Before beginning to dig, Dr. Krishna made two very valuable discoveries. One is an

inscription (280 A. D.) of Mayurasarman, the Kadamba ruler, and hailed by epigraphists as a rare find of first-rate importance for the history of India.

The other is the figure of a tiger, chiselled on a hitherto unnoticed boulder of rock. Apart from the fact that many of the prehistoric finds were excavated from its neighbourhood, the manner in which the carving is executed and the pattern of the animal suggest its very ancient origin.

NOTE. *Translation of the Kadamba Inscription:* "(This) tank (was) constructed by Mayurasarman of the Kadambas who (has) defeated Trekuta, Abhira, Pallava, Pariyatrika, Sakasthana, Sayindaka, Punata and Mokari."

## GERMAN EDUCATION UNDER NATIONAL SOCIALISM

By G. S. KHAIR, M. A., Ph. D.

### EDUCATION AND THE REVOLUTION

"**H**ELL Hitler" is the greeting with which the German teacher of today welcomes you to his class-room. I was visiting a Real-gymnasium in Berlin. The boys were reading Rudyard Kipling's stories. There was some reference to India. The teacher took advantage of this situation and asked me to speak a few words on India before the class. Then the boys were allowed to ask questions to the visitor. One typical question was, "What do you think of Hitler's speech?" On another occasion I was visiting an elementary school for girls. A lesson in history was going on in a class where the girls were about twelve years old. An interesting conversation ensued here between the class and myself. Two significant questions asked by these little girls were: "What do you think of the German national movement? Are the Indian people united?"

The University of Berlin has taken the appearance of a military academy. More than half the students are clad in the Nazi uniform, with khaki, helmet, and sometimes a sword hanging by the side. While passing through Heidleberg, I had a walk through the University quarters there. It was about ten o'clock at night. About two hundred students were taking military drill. It was raining, and the bystanders were watching under their umbrellas. In Frankfurt-on-Main, I could see the whole of the student population there, parading through the streets with drums and flags, when the rest of the city was thinking of going to bed. About twenty miles from Berlin is a work-camp that I

visited one afternoon. A hundred University students were cutting down the forest making roads, digging tunnels, and putting railway lines. They were working with and like ordinary workmen.

This is the spirit of the new German education.

The recent Revolution in Germany is not merely political. It aims at redirecting the whole cultural life and outlook of the people. It wants to penetrate into the farthest strata of the German society and thus lay the psychological foundation of the new State, as envisaged by the leaders of today. To accomplish this comprehensive task the state has taken control of education and used it as a social instrument. The whole nation is throbbing with new life, which has greatly influenced German education. The ideals and aspirations of the nation have placed their stamp on the school and the University.

### PHILOSOPHY OF GERMAN EDUCATION

"Soil and blood", this is the point of reference for the German educational philosophy. It aims at creating in the younger generation an ardent love for everything that is German. The ultimate aim of the new education is to build up a German culture out of the history, traditions, and aspirations of Germany herself, and to create among the German people the consciousness of being 'one folk,' bound together by race and common purpose.

German education wants to foster in the younger generation the consciousness of nationalism. Since the Great War, the ideals of inter-



nationalism and pacifism was fast spreading in Germany. This was considered to be quite undesirable in Germany, in view of the situation created by the Versailles Treaty. The German youth must be prepared to fight and die for his fatherland. This can be done only when the German youth knew his country, his land, his people and his cultural heritage.

The individuality of Germany's culture has to be maintained. It is to be safeguarded from being merged into a cosmopolitan culture. German youths must be introduced to their heritage of folklore, music, painting, literature, history, philosophy and art. Everything in its future development must show the stamp of having risen up out of German soil and traditions. Other cultures will be studied and treated with respect. But they would not be allowed to mar the individuality of German culture.

Since her defeat in the World War, Germany was suffering from an inferiority complex. The Revolution brought with it the idea that the German people were the pure descendants of the Aryan race, conspicuous for the qualities of adventure, inventiveness, character, and dominance over inferior races. The integrity of this race has to be maintained in future by keeping it aloof from confusion with other races. The younger generation must be made conscious of this race superiority through the study of 'Rassenkunde' or race science.

National unity and unanimous following for the leader can be secured only through the suppression of individualism. The individual is to be merged into the state. The younger generation must be trained in an atmosphere of discipline and obedience. It is to be taught to show implicit obedience to its leader. This emphasis on leadership and obedience is a reaction against the principles of democracy and free thinking which had created so many political parties in Germany before the Revolution.

The new education in Germany has definite ideals before it. The creation of a powerful nation with a national consciousness is the main objective. The cultural individuality of Germany has to be preserved and developed. The German youth is to be made self-conscious through a feeling of race-superiority. And finally the implicit following of the whole German nation has to be secured by inculcating the principles of leadership and discipline.

#### LARGER CONCEPTION OF EDUCATION

The German programme of education is not confined to the school and the class-room. It is quite comprehensive. In fact, the new pedagogues make a fine distinction between education and instruction. Instruction is technical and specific; it can be given by any expert, no matter whatever his personality is. But education is something higher and finer than instruction. It takes place in an atmosphere of idealism, in the

school and out of it. The teacher himself must have character, personality, and national ideals. Children can be educated not only in the school but also in the community, on the playfield, in their associations, and on the work-camps. The programme of National-Socialist education, therefore, embraces all these fields outside the school and the University.

The Nazi pedagogy is not really new. Germany is a land of educational theories and experiments. The raw materials of the new education were there. The Nazi educational leaders wove them into a consistent philosophy, and breathed into it a new life by harnessing it to the ideals of national socialism.



Dr. Prof. Krieck—a leader of German education and author of National Political Education.

#### FIRST PLACE TO PHYSICAL EDUCATION

When war comes, man must be man. The ideal is to form soldier-like personalities. The old ideal was that of a scholar. The new ideal is that of a soldier and a scholar. The pacifist attitude towards war and peace is discarded. Those who were killed in war are not unfortunate victims; they are heroes and patriots. The young generation will be taught to worship these heroes and follow their example. It is the duty of every German to fight when his country is attacked. Since peace is not secured through treaties and diplomacy, the nation must ever be prepared to defend itself. This is why the new government has given the foremost place to physical education in its new plan.

The time given to physical activities is increased by the schools and Universities. Classes on Saturday have been abolished in the colleges and the time is given to drill and games. In the gymnasiums or high schools also more time is given to gymnastics and games. The aim is to develop endurance and agility. Free activities are preferred to the use of heavy apparatus. More emphasis is placed on excursions and camping. Every class will give at least three or four days a term for excursions. Once in a year there will



be a camp of two to three weeks for every school. During these excursions and camps boys will be trained in the observation of the topography, measuring distances, reading maps, and leading a camp life. The state will pay the expenses of these trips in the case of poor children. The government has two-fold objective in this programme. Boys from urban schools will spend some time outdoors and acquire good health. At the same time they will come in contact with their land and their people, and thus know their country at first hand.

Girls are also included in the programme of physical education. Their training is entirely different from that of boys. There will be no mixed classes of boys and girls. The programme for girls is less strenuous. It is intended to promote health and grace. The object is to make healthy mothers and wives, whereas the aim in the training of boys is to make them soldiers.

#### COLLEGE STUDENTS LEARN DIGNITY OF LABOUR

The social trend in the German education is seen in the new institution created for the educated youth. This is the *Arbeits-laga* or the 'Work Camp.' With great difficulty, I could secure admission to such a camp. I had to prolong my stay in Berlin and visit a number of offices and officials before I could secure a car and a guide! The idea behind the *Arbeits-laga* deserves careful study by Indian educators.

About twenty miles from Berlin are two small villages—*Schon-wald* and *Velten*, where two *Arbeits-lagas* are established. One presents the appearance of temporary barracks in a forest. Another has quite nice and decent permanent buildings erected by the help of college youths. Young men above the age of eighteen live for one or two terms in these camps. After the *Baccalaureate* or high school graduation (about *Intermediate* in India), every boy has to pass through the work-camp for a year or half, before being admitted to a University. The boys here lead a simple and strenuous life. They wear khaki uniforms and observe military discipline. The whole atmosphere is that of order, obedience, and serious work. Rich and poor all students live here as in a community, partaking of the same simple food, living a hard life, and working with the ordinary labourers.

About six to seven hours a day are given to manual work which is useful to the country, but which does not deprive the ordinary workers of their jobs. Forests are cut down, new roads are constructed, railway lines are laid, tunnels and canals are dug out, and colonies are established in places where formerly no man lived. Here the workers and students work together, forgetting their social and academic distinctions. To maintain the social significance of this organization, the number of academic people is always limited to about one-third. Two hours in the

evening are devoted to sports which appear to be of a semi-military character. An hour in the evening is given to class work where instruction is offered in 'nationology'. The problem of German nationalism are discussed here in order to provide a rational background for all the training that is given on the camp. The work-camp idea is an entirely new page in the history of higher education. Universities all over the world have reached a stage when they are producing graduates disproportionate to the demand in society. Owing to the over-academic character of this education, aloofness from the economic struggle, and seclusion from the other social classes, these young people become snobbish and incapable of useful work in society. Consequently the ranks of the educated unemployed are swelling in all countries. The *Arbeits-laga* is partially a solution of this universal problem.

All young boys must know what physical labour is. This experience should come before admission to University education. When the contempt for manual work is eradicated, some boys may possibly be diverted into practical fields of work. The congestion in the Universities may thus be relieved. Apart from these economic considerations, German educators have social aims in the organization of this institution. In order to bring about a reconciliation among the social classes, they must come together on equal status and have common experiences. Young boys must know the workers and farmers of the nation at first-hand by actually working with them. Patriotism cannot be genuine unless you know your "Volks". The work-camp is also a weapon to combat the individualism of German youths. Formerly the rich students lived in fraternities of their own, drinking beer, wearing insignia, shining in fashionable clothes, and looking down with snobbery upon poor people. Now they have to live a common life along with the ordinary students. These camps are also intended to counter-act the urban lure of young people, by taking them to the country and keeping them in contact with nature, far away from cities and factories.

#### EDUCATION IN CITIZENSHIP—HITLER JUGEND

The leaders of the Nazi revolution have taken care to ensure the continuity of their movement. They have enlisted all the young boys and girls in an organization which automatically leads them into membership of the National-Socialist party. The Hitler Jugend or Hitler Youth is a nation-wide organization with its central office at Berlin, which holds the record of every young member and leader. Young children at the age of eight become members by paying a small membership fee. The movement is privately organized and financed but encouraged and patronized by the State. The Hitler Youth is essentially a part of the National-Socialist movement, not a superfluous appendage of it.



The children of Germany are made to feel that they are citizens of the nation now and today. They ought to discharge their civic responsibility even in student life. Their fate is tied up with that of Germany, and they are a part and parcel of the German folks. The feeling of national integrity is thus fostered in the young mind.

The Hitler Youth organization is not merely for sport and recreation. Members participate in the social and political work wherever and whenever it is possible. They help poor children in their locality, collect winter relief, keep order in political processions and meetings, and take part in occasional demonstrations. They also organize hikes, excursions, outdoor camps and thus keep contact with the country.

The leadership for this movement is drawn from the youths themselves. All the officers are young, still they carry all responsibility. The qualities of leadership are watched and encouraged. The National-Socialist party is in close touch with the movement and depends upon it for its future leaders. The Hitler Jugend thus makes up the political gulf between the elder generation and the youths of the nation. It maintains a continuity in political thought and work.

Take a round in Berlin Streets on a Sunday morning. You will see hundreds of young boys and girls in khaki uniform, marching to the rhythm of drums and waving national flags. They are the back-bone of future German Nationalism. The Hitler Youth movement is designed for the political and social education of the nation's children. It is recognized by the schools and encouraged by the teachers.

#### INTEGRATING VILLAGE AND CITY LIFE

The German educators aim at a vital integration of their people. They want to create in the popular mind a conception about the one-ness and unity of the different social classes. Various techniques are being used to achieve these ends.

A common cleavage in modern societies is that between city and village life. The universal trend is towards the cities, except where technological unemployment is sending the workers back to the soil. There is a lure about city life which is disintegrating village communities. The German leaders want to preserve their country life, as the source of their native culture and the vitality of the nation. Consequently rural life plays an important part in the new education. There is an effort to establish intimate contacts between the city and the village, so that both become equally dignified as assets of the State.

Institutes for Teacher Training will be shifted from the cities to the villages. Here the teachers will live with the farmers and study their culture, folkways, and economic conditions. An educational programme for the locality will be evolved out of this study. The old curriculum planned by city-minded pedagogues is unsuitable for rural

children. The Teachers Training Institutes will serve as cultural centres for the community. They will look to the education of children and adults.

This tendency towards village localism may be carried to its logical extreme. Each locality or district may have its own text-books written by local teachers. The content of the curriculum will be suitable to the educational needs of that particular community.

The cementing of the bonds between the agriculturists, the workers, and the educated classes in the cities, and welding them into a National-Socialistic organism, is a vital task of the new education. This can only be done when people know each other and observe each other at first hand. For this purpose the German students will be encouraged to travel and see their country. It is planned to bring every



Physical Culture for German Girls

German student to Berlin at least once in his school life. It is also proposed that high school pupils from cities should be sent to villages for the final year of their secondary education.

#### NEW SUBJECTS IN THE SCHOOL

The Nazi pedagogues have not yet found sufficient time to introduce all desirable changes in the curricula and the class-room. It is easier to add a few things to the external organization of the school. It takes time to change the content of education and the class-room procedure. A few changes have been made and the others are on their way.

A new subject which is immediately added to the curriculum is 'Volkskunde' (folk-study). The object is to acquaint every pupil with the idea that the Germans are all one people, with a common bond of race, tradition, history, heroes and unit of purpose. The German sociologists make fine distinctions between folk, nation, and





Hitler Youth

state. A people with common ideals and purposes given to them by their great scholars, poets, and philosophers can form a political state. Some of the pamphlets published for the study of folk-science are: Worker, Farmer, and Mechanic; Town and Country in Germany; and Woman in Germany in Different Periods. It will be seen that the aim of this new subject is to create in the young minds a consciousness of class-unity, as an antidote against the disintegrating principle of class-struggle.

Rassen-kunde or Race-science is another subject which was introduced immediately after the Revolution and taught through the help of short pamphlets. Although it is taught under the name of science, it is nothing more than a systematic elucidation of Hitler's favourite theory about races. "The Nordic race stands for adventure, culture and dominance. The Germans have preserved a pure Nordic strain. It is the duty of the German people to preserve this racial purity if they want to survive as a nation." This theory, however, is not supported by science or history.

I was visiting a girls' high school, and after observing several classes expressed a desire to hear a history lesson. My girl guide went to the teacher and asked for permission to take me in. The teacher said that he was 'telling the pupils something', so he could not allow a visitor to attend! This something may be Rassen-kunde!

#### NEW BASIS FOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

German educators are planning a revolution in their elementary education. The content of education upto this time has been developed apart from the community. Consequently there

is a divorce between school and society. The school has set up certain formal subjects, which have no meaning in social life, and which are taught purely from an intellectual point of view. In the new education, intellect will be servant, not master. The formal subjects will be abolished and life in the community itself shall be the starting point and the object of study. Actual participation in the life of the community, not merely class-work, is the new programme of education. The study of the community, land, nature, and occupations will thus be the starting point for history, geography, science and other subjects.

#### CULTURAL EMPHASIS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

The multiplicity of the gymnasia or secondary schools will be reduced to two simple types—the classical and the modern. Admission will be so regulated that the poorest intelligent boy shall get a chance for higher education. In the curriculum of the high schools, emphasis is placed on the study of German culture. Language, history and philosophy will serve as the media for the study of culture. Folk-songs, music, art, and painting will be taught from the view-point of German traditions. Foreign languages will be studied with a view to understanding other cultures for the sake of comparison. But this will not be allowed to affect the individuality of German culture. Geography will be studied from the view-point of political and economic problems. In short, secondary education is guided by the needs and ideals of the German nationalism—political, social, economic and cultural.

#### WOMAN TAKES "HER PLACE"

The Nazi attitude towards women is quite retrograde, and they make no secret about it. I was sitting in the central office of the Women's Party, talking with a man. I asked, "What leading part is played by German women in this movement?" He immediately came back with, "Women don't lead, they follow." The function of woman is to be wife and mother. "We don't want suffragettes," said an educational officer in uniform. The education of girls is planned from this point of view. There are no mixed-classes or schools. The curricula are different. Domestic arts, home economics and fine arts figure prominently in the educational programme of girls. Only a few girls who want to take part in the economic life suitable for them, will be allowed to join men's institutions,



## EVALUATION OF THE GERMAN EXPERIMENT

German education is a conglomeration of elements that are local and universal. It is the result of long pedagogical theorizing and experimentation, brought to a climax by a socio-political revolution. The universal elements are the contribution of sound educational philosophy, the local and temporary elements are the result of the peculiar political situation, Germany has been experiencing since the World War.

Opposition was slowly gathering against the over-emphasis on academic training in German education. Too much importance was given to intellect to the detriment of action and emotions. According to Nazi pedagogues, intellect is only an instrument of action. In the new programme of education, therefore, an important place is given to social, political and manual activities. This tendency is observable in all the areas of education from the elementary school to the University. If German education can show a harmonious blending of intellect and action, knowledge and conduct, philosophy and practice, it will be a unique contribution to the world.

As a revolt against the seclusion of the school from the community, the German educators are ambitious of merging the school into the community. Similar experiments are being carried on in Mexico, Palestine and Ceylon. The fundamental idea behind the plan is to remove the divorce between education and social needs.

The health and physical development of children assumes paramount importance in Germany. The movement to re-direct the population to the soil and hold it there is wholesome in these days of economic crisis. How far it will be successful in the face of industrial and urban development is, however, very doubtful. The official recognition of nature and country as educational influences of prime importance is also a progressive step in the new education.

The political situation in Germany is responsible for the re-action against pacifism, internationalism, individualism, rationalism, democracy,

and all the liberal ideas of the post-war period. The only thing that appeals to a suppressed, humiliated, and disarmed nation is militarism, not pacifism; nationalism, not cosmopolitanism; force and power, not persuasion. The confusion of political parties, and the absence of a strong central party to handle the national situation, brought disgrace to democracy and individualism, and the pendulum swung back to the ideals of dictatorship, obedience, discipline, and national unity even at the cost of the individual. The exaggerated emphasis on racial superiority and cultural individualism are only psychological mechanisms to whip up a nation into action. They are not permanent elements of the movement. But all these factors have been reflected in the German education. A change in political and social situation will bring about a corresponding change in educational values also.

Educators ought to learn one thing from the educational experiments in Germany. Education cannot remain insensitive to the social situation. The only remedy to save the school from narrowness and superficiality, is to place the national and social ideals on a broad and universal basis.

## NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

For India, Germany holds the pattern of a national education that grows out of the native soil. The social and political philosophy of the nation needs to be defined in order to serve as a basis for educational ideals. Educators ought to take cognizance of the needs and weaknesses of Indian society and approach the problem from that direction. National education should aim at bringing about a vital integration in the Indian society and giving it the consciousness of strength. Its programme should be parallel to a plan for economic reconstruction. The concept of an Indian culture should be the criterion for selecting the raw materials of education. This would be the beginning of our new national education.





## SCIENTIFIC REVELATIONS OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

### HALL OF SCIENCE

By IDA M. GURWELL

*Not very illuminating*

**B**EFORE our minds become too befogged by the immensity of the Fair, we should see the Hall of Science.

Here are ten acres of floor space given over to exhibits emphasizing a Century of Progress in Science. It is estimated that were we to remain in the building two weeks, we could do little more than read the posters and charts explaining the content of the exhibits. We can hope to bring a few only of the most interesting exhibits to the reader. We find in the Hall of Science more information useful to all classes and all ages, than any other building in the Exposition. The exhibits have been prepared with such painstaking care, and have been placed before the observer in such an attractive and orderly way, that it would be impossible to escape information if one tried.

What crowds gather here at all times! What ridiculously amateurish questions are asked, too, as in the case of the transparent man, "Is he alive?" And in listening to the answers given to our unlettered brothers, what patience and courtesy is shown by the Exposition Guides! One cannot say too much in praise of the guides stationed throughout the grounds. They put forth every effort to see that each person gets the maximum of service. Each guide is a college man, has been carefully selected and has been given strict training. Visitors are in the hands of well-informed men.

Because Mathematics is the foundation of and indispensable to other basic sciences, we start with Mathematics. Through experience one learns it is best to take such highly specialized mental food as appears in the Hall of Science in rations of not more than two or three hours at a time. One becomes so mentally and physically weary that one exhibit seems much like another, and while he knows that all the material is educational he is unable longer to absorb or properly classify it.

The fallacy of perpetual motion is shown through a number of carefully-constructed exhibits, for strangely enough, what has been said once in Mathematics can be said again. Here are interesting posters, one of them showing the Greek Mathematician Archimedes whose name is associated with the principle of the lever, who said, "Give me a place to stand and I will move the Earth." Stories of Mathematics as shown here are alive with human interest. They prove Mathematics anything but dull. How solutions of great mathematical problems came about are told by posters. Archimedes noticed the overflow of water which occurred when he stepped into his full bath tub. He suddenly realized the fact must have an important mathematical application. He jumped out of the tub and ran down the street crying, "I have found it"! Thus was discovered the law of floating bodies in hydronamics. Many such stories are told by posters done by Clay Kelly, Director of South Shore Art School, Chicago.

One learns that Applied Mathematics aside from pervading all the basic sciences plays a very large part in every-day life. Here is shown, Fourth Dimensional and Higher Space Projections; fixing a ship's position at sea; exhibits containing apparatus used in measurement of time, chronometers and sextants of great historical value; a radio-receiving apparatus has been installed by synchronizing the chronometers by time signals from Washington. In this department there are Range Finders loaned by the United States Navy. A very complete Marconi Exhibit shows instruments used by Marconi in his early Trans-Atlantic wireless experiments, loaned by the Italian Government.

Topics such as the paradoxes of Zeno; squaring the circle; trisection of angles; and curious mathematical analysis of conundrums, and dozens of others. The graphic



history of Mathematics in all its classifications is shown through series of slides prepared by Prof. Louis Karpeinski, of the University of Michigan.

All exhibits prove that Mathematics is nothing more than logical thinking and should prove helpful to students in the value of logical deductions in all study.

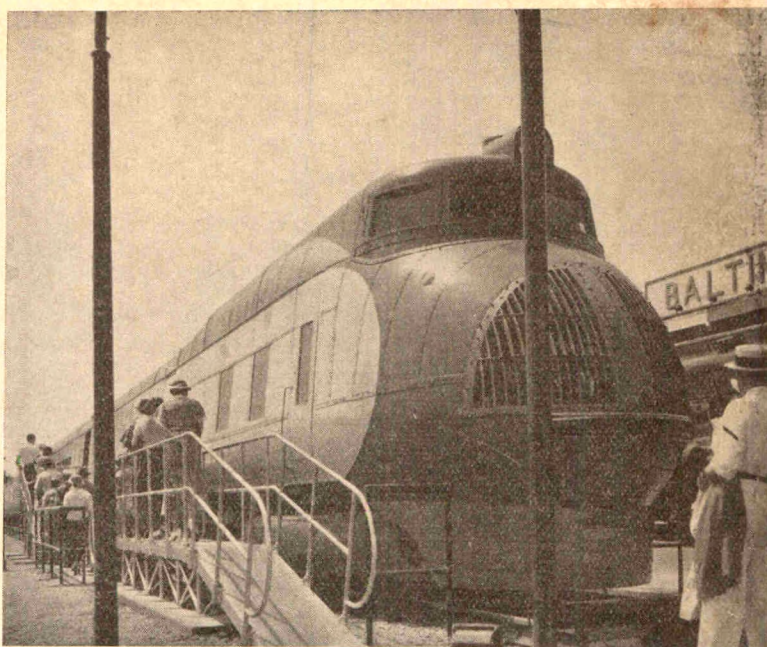
The nature of matter, solid, liquid, and gas, and manifestations of various energy is dealt with in the department of Physics.

Here is found the Gas Thermometer. This exhibit illustrates the method of construction of a thermometer which measures temperature by utilizing the properties of gases. The model shows a system for confining helium gas in an inverted glass bulb connected to a tube filled with mercury. If the helium were heated and cooled the mercury would rise and fall in the tube, depending upon the pressure of the gas. The height of the mercury column would therefore correspond to the temperature. Together with the temperature scale is shown the speed of helium atoms at different temperatures. The atoms are at rest at absolute zero. The gas thermometer can be used to measure *below freezing point* and *above boiling point* of most liquids.

That evaporation cools liquids is shown by forming icicles. The experiment shows that a substance can be cooled by decreasing the average motion of all molecules.

How sounds may be transmitted, how they may be focussed, and how sound waves may reinforce or cancel each other are shown here. A most interesting exhibit is the one showing the production of sound from a Talkie Film.

The first generator made in America; the fundamental principles of the electric motor; amplification of sound; radio



Head-on view of the new stream-lined, air-conditioned, diesel-motored Union Pacific train which is one of the supreme attractions at the World's Fair in Chicago. This train is capable of making 110 miles an hour.

waves produced with sparks; reflection and refraction of light; formation of a real image by a lens; white light broken up by screens; continuous spectrums of visible and invisible light; spectra of gases; and from these experiments one is led to colour and rays.

Interesting is the demonstration of using primary colours, red, green and blue and combining them to give any colour sensation. The mixing is done by projecting light through three coloured disks, the combination of all three give white light.

That there is an inter-dependence of the basic sciences is clearly shown. To produce the phenomenon of colour it is necessary to refer to Physics, Physiology and Psychology in order to find an explanation.

Light from different sources is compared. Light from the tungsten lamp is whiter than from the carbon lamp because it is hotter. Light, the colour of sun light, is produced by using a bluish screen or some combination of red, green and blue glow tubes. The temperature too of different sources of light is shown in these demonstrations.



Electron Rays, Helium Rays, the evidence of the Electronic theory of atoms; rays from Radium, and the principle of Television are shown step by step until each experiment is as interesting and romantic as the latest novel.

Chemistry next engages our attention. Chemistry and Physics overlap, but Chemistry is defined here as the science which investigates the transformation of matter. A diorama shows that modern Chemistry has its roots in the early work of the alchemists. The relation of Alchemy to Chemistry is like that of Astrology to Astronomy. It is shown that both assumed falsely and fostered superstition, yet both were steps in the progress of Science. The chief aims of the alchemists during the Middle Ages were the search for the Philosopher's Stone, for the elixir of life, and the transmutation of the heavier metals into gold. By their pursuits they gradually formed a collection of facts which led ultimately to Scientific Chemistry.

We see next a group of exhibits known as Colloid Chemistry. In this chemistry the smallest unit is a particle, and is similar to the molecule in other fields. Most particles consist of hundreds of thousands of molecules. These are not visible under a microscope. If a strong beam of light is allowed to pass through a colloidal suspension, the colloidal particles scatter the light and under the microscope will be seen as mere points of light. In this exhibit may be seen gold particles suspended in liquid, and in one such demonstration oil particles are broken up and oil and water flow out into different containers. Drinking water purification is shown through the whole interesting process. In drinking water the colloidal suspended materials are removed by absorption. Two different methods may be used, one adding alum, the other by charcoal. The refining of sugar and petroleum depend upon absorption as do certain processes in dyeing. This exhibit was sponsored by the International Filter Company.

A method of eliminating smoke is demonstrated by means of an electrode in the centre of a cylinder and another electrode on a glass wall, and a high potential discharge is produced through the air precipitating the smoke.

Much space is given to the Chemistry of rubber. Coagulation of rubber, vulcanization and acceleration; examples of the energy capacity of rubber and steel; abrasion tests, and a diorama of a rubber plantation. Unvulcanized is sticky and tacky at 155 degrees Fahrenheit, while in the vulcanized product it is not.

The Union Carbide and Carbon Corporation show the Chemistry of Air. Air in combustion; principles involved in the liquefaction of air; effect of pressure; cooling by expansion. It is shown that oxygen is the constituent of air that supports combustion. These demonstrations show that Electrical Science and Chemistry have become important to each other.

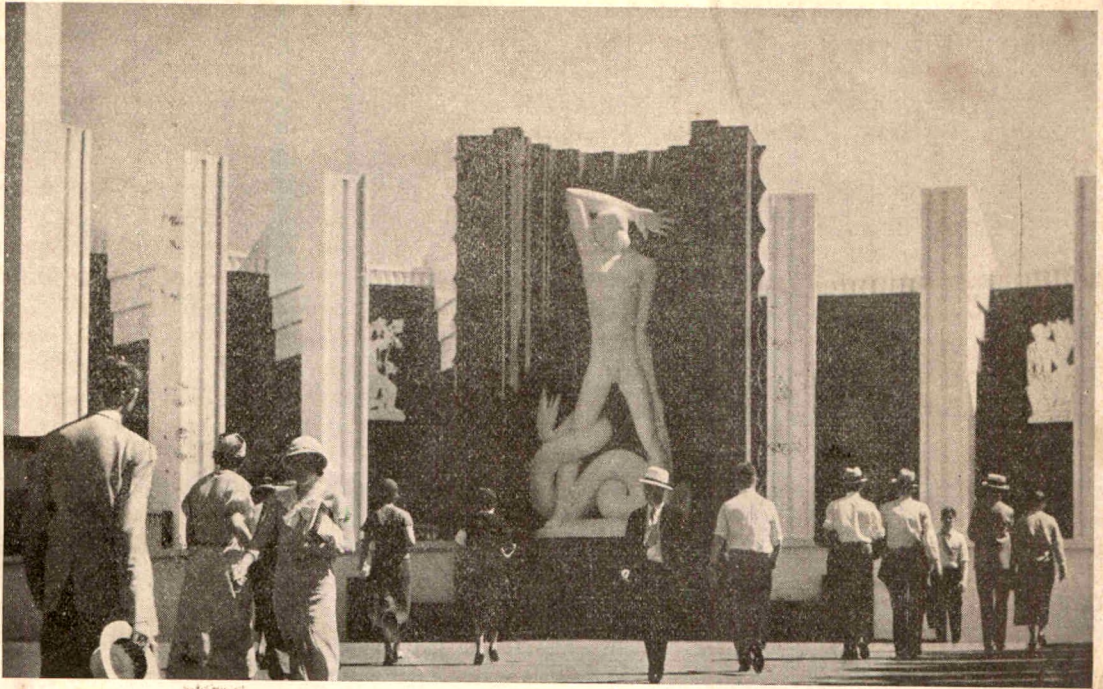
That the Electric Furnace is a most important factor in the production of many modern marvels is proved. It enables metallurgists to get temperatures twice as high as was possible before its invention. Since the beginning of the present century the development of the Electric Furnace has made possible a temperature of 6,500 degrees Fahrenheit. 2,500 degrees Fahrenheit was the highest temperature that could be reached by the old methods.

Various chemical works have sponsored exhibits that make interesting to the onlooker, electroplating, chromium plating, and various other methods of plating metals, and through charts and posters tell the story of the commercial value to industry.

Until recently little use was made of coal tar except for the manufacture of tarred paper and felt. Valuable products from this source have come to modern civilization. Today the world would be handicapped without the by-products of coal. Most explosives, medicinals, plastics, dyes, solvents, and a large portion of our fertilizers come from coal tar. These products are indispensable in industrial activity and pre-eminently important in time of war. It was a German who said in 1910, "The future belongs to the nation which makes the best use of its coal resources." From four to six gallon coal tar results when coke is produced from coal. Fuel gas and ammonium compounds, the basis of fertilizers, are also a by-product of coal.

Menthylene Blue is important as a dye and





Heroic statue of Man conquering the Serpent of ignorance against a dark blue background at the North Entrance of the Hall of Science at the World's Fair in Chicago

of great importance in biological research. It is non-poisonous and can be used in living organisms to study the nervous system. It yields oxygen and is valuable in determining the rate of oxidation on living tissues.

The magic of dyeing is shown when three ribbons are each dyed a different colour from one solution. The explanation is in the fabrics which are different. Silk, rayon, and celanese all having different chemical compositions. The ribbons emerge from the solution coloured red, blue, and yellow.

The Chemistry of foods is shown by a ten foot mechanical man, that has the ability to show exactly how the digestive organs function; how the food is made available for use in our bodies, and the chemical reaction that takes place. Controlled by many sensitive electrical and mechanical devices the Robot is life like. The Exhibit is by the Wander Company.

Biology, the science which investigates the nature of life, follows closely the chemistry of food. Biology shows living things are built by the fundamental materials which have been shown in the science of Physics and

Chemistry. Biology makes use of the fundamental sciences but in addition has to develop entirely new methods of its own.

Charts and experiments show that living matter exists in form cells or groups of cells. Here is a vivid portrayal of living cells. Drops of liquid are taken from cultures and placed on transparent slides. Microscopes are designed to present the image enlarged on a screen measuring four feet in diameter.

A diorama shows Robert Hooke, discoverer of the cell. This theory ranks with the evolution theory in the far-reaching influence it has exerted on growth of Biology. The better understanding of the cell structure in spite of the early discovery has come about through the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Loyola University, Chicago, loaned to the Hall of Science the collection of Embryology a remarkable display of human embryos.

Naturally all the previous exhibits would lead to a study of the human body. What so important? Here are exhibits showing the structure and form of the human body so well charted that all may read. Here are shown



glands, the fluid secreted and their part in regulating the growth of the body. The "Switchboard of Speech" illustrating the nervous system in adapting the activities of the body to its surroundings. The circulation of the blood is shown by a mechanical model; the larynx and the human voice, all shown in view of imparting as much knowledge to the layman as is possible.

A transparent man is the centre of the story of medicine. This body was loaned by the Mayo Foundation. It is made of cello, a transparent material, and the observer may visualize human anatomy as though he were endowed with X-ray eyes.

There are many foreign exhibits. One hundred years of progress in the Medical Sciences virtually takes in the world. For the first time in the history of International Expositions in America, organized Medicine, Dentistry, and Pharmacy have presented the story of their contribution to civilization.

Henry Ford Hospital specializes in an exhibit of tannic acid treatment of burns, and oxygen therapy in pneumonia. Mayo Foundation has, for its themes, diseased digestive tracts, the thyroid gland, and the sympathetic nervous system. University of Chicago

medical exhibit is prepared to educate the public in the care of more than 300,000 crippled children in the United States. The University of Georgia has a memorial to Crawford Long, the discoverer of Ether anaesthesia in 1842. Here are shown many different kinds of cancer and their treatment. North-western University, Chicago, brings us the knowledge of the contribution of animals to medical science and human health.

Geology demonstrates, through dozens of interesting exhibits, almost unbelievable achievements through a century of progress.

Thus could we continue. Books, many of them will be written on the scientific material presented here. But after repeated visits to the Hall of Science, we are convinced that science, during one hundred years of miraculous achievement, has found nothing to measure the value of knowledge gained here to human life in this generation and the generations yet to come.

It is said that of all the departments of Science so attractively shown in this ten-acre building, Biology, the science that investigates the nature of life, daily attracts the most people. Thus proving,—*there is nothing so interesting—to life—as life.*

## J. P. C. REPORT: FINANCIAL PROPOSALS FOR THE CENTRE

By NALINI RANJAN SARKER

**O**N matters relating to governmental finance either at the Centre or in the Provinces, the J. P. C. have in all essentials endorsed the scheme embodied in the White Paper. Though the Committee have recommended certain modifications here and there, their main pre-occupation appears to have been with the elaboration or exposition of the White Paper proposals. Whether in form or in spirit, the modifications suggested by the Committee or the expositions made by them, are calculated to impose fresh restraints on the powers of the Indian Legislatures under the new constitution even beyond what were conceived in the White Paper.

Regarding the financial arrangements at the Centre, the principle is re-affirmed by the J. P. C.

that under the reforms "the Federal Ministers will become responsible for finance." The transfer of control over finance to a popular Minister thus envisaged is however proposed to be subjected to a threefold limitation.

In the first place, it will be enjoined by the Statute that proposals for appropriation of revenues relating to the following heads of expenditure will not be submitted to vote of either Chamber of the Legislature:

(i) Interest, sinking charges and other expenditure relating to the raising, service and management of loans; expenditure fixed by or under the constitution Acts; expenditure required to satisfy a decree of any court or an arbitral award;

(ii) the salary and allowances of the Governor-General of Ministers; of the Governor-General's Counsellors (to advise him about the Reserved



Department); of the Financial Adviser; of Chief Commissioners; of the Governor-General's personal and secretarial staff and of the staff of the Financial Adviser;

(iii) Expenditure required for the Reserved Departments, for the discharge of the functions of the Crown in and arising out of its relation with Rulers of Indian States; or for the discharge of duties imposed by the constitution Act on a principal secretary of state;

(iv) The salaries and pensions (including pensions payable to their dependants) of Judges of the Federal or Supreme Court or Judicial Commissioners under the Federal Governments; and expenditure certified by the Governor-General after consultation with his Ministers as required for the expenses of those courts;

(v) Expenditure required for Excluded Areas and British Baluchistan;

(vi) Salaries and pensions payable to or to dependants of certain members of public services and certain other sums payable to such persons.

The decision as to whether a particular item of expenditure does or does not fall under any of the heads of expenditure stated above will rest with the Governor-General.

Secondly, it will also be provided for in the Constitution Act, affording another instance of a *direct* restriction of the powers of the Federal Minister, that the Governor-General will have the power to restore, on refusal of sanction by the Legislature, any demands for grants made to the Legislature which he may regard as necessary for the discharge of any of his "special responsibilities." Even in respect of these, it will be for the Governor-General to determine whether the exercise of any of his special responsibilities is called for in any circumstances.

Thirdly, an *indirect* restriction is imposed on the powers of the Federal Minister, by taking out the Reserve Bank and the Railway administration from the sphere of his influence.

It is evident that under these three kinds of limitations, the Federal Finance Minister or for the matter of that, the Federal Legislature will have very little effective control over finances at the Centre. It is estimated that the items of appropriation of revenues taken out of the voting authority of the Federal Legislature will by themselves account for about 80 per cent of the total outgoings of the Central Government. It has been observed by the J. P. C. in support of the reservation of these items, that it follows the Parliamentary procedure in so far as most of these coming under "the consolidated funds charges" are not submitted to the annual vote of the Parliament. It may, however, be pointed out in this connection that the salaries of ministers do not belong to this category of non-votable expenditure in England; nor does the expenditure

of the Army, which is proposed to be kept as a Reserved Department under the special control of the Governor-General, demanding more than 50 per cent of the total revenues of the Government at the Centre. The J. P. C. have definitely shut out the possibility of effecting any economy in this disproportionately large item of expenditure even in the near future, by declaring themselves against the adoption of any 'time table' for the progressive Indianization of the Army and also by recommending that the Military Finance and Military Accounts Departments now subordinate to the Finance Department should hereafter be brought under the Department of Defence and hence reserved to the direct control of the Governor-General.

While thus the control over Central Finance to the extent of 80 per cent will be directly taken out of the hands of the Federal Finance Minister, even the control over the residuary 20 per cent, such as is proposed to be left in the hands of the latter, would by no means be left free from interference. As a matter of fact, the residuary control of the Federal Minister is put under a very wide "umbrella" clause under which the Governor-General will be able to override the Legislature on the plea of exercising his special responsibilities, and of the propriety of which he himself will be the sole judge. Thus, in effect, the transfer of control over central expenditure to the Federal Minister is not only quantitatively small but also qualitatively limited.

Among the special responsibilities, the one which is likely to impinge upon the exercise of what limited powers are entrusted to the Federal Minister, relates to the reservation to the Governor-General, in regard to budgetary arrangements and borrowing, such essential powers as will enable him to intervene if methods were being pursued which would in his opinion prejudice the credit of India in the money market of the world. The J. P. C. have considered it unwise to define this special responsibility any more precisely than what is covered by the terms, budgetary arrangements and borrowing. They have, however, recognized the vagueness and elasticity of the terms, and have sought to meet the difficulty by recommending that further directions as to the nature of this responsibility should be given to the Governor-General in his Instrument of Instructions.

In respect of the policy of taking the Reserve Bank out of the influence of the Federal Legislature, the J. P. C. Report has gone a step further than even the White Paper, with a view to providing against any probable chance of inter-



ference by the Federal Legislature. The White Paper only laid down that the introduction of any bill in the Federal Legislature in regard to the provision of the Reserve Bank Act pertaining to currency and exchange would be permissible only with the previous sanction of the Governor-General. The J. P. C. have not considered this safeguard to be adequate for the purpose on the ground that the White Paper proposals left the possibility open to amend other portions of the Act which might prejudice and even destroy some of the features of the system, which, in their opinion, were essential to its proper working. The Committee have, therefore, recommended that any amendment of the Reserve Bank Act or any legislation affecting the constitution and functions of the Bank or of the coinage and currency of the Federation should require the prior sanction of the Governor-General in his discretion. The gravity of the implications of this reservation can hardly be over-estimated. As the joint

memorandum of the British Indian Delegation had emphatically pointed out, "it would be difficult in such circumstances for the Minister in charge of Industry and Agriculture to accept full responsibility for the development of these departments."

With about 80 per cent of the expenditure reserved, with the remaining 20 per cent tied under special responsibility clause, with the currency and exchange policy of the country taken out of the control of the Finance Minister, the 'transfer' of control over finance to a popular minister is reduced to a myth. In the face of such limitations, it would be nothing less than an euphemism to say that Finance at the Centre is a transferred subject. And it need hardly be pointed out that with the meagre resources left at the disposal of the Federal Finance Minister, the scope for real constructive work for the betterment of the conditions of the people is sure to be seriously restricted.

## J. P. C. ON COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION

By NALINI RANJAN SARKER

**T**HE subject of commercial discrimination has received a more elaborate treatment at the hands of the J. P. C., than even in the White Paper. The Committee have divided the problem into two separate issues, one pertaining to the question of administrative and legislative discrimination against British commercial interests and British trade in India,—such as was already provided for in the White Paper—and the other relating to discrimination against British imports.

The second of these was not anticipated by the White Paper and is an entirely new suggestion of the J. P. C., and has been conceived as a rider emanating from the Fiscal Autonomy Convention as it would stand under the reforms. The Committee point out that with the passing of the new Constitution Act the Fiscal Autonomy Convention would lapse in its present form. They, however, emphatically declare themselves against the idea of adopting any "measure, which would interfere with the position attained by India as an integral part of the British Empire through the Fiscal Convention." At the same time it is contended by the Committee that it would be against the spirit of the Convention to

give any such power to the Government of India as should enable them to impose penal tariffs on British goods or apply to them any penally restrictive regulations, with the object not of fostering Indian trade, but of injuring and excluding British trade. Such action on the part of the Government of India would, according to the Committee, be inconsistent with the conception of partnership upon which their recommendations are claimed to be based. Accordingly, in consonance with such interpretation of the Convention the J. P. C. have recommended an addition to the special responsibilities of the Governor-General to ensure "the prevention of measures, legislative or administrative, which would subject British goods, imported into India from the U. K., to discriminatory or penal treatment."

The conception of partnership thus attributed to the Fiscal Autonomy Convention has been extended by the J. P. C. even to the extent of the formulation of a new principle which should guide the future trade relations between India and the U. K. It is proposed by the J. P. C. that the trade relations between the two countries should be based on the principle of reciprocity. The Committee admit that the conception of



reciprocity does not preclude either partner from entering into special agreements with third countries for the exchange of particular commodities, where such agreements offer it advantages which it cannot obtain from the other. But, at the same time, it is asserted that the conception does imply that when either partner is considering to what extent it can offer special advantage of this kind to a third country without injustice to the other partner, it will have regard to the general range of benefits secured to it by the partnership, and not merely to the usefulness of the partnership in relation to the particular commodity under consideration at the moment.

It is amazing to note that, even in the face of such wide limitations on the powers of the Government of India, the J. P. C. should contend that the Fiscal Autonomy Convention would still continue in a real sense to operate in future. The gravity of the implications of the Committee's proposal for prohibiting the adoption of any penal or discriminatory measures against British goods as a matter falling within the scope of the special responsibilities of the Governor-General will be readily appreciated in the light of the recent proposal of the Lancashire Deputation to Mr. Runciman, the President of the Board of Trade, for a reduction of the existing import duties on British piecegoods, and the subsequent developments in connection therewith. It will be open under the new regime, as envisaged by the Joint Committee, for the Governor-General to declare, in his discretion, that the duties applicable at any particular time to British goods are much higher than is necessary for the protection of the Indian industries. The legislature would then have no say in the matter with the result that the industrial development of India would run the danger of being made completely dependent on the interests of British industries.

The situation, intolerable as it is from the Indian standpoint, is sought to be based on the plea of a partnership between United Kingdom and India. The weakness as well as the unreasonableness of the plea is, however, too apparent to be argued at length. It is a conception of partnership under which India has very little to gain, but runs the danger of losing much. No conception of partnership can stand for a one-sided transaction where it is required in general of one partner to continue to accommodate at his own cost the claims of the other, which alone stands to gain.

The same Ostrich-like view taken of the principle which should guide the future trade

relations between U. K. and India, seems to have blinded the J. P. C. in regard to its possible reactions on the potentialities of India's trade expansion in future. The principle of reciprocity with its apparent garb of equity and justice has clouded the real issues in this case. For, if any trade agreement with a third country is hereafter contemplated by India, she will hardly have any scope to offer any special advantage to such country, without making the same available to U. K. Under the terms laid down by the J. P. C., every such occasion would provide a plea to U. K. to put forward claims to identical advantages, and if her claim to pursue any such line of action is to be tested in the light of the general usefulness of the Indo-British partnership, the interpretation of which again will come within the scope of the special responsibilities of the Governor-General, the chances left to India to expand her trade through any bilateral commercial agreements would be problematical indeed.

As to the first issue pertaining to discrimination against British commercial interests and British trade in India, the J. P. C. have practically endorsed in toto the proposals embodied in the White Paper, with one specific addition in respect of shipping to the effect that any discrimination against British shipping should be statutorily provided against. It has been re-affirmed that no discrimination, either legislative or administrative, should be made against British subjects domiciled in the U. K. and companies incorporated in the U. K. except on the basis of reciprocity and that for this purpose British companies shall comprise both the existing ones as well as those incorporated hereafter in the U. K. and shall be deemed to have complied with the provisions of any Indian law relating to the place of incorporation of companies trading in India, or to the domicile, residence or duration of residence, language, race, religion, descent or place of birth of the directors, shareholders, or of the agents and servants of such companies. An addition, by way of amplification, has been made by the Committee to the White Paper proposal relating to the grant of any bounties and subsidies by the Government of India under the new Constitution. While the Committee re-affirm the principle that no discrimination, either legislative or administrative, should be allowed against British commercial interests or trade in India, they recommend that in the matter of granting bounties and subsidies, only such of the companies started after the passing of the Constitution Act should be deemed



eligible to participate in such State help as will satisfy specified conditions regarding the composition of their directorate on the lines suggested by the External Capital Committee. No condition of eligibility is imposed on the companies established prior to the passing of the Act, and it is pointed out by the J. P. C. that these would be entitled, on the principle of reciprocity, to put forward as good a claim as any Indian company to participate in bounties or subsidies granted in future by the Government of India to any particular branch of trade or industry.

The extent to which these provisions will serve as a check upon the development of industries by the nationals of the country can hardly be over-estimated. The British businessmen have already established themselves firmly in India in many important branches of trade, commerce and industry, thereby restricting the scope for their development under Indian auspices. And if hereafter fresh concessions are to be allowed to existing British companies or licenses are to be issued to new concerns to carry on their commercial operations in this country on a par with Indian

companies, whether existing or such as may be established hereafter, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Indian enterprise to make any headway in the matter of industrial development of the country. That such apprehensions are not at all unfounded will be apparent from the recent grant of a long-term concession to the Imperial Chemical Ltd., for the purpose of exploiting salt and lime resources in India, as also from the fact that the Laver Brothers, the well-known Soap Manufacturers of England, have established two branches in India. These two instances are sufficient indications of the danger that lie ahead in respect of the future industrial development of the country under the new constitutional reforms. On the plea of eliminating racial discrimination, the J. P. C. have completely overlooked the legitimate distinction between "national" and "non-national," and consequently even such rights of discrimination in favour of "nationals" as are recognized by international practices and are inherent in nationhood itself, have been denied to India.

## THE REPORT OF THE JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

### AN EX-VICEROY'S VIEW

**L**ORD HALIFAX, who is still better known under his old title of Lord Irwin, the ex-Viceroy of India, spoke in London last night on the Report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform. During the course of his address, as reported in today's *Times*, he said that:

It was important that English people should realize how immense was the question of Indian Constitutional reform. It was a psychological question, and it was essential for us to try to understand what was in the heart and minds of Indians when they asked for these political advances. We had no right to wonder at it. We should have been doing all things in the political-constitutional sphere that Indians had been doing, had we been in a similar position.

And that,

He was convinced of the wisdom of proceeding by way of discussion rather than dictation.

We had got to get away from the notion of

governors and governed and on to the idea of equal partnership. Once we could convince Indians that we were going to get on to that basis we should find that half our difficulties would disappear.

I attended this meeting and agreed with Lord Halifax that it was a psychological question and that it was essential for us to try to understand what was in the heart and minds of Indians. I pointed out to Lord Halifax that he himself had said in India, on 31st October, 1929, with the full authority of the British Government, that it was "implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status."

I pointed out further that no such statement of the "natural issue" appears anywhere in the Report of the Joint Select Committee of which he was a member. In reply Lord Halifax referred me to the Report of the Joint Select Committee where it is stated that the Preamble



to the Government of India Act of 1919 has set out finally and definitely the ultimate aims of British rule in India, and he laid great stress on the sentence in the Report following this to the effect that "subsequent statements of policy have added nothing to the substance of this Declaration."

I felt compelled to interrupt to point out that Conservative Members of the Joint Select Committee, as reported in their Minutes of Evidence of 18th July, 1933, had taken up the position that Parliament was not bound by the words of the Viceroy but only by what is stated in terms in an Act of Parliament. p. 133—

#### THE PREAMBLE OF THE 1919 ACT

No one in India can forget that the words of the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 were whittled down in the Indian Legislative Assembly by Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Home Member of the Government of India, speaking on behalf of Lord Reading, the Viceroy and his Government, and also speaking with the authority of the British Government. Sir Malcolm Hailey contended that the "responsible government" which had been promised to India in the historic Declaration of 20th August, 1917 did not mean Dominion Self-Government. And he went on to say:

... there is some difference in substance, because responsible government is not necessarily incompatible with a legislature with limited or restricted powers. It may be that full Dominion self-government is the logical outcome of responsible government, nay, it may be the inevitable and historical development of responsible government, but it is a further and a final step.

That speech did more to shatter Indian belief in the *bona fides* of Great Britain than anything else and the statement that Lord Halifax relies on in the Joint Committee's Report does very little to improve matters. He did explain that the statement satisfied him.

#### THE DIFFICULTY HERE

The fact is, of course, that, difficult as it is to get the present proposals accepted by the Conservative Party, it would have been practically impossible to get them to agree to a declaration in terms that the ultimate issue of India's constitutional progress was Dominion Status on the basis of full equality with Great Britain and with the other Dominions in the Constitution Act.

There is every justification for the contention of the Aga Khan and the other Indian

Delegates to the Joint Committee when they say in the Memorandum (*Records* 10, p. 37) presented by them to the Joint Select Committee, that,

Indian public opinion has been profoundly disturbed by the attempts made during the last two or three years to qualify the repeated pledges given by responsible Ministers on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Since it is apparently contended that only a definite statement in an Act of Parliament would be binding on future Parliaments, and that even the solemn declaration made by His Majesty the King-Emperor on a formal occasion is not authoritative, we feel that a declaration in the preamble is essential in order to remove present grave misgivings and avoid future misunderstandings.

#### POLICE AND CIVIL SERVANTS

If, as Lord Halifax says, the whole problem is psychological, and it is essential for us to try to understand the heart and minds of Indians, it is difficult to see how one can expect Indians to be reconciled to the proposal that even under the new Constitution the principal officers of the Police and the Civil Servants of the Government of India will continue to be recruited not by the Viceroy or the Government of India but by the Secretary of State in London, thousands of miles from India.

#### LAW AND ORDER

Law and Order is to be transferred because as the Joint Select Committee say:

We find ourselves unable to conceive a government to which the quality of responsibility could be attributed, if it had no responsibility for public order.

In no other sphere has the word 'responsibility' so profound and significant a meaning; and nothing will afford Indians the opportunity of demonstrating more conclusively their fitness to govern themselves than their action in this sphere.

From one point of view indeed the transfer of these functions to an Indian Minister may be in the interest of the police themselves, whom it will no longer be possible to attack, as they have been attacked in the past, as agents of oppression acting on behalf of an alien power; but we prefer to base our conclusion upon the broader grounds indicated above.

(*Joint Committee Report*, p. 50.)

#### THE POSITION IN BENGAL

It is proposed that the Governor should be given certain discretionary powers to assume charge of any branch of the Government in addition to that of Law and Order. So little trust is there placed in the working of a normal constitution in Bengal that the Joint Committee say:

... If conditions in Bengal at the time of the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy have not:



materially improved, it would, in our judgment, be essential that the Governor of that Province should exercise the powers we have just described forthwith and should be directed to do so in his Instrument of Instructions, which, in this as in other respects, would remain in force until amended with the consent of Parliament."

#### SECOND CHAMBERS

Second Chambers are everywhere disapproved of in India. Under the White Paper it was proposed that there should be Second Chambers in three Provinces—Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar. The Joint Select Committee propose that in addition to these there should be Second Chambers in Bombay and Madras—and this in spite of the very large extra cost that will fall on these Provinces and the fact that these Second Chambers will be composed very greatly of the landowning and vested interests classes.

#### INDIRECT ELECTION

Another point which will go against practically the whole of Indian opinion is the indirect election to the Central Legislature. The Joint Select Committee agree that in the Provinces there should be direct election and while they admit that "the problem is essentially one which Indians must consider for themselves," they do not propose to give the Indian legislatures the opportunity of considering it until after the expiry of a period of ten years from the inauguration of the Federation.

They admit that direct election was recommended by the Joint Select Committee which considered the Government of India Act of 1919 and that Parliament accepted their opinion. They admit that direct election has the support of Indian opinion and that it has been the system in India for the last twelve years "and has worked on the whole reasonably well." They admit that "they realize the strength of Indian opinion in this matter and are far from denying that the present system has produced legislators of high quality."

If therefore direct election for the Central Legislature has worked well for the last twelve years, has the support of Indian opinion, and has produced legislators of high quality, one would think it reasonable to suggest that it would work even better when the constituencies are reduced in size as they will be following on the White Paper proposals.

#### NOMINATED MEMBERS

Under the present Constitution 40 out of the 145 Members of the Lower House of the

Central Legislature—27.5 per cent are nominated by the Government of India. Under the new Constitution it is proposed that out of the 375 Members of the Lower House of the Central Legislature, no less than 125—33½ per cent—will be nominated by the Princes.

In an article in the London *Daily Telegraph* on 3rd December, Sir Austen Chamberlain, who was also a member of the Joint Select Committee, defended this proposal in these words:

In all that concerns us most, the interests of the Princes of India are the same as ours . . . The presence of their representatives in the two chambers of the Legislature will be a conservative and stabilizing element, which will be further fortified by the recommendations of the Joint Committee in regard to the method of election of the two chambers and the indissolubility of the Upper House.

There is no doubt that however difficult it may be to get labour legislation, for instance, through the present Central Legislature, it will be infinitely more difficult under the proposed new Constitution.

#### DEFENCE

The defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people and not of the United Kingdom alone.

These were the words unanimously adopted by the First Round Table Conference. They were repeated in the Government's White Paper and are approved by the Joint Select Committee in their Report.

Defence, however, is to be in the exclusive direction and control of the Governor-General. We have been told in this country in the past that so long as India was not in a position to defend herself with her own troops it was impossible for her to have real self-government. The Joint Select Committee apparently do not assent to this view. In paragraph 180 of their Report they say:

It is sometimes said that so long as the officer ranks of the Indian Army are not fully Indianized complete self-government must be indefinitely deferred. We do not regard that view as self-evident; and indeed the problem of Indianization does not appear to us to be essentially related to the constitutional issues with which we are concerned.

In the same paragraph they say that "Parliament can provide the conditions in which the creation of a homogeneous Indian nation may become possible; but the act of creation must be the work of Indian hands."

Indians, however, will have comparatively



little opportunity of influencing the Army programme, which accounts for such a very large proportion of the Indian Budget. The Joint Select Committee do agree, however, to one point on which the Labour Members of the Committee were very insistent, namely, to appoint a Standing Defence Committee of the Central Legislature. In paragraph 176 they say:

... We see no objection to the formation of any Committee or Committees that the Federal Government and Legislature may consider useful. We feel, however, that this is essentially a question to be settled by them and not by the Constitution Act.

With the last sentence every Indian will agree. They would only wish that this idea should be carried further.

The Committee appointed in India by the Commander-in-Chief in 1922 agreed that the Indianization of the Army in India could be carried through in a period of thirty years. This recommendation was unanimously accepted by the Government of India, including the Viceroy, Lord Reading, and the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson.

The Labour Members of the Joint Select Committee insist that a definite time limit should be laid down in the Constitution, at the end of which time the control of Defence should pass into the hands of responsible Indian Ministers.

They also state that from a study of such reports and documents as have been made available to them they believe that the Indianization of the Army could be successfully accomplished in a period of twenty-five years. And they add: "We suggest that this period should be aimed at, but that a maximum of thirty years should be fixed which must not be exceeded."

#### THE COST TO INDIA

In Sir Henry Layton's Report on Indian Finance, in Volume II of the Indian Statutory Commission Report (at page 261) he points out that India's expenditure on armaments is *between two and three times as great as that of the whole of the rest of the Empire outside Great Britain*. He further makes the following statement that cannot but be viewed with alarm by anyone who is interested in finding money for the social and nation-building services of India.

An outstanding feature is the high proportion (62½ per cent) which current expenditure on defence bears to the total expenditure of the Central Government—a higher proportion in fact than in any other country in the world. This ratio is not in itself, however, very instructive since it depends on the functions performed by Central Governments.

The significance of this large proportion, 62½ per cent, will be the better appreciated if, "Account is taken of provincial and central expenditure together, the ratio (31½ per cent) is still a very high one. This ratio is high in part because other kinds of expenditure are low. India has a comparatively small unproductive debt, while many forms of Government service are very little developed."

It is interesting to note, too, that the total of the Indian Budget expenditure on National Defence for 1933-34 amounts to no less than Rs. 46,03,60,000. And of this no less than Rs. 10,88,68,000, or nearly one-fourth, is spent in England.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT

One of the Reserved Departments of the Government of India is the Ecclesiastical Department. This Department, the Labour Members of the Joint Select Committee proposed, should be abolished. The White Paper however and the Joint Committee propose that it should remain in the control of the Secretary of State at Whitehall for all time.

The annual expenditure in England alone for this Department amounts to nearly £250,000, chiefly for pensions to retired Bishops and Chaplains who are in no wise debarred from taking in addition lucrative jobs in this country for the preaching of Christ's Gospel.

#### DISALLOWANCE OF ACTS

The Labour Members of the Joint Committee also object to the provision for disallowance by the King in Council, at any time within twelve months, of Acts passed by the Legislature and approved by the Governor-General. This they regard as a retrograde step for which no reasonable excuse can be put forward. It is true that this power was formerly embodied in some of the Dominion Constitutions, but it was finally abandoned by the Statute of Westminster and they see no need to resuscitate it in the case of India.

#### HIGH COMMISSIONER

The Joint Select Committee suggest that examination may show that it is the High Commissioner and not the Secretary of State who would be the appropriate authority to assume liability to be sued in this country in respect of obligations of the Government of India.

The Labour Members point out that the various Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations appoint their own High Commissioners as a matter of right without any provision being necessary in their constitutions. They think that



India should, in this matter, stand in the same position as the Dominions and that the High Commissioner for India should have an equal status and full powers to act on the instructions of the Government of India without any necessity of reference to Whitehall.

#### HIGH COURT JUDGES

At present there is a rule, to which great importance is attached in India, that although one-third of the Judges of the Court must be members of the Indian Civil Service, the Chief Justice should not be one of these. This rule the Joint Committee propose should no longer obtain.

Considering the standing of the Indian Bar today, it seems to be quite time that the Benches of the High Courts should be recruited from the ranks of the Bar, from among their Barristers, Advocates, and Vakils.

#### SPECIAL INTERESTS

The Joint Select Committee approve the special representation of landlords, commerce and industry and universities—although there is no doubt that these very often overlap. With regard to Labour, they say: "We are of opinion that the position of Labour, the importance of which we fully recognize, is adequately safeguarded in the proposals embodied in the White Paper." As the Draft Report submitted by the Labour Members shows, they are very far from endorsing this complacent view.

#### MINISTERS AND SECRETARIES

The Joint Select Committee in their Report have a good deal to say about the blurring of responsibility. One can understand that under responsible government it is absolutely necessary that Ministers should have direct access to the Governor. But the Joint Select Committee go further and propose that a duty should be laid on Secretaries of the Government to bring matters to the notice not only of the Minister whose Department is concerned but also of the Governor. They say:

... We think there ought in any case to be a rule laying down with precision the relations between the Governor, his Ministers, and the Secretaries to Government.

If it is to be the Council of Ministers who will in future aid and advise the Governor, it is plain that the Governor can no longer be advised directly and independently by the Secretaries to Government; but we should regard it as extremely unfortunate if the latter were deprived of access to the Governor or prevented from submitting to him such papers as in their opinion he ought to see.

We recommend, therefore, that it shall be specifically laid down in the Constitution Act that the rules of business shall contain a provision laying upon Ministers the duty of bringing to the notice of the Governor any matter under consideration in their Departments which involves or is likely to involve any of his special responsibilities; and requiring Secretaries to Government to bring to the notice of the Minister *and of the Governor* any matters of the same kind.

#### WHAT IS POSSIBLE

The present Parliament is, of course, overwhelmingly Conservative in its composition. So also of course was the Joint Select Committee. As Mr. Baldwin pointed out this week at the Conservative Conference, no fewer than 20 out of 31 members of the Joint Select Committee were Conservatives.

I heard a story the other day about a battalion engaged in the Battle of the Somme that found that their supply of beer was exhausted. A battle was bad enough but to many of the officers to be without beer was infinitely worse! They sent a transport cart to a neighbouring town to get a barrel of beer. But when it arrived and was broached they found it to be practically undrinkable. It was about to be thrown away when the Mess Sergeant suggested that perhaps the men in the battalion would enjoy it. The Commanding Officer told the Sergeant Major about the barrel of beer and said that if the men wanted it and could drink it they might have it. Next day he asked the Sergeant Major if the men had drunk it and, if so, what they thought of it. He was told that the barrel was now empty and that the verdict of the men was that: If the beer had been any worse they could not have drunk it, and if it had been any better they would not have got it!

That story is of particular application to India's proposed new Constitution considering the composition of the present Parliament at Westminster and of the Joint Select Committee.

Labour's position with regard to India, and her *right* to self-government and self-determination, will, I have no doubt, be clearly expounded by the Leader of the Party, Mr. George Lansbury, in the House of Commons next week.

But when a Labour Government comes to deal with the Indian question I think I can guarantee that there will not be an interminable number of Commissions and Enquiries, as has been the case since the appointment of the Simon Commission in 1928—six years of Reports and Blue Books!

6th December, 1934.



## THE JOINT COMMITTEE AND FEDERAL FINANCE

BY PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.),

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THE scheme of Federal Finance recommended in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report is based mainly on the White Paper proposals but some modifications of an important character are suggested. Describing the existing system of public finance, the authors of the Report observe that "the Provinces have an almost inexhaustible field for the development of social services, while the demands upon the Centre, except in time of war or acute frontier trouble, are more constant in character." This is a partial recognition of the facts of the situation, but the statement does not go far enough. The Committee ought to have held that the expenses of the Central Administration in India are capable of being considerably reduced. They further point out that past experience of the existing system leads to two conclusions on which there is general agreement, namely, "(a) that there are a few provinces where the available sources of revenue are never likely to be sufficient to meet any reasonable standard of expenditure; and (b) that the existing division of heads of revenue between Centre and Provinces leaves the Centre with an undue share of those heads which respond most readily to improvement in economic conditions". This, they add, has naturally led to a very strong claim by the Provinces for a substantial share in the taxes on income, and the claim has been pressed most vigorously by the more industrialised provinces like Bombay and Bengal.

The provincial claim to income-tax has received an added impetus from the attitude of the Indian States in the matter of direct taxation. It is considered desirable that, so far as possible, the Federal Units should contribute to the resources of the Federation on a similar basis. But the States are not prepared to impose direct taxation for the benefit of the Federation. In the discussions

of the Round Table Conference a plan was evolved by which, in the main, almost all the taxes on income were to be assigned to the provinces, the resulting deficit in the Federal Budget being made up for the time being by contributions from the Provinces which would be gradually reduced and would finally disappear. This scheme was examined in its detail by the Federal Finance Committee, but it was subsequently abandoned by the British Government. The authors of the Report admit that it is desirable that the Provinces should, if it be practicable, share in the proceeds of taxes on income. The question of determining an equitable basis for division of such taxes between the Centre and the Provinces is a somewhat intricate problem. The Joint Committee think that it would be wise to base the division upon the financial and economic needs of the Federation and the Units. But they urge the difficulty that the Federal Centre is unlikely, at least for some time to come, to be able to spare much, if any thing, by way of fresh resources for the Provinces, apart from the pressing needs of deficit areas. At present they are content only with giving an indication of the share which the Provinces may ultimately expect when the strain becomes less severe and with observing that the transfer must be gradual. This is extremely disappointing.

In the White Paper the problem of division of taxes on income between the Federal Centre and the Provinces was sought to be solved in the following manner: The Corporation Tax and the taxes on income derived from federal sources, i. e., federal areas and emoluments of federal officers, were to be permanently assigned to the Federation. Of the yield of the rest of the normal taxes on income a specified percentage (to be fixed by Order in Council), being not less than 50 per cent nor more than 75 per cent, was to be



assigned to the Provinces. Out of the proceeds so assigned to the Provinces the Federal Government would be entitled to retain an amount which would be constant for three years and would thereafter be reduced gradually to zero over a further period of seven years, power being reserved to the Governor-General to suspend these reductions in special circumstances. The Federal Government and Legislature were, in addition, to be empowered to impose a surcharge for federal purposes, while the Provincial Governments and Legislatures would have similar power to levy surcharges for provincial purposes.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee suggest some modifications in this scheme. They see no prospect of the possibility of fixing a higher percentage than 50 per cent and they are unwilling to prescribe a timetable for the process of transfer, as they hold the view that "for some time to come the Centre is unlikely to be able to do more than find the funds necessary for the deficit Provinces, and that an early distribution of any substantial part of the taxes on income is improbable." The Provinces will find it impossible to accept this position, for their needs are urgent, and they cannot wait indefinitely in the hope that something will turn up in future. Unless it be possible to spend adequate sums of money for the development of nation-building services in the Provinces the new constitution will prove an even more disastrous failure than the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. It is curious that, while the Joint Committee are so unsympathetic to the older Provinces, they do not hesitate to recommend large subventions for newly-created Provinces or Provinces which are to come into existence in future.

The Parliamentary Committee accept the proposal of the White Paper that the existing Corporation Tax should be retained by the Federation and that after ten years the tax should be extended to the States, a right being reserved to any State to make a lump sum contribution in lieu of the imposition of the tax. The Committee express themselves as opposed to the White Paper proposals regarding the levy of surcharges by the provinces on the ground that it may lead to differential

rates on the inhabitants of different provinces. This view of the Joint Committee is a retrograde one, and is likely to prove a great handicap to many of the Provinces in times of financial stress. The Committee are right in approving of the proposal to give exclusive power to Provinces to impose taxes on agricultural incomes.

In order to avoid too great a rigidity in the plan of financial allocation the Joint Committee agree to the proposal to allot, when the financial situation permits in future, to the Federal Units shares of the yield of the salt-tax as well as of the excise and export duties. The circumstances of the jute-producing Provinces are so special that the Committee have no hesitation in approving of the proposal to assign to them at least one-half of the proceeds of the jute export duty. In this connection the Committee admit that Bengal has "undoubtedly suffered severely under the existing plan of allocation," but they refrain from considering the demand of the Province for the entire proceeds of the tax. The Committee do not object to the proposal that railway terminal taxes may be levied in future by the Federation for the benefit of the Provinces.

Coming to the financial adjustment between the Federation and the States, the Committee accept the general principle on which the scheme is based. With regard to land customs imposed by Indian States they express the opinion that every effort should be made to substitute other forms of taxation for these internal duties which hamper the trade of the country. As for the States' maritime customs, they suggest the adoption of the general principle that maritime States should be allowed to retain only so much of the customs duties collected by them as is properly attributable to dutiable goods consumed within their own borders; but if insistence on treaty rights makes such an arrangement impossible, the question would have to be seriously considered whether the States could properly be admitted to the Federal system. This unveiled threat ought to serve as an eye-opener to the rulers of Indian States.

On the question of provincial borrowing, the Committee accept the White Paper



proposals, subject to one additional provision, namely, that in case the Federal Ministry refuses the application of a Province for permission to raise a loan or insists on unreasonable conditions, the ultimate decision should rest with the Governor-General in his discretion. The acceptance of this suggestion will further strengthen the position of the Governor-General which has been proposed to be made very strong under the other recommendations of the Committee. The establishment of an All-India Loan Council would perhaps be a better solution of the problem.

The additional expenditure likely to be incurred as the direct and indirect result of the proposed constitutional changes is estimated as follows :  $\frac{3}{4}$  crore per annum attributable to the establishment of Provincial Autonomy ; another  $\frac{3}{4}$  crore attributable to the establishment of the Federation ; subvention to Sind,  $\frac{3}{4}$  crore ; subvention to Orissa, 30 lakhs ; separation of Burma, 3 crores ; cost of adjustment with the Indian States, somewhat less than a crore. These items are in addition to the subvention of 1 crore already granted to the North-Western Frontier Province. Besides, the claim of Assam to an increase in its revenues will have to be met in some form. The general conclusion arrived at by the Committee is that, though no formidable new financial burden will be thrown on the taxpayers of India as a direct result of the proposed constitutional changes, the necessity for giving greater elasticity to provincial resources, the subventions to the deficit provinces, and also the separation of Burma will impose a further strain on the finances at the Centre. It is very much to be regretted that the Committee are unable to indicate the source from which the increased resources are likely to come ; they are merely content with expressing the hope that the present

depression will disappear in course of time.

The authors of the White Paper failed to take a comprehensive view of the entire financial situation of the country. But they gave some attention to the needs of the Provinces and considered it imperative immediately to enlarge the provincial resources. In this respect the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee is far more unsatisfactory than the White Paper. Emphasis is laid here on matters which are not urgent, while questions of supreme importance are brushed aside as unimportant. Thus its authors not only show a lamentable lack of foresight but shirk their responsibility in a matter of grave concern to the future of India.

From the very commencement of British rule in India a proper balance has been lacking in the financial system of the country. Large sums of money have been spent annually on the Army and the Police ; but niggardly treatment has always been meted out to subjects like sanitation, medical relief, agricultural improvement, and industrial advancement, while unemployment insurance and old age pensions have never found any place in any of the Government budgets. The most essential need of the present moment, therefore, is the development of the nation-building services. These services being under the control of the Provincial Governments, it is necessary to set them firmly on their feet by placing adequate resources at their disposal. As additional taxation is inconceivable at the present moment, the funds for this purpose will have to be obtained by retrenchment in the central budget, particularly under the head 'Defence'. Until a proper balance is imparted to the financial system it will be too much to expect either progress or contentment in the country.





## A CRITIQUE OF THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE'S REPORT \*

By NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJEE, NIRMAL CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA,  
BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEE, HIRAN KUMAR SANYAL AND  
SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI

### I

#### INTRODUCTION

[The opinions below do not profess to be the opinions of any party or group inside or outside the Indian National Congress. They are the considered views of one who takes his stand on the broad principles of Indian Nationalism and is not hostile to honourable and free partnership within the group of sovereign states calling itself the British Empire. The writer believes these opinions coincide broadly with opinions held throughout this country by honest, politically-minded citizens with whom patriotism has been a living faith and a burning passion and who have not hesitated to suffer and sacrifice for their convictions.]

**T**HE report of the Joint Committee embodies proposals which are in no way an approach, from the Indian point of view, to the Indian problem and the well-articulated Indian Demand for self-determination, rather they are a definite challenge to the surging forces of Indian unrest. They are studded with distrust and suspicion of Indians as Indians, they are a sugar-coated insult to the manhood of India. They are a very well-designed move to keep India as a British dependency and a preserve for the British financier, the British civilian and the British soldier for all time. What is proposed is a reactionary and retrograde constitution much worse than present-day dyarchy; it is not democracy; it is not representative Government; it is not responsibility either in the provinces or at the centre; it is not self-government and has no seeds within it that might sprout into anything of the character of Dominion government. It is undiluted autocracy, entrenched within the ring-fences of British bayonets, British commercial privilege, British service security and protected by the spearheads of "special powers" exercised by the Great Moghul at the centre and the provincial satraps, at the bidding of the British

Imperial Cabinet represented by the Secretary of State for India. The elected legislatures, the ministers are fake puppets owing hardly any allegiance to the Indian electorate but deriving all their borrowed and shadowy authority from the British Governor-Dictator and liable to be dismissed at his sweet will; the electorates themselves are a jig-saw puzzle, divided into zig-zag loyalties and allegiances, disruptive and centrifugal in their make-up and import. The entire Constitution is a Despotism working with reserved finances, safeguarded army and railways and shipping and with unlimited authority of rule by ukases and ordinances.

The reservations and safeguards are everywhere; the responsibility (of the people) nowhere. The ministers and Legislatures are at best advisers, at worst dummies. And the irony of it, the tragedy of it is that India is being asked to barter away her rights for ever for this dubiousness of pottage, to accept this fake constitution in the interests of peace and order, to register her assent to it because no better scheme is on the boards.

The discussion of these voluminous proposals item by item is the business of the constitutional pundit and the hair-splitting legalist but the broad points should be stressed on the attention of the average citizen. And the broadest point about this constitution is that it is a masquerade within a masquerade, a sham within a sham; for irresponsibility and responsibility can never be joined together for positive constructive ends and the spectacle of a semi-militarist Dictatorship fringed round with Parliamentary devices of representation, election and advisory ministers working for the uplift and solidarity of the masses, of peasants and workers is not very inspiring. It is a rather freezing monstrosity, something new and bizarre in the chequered history of peoples and Governments.

The plan, stated plainly, is this. The British people are the masters of India—and masters—they mean to remain here, through all the chances and changes of circumstances. And, therefore

\*Papers read at the Politics Club, Calcutta.



the first devise is to divide India into communal sectors, into mutually antagonistic interests ranged not on functional and economic diversity but on medieval and time-worn prejudices of religion and community; this is a very intelligent plan, which if it succeeds will effectively bar India from a united nationhood. Such a horizontally dismembered India is to have the privilege of voting for membership of a legislature or legislatures (for there is to be an upper chamber where all the rear-guard of reactionary vested interests, the landlord, the capitalist, the prosperous money-lender will be acting as a brake upon the progressive tendencies of the lower chamber) and on the apex of it will be a miscellaneous advisory cabinet of ministers who will have to be selected with a sedulous regard for minority communities and rights. Once selected, this ministerial galaxy will have to be freed from any effective or real control whatsoever by the popular legislative council and their salaries will be nonvotable and they will hold office or be dismissed at the behest and bidding of the Provincial Governors. And the special powers and responsibilities of the Governor will be so comprehensive that these ministers will have no authority of appointment, dismissal, even of transfer over their Civilian and Police subordinates and will have all their departmental proposals subjected to financial scrutiny and overhauling by a special agency responsible to the Governor only; as for the minister in charge of law and order, he is expected to have a very diverting time, for the effective control of the Police, the ordinary and the political agencies, will be exercised by the Inspector-General of Police having direct access to the Governor; and in the matter of the political police the minister will be a henchman and ally of the chief of police without being let into any of the secrets of the department and without having any say whatever as regards policy, personnel or tactics. Britishers trading in the Governors' areas will have special, legal and administrative protection and Indian business may not intrude into these preserves and may not hope for privileged treatment.

And on the top of all this, the Governor may declare a state of Emergency and dissolve the legislature and take up the reins of the entire Government in his own hands. This is the new-fangled Provincial autonomy:—It is not autonomy in leading strings; it is a pure and simple Despotism varnished with a very superficial coating of shadowy, evanescent popular responsibility. It is unrestricted autonomy for the

Governor sent out by the British Parliament and responsible to Parliament alone. It is much worse than the present Dyarchy.

About the so-called Indian Federation, the less said the better. The prospects of a Federation are very remote; when the Indian Princes agreed to come within an Indian Federation comprised of British India and the States they were allured by the enthusing vision of a self-governing India, an autonomous Dominion within the Empire partnership. The Federation as sketched is acceptable neither to British India citizens for they regard it as a plan for keeping India under British suzerainty with the help, constitutional, financial and military, of the Princes; and I dare say eventually the majority of Indian Princes will not like to exchange their present position, however unsatisfactory to them, for a position of dual control attended with dual responsibilities in a Federated India. The systems of administration in British India and the India of the States are so radically different that any attempt to dove-tail them into each other is bound to lead to unimaginable confusions and complexities. And therefore the transitional arrangement of dyarchy at the centre leaving every real vestige of control in the hands of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief assisted by the Reserve Bank Governors and the Statutory Railway Board will be perpetuated for years to come.

What will eventually emerge out of these constitutional proposals remains to be seen. The Indian Congress might win over the minority communities, capture legislatures, even accept office and present a serried front of united ministerial diplomats and challenge Governors in the Provinces to a constitutional duel and to compel Governors to use their special and emergency powers. The result may be an absolute abrogation of even the shadow of popular responsibility. The Congress might gather force and momentum afresh and place another fighting programme before the country, winning over the masses. Fascism, Socialism, Communism—all may have a pull. There may be another devastating world-war and all present evaluations and forecasts might pale away into the dim inane.

But of one thing I am sure, the proposed constitution will not bring contentment, or peace or prosperity to India.

N. C. BANERJI

## II

### IMPERIAL CONTROL

#### a. THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL

The authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (1918), laid down the wise



formula that in proportion as the Governments in India are made responsible to Indian legislatures "the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and provincial Governments must be relaxed." In pursuance of this doctrine powers of the Secretary of State in Council over the Governments established by the Government of India Act, 1919, suffered a proportionate diminution. The White Paper laid down, in the same strain, the following: "The Secretary of State in Council of India as a statutory corporation . . . is a conception which is manifestly incompatible alike with Provincial self-Government and with a responsible Federal Government."

The Joint Parliamentary Committee fully endorse this view. They do not doubt that under a system of responsible Government in India the Secretary of State in Council will not continue on the present basis. It is, therefore, proposed to abolish the body corporate known as the Secretary of State in Council, and set up in its place the office of the Secretary of State. He will, however, be assisted by an Advisory Council. Thus, subject to the devolution of authority to Governments in India and subject to the control of the Advisory Council over the Imperial Services, the powers hitherto exercised by the Secretary of State in Council will come to be wielded by His Majesty's Secretary of State in charge of Indian affairs. In a way this minister of the Crown will come to be vested with more unfettered powers over the new order than is the case at present.

In fact, in regard to subjects, provincial or federal, which will not be transferred to popular control, the Secretary of State, will henceforth continue to be the ultimate authority. Thus in the sphere of Provincial Government (i) matters committed to the discretion of the Governor, (ii) matters relating to the administration of Excluded Areas, and (iii) matters in respect of which a special responsibility is by law committed to the Governor, the Secretary of State will have the power of intervention. In the federal sphere, likewise, the Secretary of State will ultimately control the Reserved Departments and the subjects committed to the discretion and 'special responsibility' of the Governor-General. It is needless to add that the Secretary of State will have the ultimate control over any appropriation or expenditure in respect of the spheres of his intervention mentioned above. Thus, besides administrative control, a great bulk of Indian revenues will continue to remain under the supervisory direction of the Secretary of State for India. A Secretary of State, believing in intervention, will

thus have, at his disposal, instruments for rendering responsible Government in India meaningless and nugatory. The Great Mogul of White hall will continue to rule India from England.

#### b. THE ADVISORY COUNCIL

The Joint Parliamentary Committee agree to the proposal of the White Paper that the Secretary of State should be empowered to appoint not less than 3 and not more than 6 persons for the purpose of advising him, of whom two at least must have held office for at least ten years under the Crown in India. The Advisory Council will generally be a consultative body; but in one matter this Council is proposed to be given substantial powers: Paragraph 179 read with paragraphs 183 and 189 of the White Paper require the Secretary of State to seek the approval of the majority of the Council regarding any rule regulating the conditions of Public Services in India with regard to which the Secretary of State remains, under the Constitution Act, the responsible authority.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee, however, lay down some further conditions which render the Advisory Council more reactionary in nature. It is, in the first place, provided that the service of the Advisers who are required to have held office for at least ten years under the Crown in India should not have terminated more than two years before their appointment. Secondly, half (and here they go further than the White Paper which required at least two) of the Advisers should have the service qualifications. A Council organized on this basis is sure to be infected with the bureaucratic virus, and is not likely to favour the development of free institutions. There is, however, no provision for the appointment of non-official Indians to the Advisory Council.

#### FEDERAL GOVERNMENT : GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND VICEROY

The Governor-General is the chief Executive Officer of the Crown in India, and in association with his Council, he is invested with the superintendence, direction and control of the whole civil and military Government of British India. This body corporate is required to pay due obedience to all orders that they may receive from the Secretary of State in Council. And finally, the Governor-General in Council is the agent of the paramount power in its relations with the Indian States.

The principles underlying the present constitutional proposals are fundamentally different



from the provisions of the present constitution. Henceforth the Governor-General in Council as a body corporate will cease to exist.

"On repeal of the present Government of India Act, all powers appertaining and incidental to Government of British India will vest in the Crown; and transition from the existing constitutional position . . . will be effected by making them exercisable on behalf of the Crown by Governor-General, the Governor and other appropriate authorities established by or under the Constitution Act."

"The office of the Governor-General of the Federation will be constituted by Letters-Patent, and the documents will set out the powers which the Governor-General will exercise as the King's representative."

Thus the Governor-General as the representative of the British Crown in India will be the chief Federal executive, and will exercise powers as are given to him by the Constitution Act. The White Paper further proposed that by virtue of separate Letters-Patent the Governor-General would also come to be called Viceroy; the Viceroy, as such, would exercise powers of the Crown in relation to the States, principally in the numerous matters outside the federal sphere; and the Constitution Act would not provide for such matters.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee agree that a differential function as indicated above seems to be desirable because in future the relations of the Indian States outside the federal sphere would be with the British Crown and not with the Government of India. But they are not clear that the method employed to give effect to it is entirely appropriate.

We assume that the two offices will continue to be held by the same person, and, this being so, we think that the title of Viceroy should attach to him in his double capacity. This suggestion involves no departure from the underlying principle of the White Paper that, outside the federal sphere, the States' relations will be exclusively with the Crown and the right to tender advice to the Crown in this regard will be with his Majesty's Government.

The proposal of the White Paper in this regard is more in agreement with the constitutional theory and practice in the Dominions; and is, therefore, more acceptable than the new proposal of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, who appear to emphasize the subordinate position of India in the Empire.

## THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE

The present constitutional proposals effect vital changes in the Central Executive. The

Governor-General in Council as the supreme executive in India will cease to exist and out of its ashes will emerge a dyarchical Government. Defence, Foreign Relations, Ecclesiastical Affairs, the Administration of British Beluchistan and matters left by the Act to the Governor-General's discretion shall be the Reserved subjects under the charge of the Governor-General, who will appoint not more than three counsellors to assist him in the administration of these subjects. These counsellors will be responsible to the Governor-General. Other subjects of administration shall be under the direction of ministers responsible to the Federal legislature. It is provided that the Governor-General as the head of the Federal executive will, whenever he thinks fit, preside at meetings of the Council of Ministers.

An analysis of the functions and powers of the federal executive will reveal that the Governor-General will dominate the proposed dyarchy in the federal sphere. The powers of the Governor-General, derived from the Letters-Patent and the Constitution Act, will be enormous; and human nature being what it is, the possibilities appear to be very remote that such powers will be exercised for the development of responsible institutions in India, on proper lines. These formal and informal powers will include the following:

- (a) Powers over reserved subjects mentioned above.
- (b) Powers in relation to matters affecting his 'special responsibility.'\*
- (c) Discretionary powers.
- (d) Emergency powers: those relating to Reserved Departments and those which affect the 'special responsibilities' of the Governor-General.
- (e) Proclamatory Powers.
- (h) Powers that may by devolution rules be assigned to the Governor-General over the Discretionary Powers of the Provincial Governors, the matters affecting the 'special responsibility' of the Governors or over Excluded Areas.
- (g) Other legislative and financial powers conferred upon him by the Constitution Act.

It is noteworthy that the Joint Parliamentary Committee recommend that to the special responsibilities of the Governor-General enumerated in the White Paper there should be

\* White Paper, paras. 9 and 10 (Introduction).

\* White Paper, para. 18.



added a further special responsibility defined in such terms as follow:—"The prevention of measures, legislative or administrative which would subject British goods imported into India, from the United Kingdom, to the discriminatory or penal treatment." It is further recommended that the Governor-General's Instrument of Instruction should contain "full and clear guidance" in the matter. On the one hand the provisions are liable to be used in the interest of British commerce and industry and on the other they will have the effect of depriving India of the measure of fiscal autonomy that she has been exercising, by convention, since the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. No further comment is necessary to reveal the real character of these provisions.

The control of the Governor-General over federal finance will be considerable. The Governor-General will authenticate all appropriations. When he will be unable to accept the proposals of his ministers or the decision of the legislature, for the proper discharge of his responsibilities, he will have the power to bring the appropriation into accord with his own estimates of the requirements. With regard to non-votable items of expenditure detailed in the White Paper, which will cover nearly 80 per cent. of the revenues, his interpretation will be considered to be final. Thirdly, the consent of the Governor-General will be required for introduction, among others, of any bill affecting the coinage, currency and the powers and duties of the Reserve Bank in relation to management of currency and coinage. Thus the financial control of the federal finance minister is rendered meaningless and illusory. Finally, the provision for the appointment of a financial adviser to assist him in the discharge of his special responsibilities in financial matters is a retrograde one. There is the risk that the financial adviser may be induced to use his position to the detriment of the legitimate economic interests of the Indian people.

It will thus appear that the Governor-General is clothed with tremendous powers—legislative, executive and financial, extending over both the reserved and the transferred fields of administration. None but a super-man can do justice to these powers and responsibilities. In the circumstances it is likely that the Governor-General will, as before, fall under the sway of a bureaucracy consisting of the Secretariat, counsellors and the financial adviser. There is the risk that under such bureaucratic control popular interest will suffer, reaction will set in and 'Central responsibility' will remain a mirage.

### III

#### THE STATES AND FEDERATION

In the series of proposals, drafts, schemes and recommendations for the coming Constitutional Reform in India to which we have been so far treated, there is no more gratifying feature than the idea of an All-India Federation in which the different provinces of India will be equal partners with the Princes' States in a grand scheme of Government—a unique product of historical evolution and human ingenuity. For the first time in the chequered course of its long history, India seems in a fair way to the fulfilment of the cherished ideal of unity—an ideal that has been fondly conceived and cruelly shattered time and again in the past.

Both the White Paper and the Report of the Joint Committee agree about the ideal. Those who participated in the Round Table discussions and those who have admired, abused, or advised them in public since, have also given their unanimous blessings to the proposal for a unified India. It is not a little strange, therefore, that the White Paper and the present Report should chalk down a path that, it is obvious even to the most careless observer, might lead anywhere but to the desired goal. A consideration of the bare outline of the proposed scheme will make this clear.

What impresses one most about this Scheme is its insistence on the strict recognition of the States' legal rights in joining the provinces of India with the Princes' States in holy constitutional wedlock. It is clear, on their own admission, to the authors of the Report, that in the proposed Federal Government both the Provinces and the Central Government in India must derive their powers and authority from a direct grant by the Crown. Therefore, they apprehend "that the legal basis of a reconstituted Government of India must be, first, the resumption into the hands of the Crown of all rights, authority and jurisdiction in and over the territories of British India and, second, their re-distribution in such manner as the Act may prescribe between the Central Government on the one hand and the Provinces on the other." This applies to British India only. The States do not come within the scope of the proposed Constitution Act. "There can be no question of compulsion so far as States are concerned. Their Rulers can enter or stand aside from the Federation as they think fit." One wonders whether the States were also allowed to enter or not as they thought fit into their present alliance with the Crown which is



supposed to rest on much advertised "treaties, engagements and sanads." One wonders too about the exact nature of the "Voluntary Act" which is responsible, now and then, for important political and administrative changes, including at times even the abdication of the Ruler, in this State or that.

Anyway, the framers of the Report have made an attempt to ensure that what the Rulers may think fit shall be on the lines of their vaunted scheme of Indian unity. For the States are offered no less than two-fifths and one-third shares in the upper and lower houses respectively of the Federal legislature, though their total population is no more than a quarter of the total population of the whole of India, States and Provinces and all.\*

The disparity in the number of seats in the Federal Legislature allotted to the states as compared with the number allotted to the British Indian Provinces is on a par with the proposed methods of filling them up in the states and British India. While in the latter, the principle of election on a popular basis has been largely recognized, in the case of the states, their representatives will be nominees of the Rulers concerned. That is not all. The Joint Committee Report has evolved a most novel and interesting principle for allocation of seats among the states in the case of the Council of State, namely, that account should be taken of "the relative rank and importance of the state as indicated by the dynastic salute and other factors!" Dynastic salute and other factors—what a marvellous combination of romance and mysticism!!!!!!

In the House of Assembly, however, the number of states' representatives will be determined in the main on the basis of population. So the representation of the states in the Federal Legislature will be securely established on the twin foundations of quality and quantity. Is this statesmanship or diplomacy?

We have not yet exhausted the test of inducements offered to the states to toe the line of Indian Unity. The principle of compensation in the shape of weightage in the matter of representation which even-handed British Justice has decreed for the salvation of some minority communities is not forgotten in the case of the states. Should some states refuse to accede to the Federation, and as a result, some of the seats allocated to the states in the Federal Legislature remain unfilled, then the states which have acceded should,

in the opinion of the Committee, 'be empowered to elect additional representatives in both houses up to half the number of the vacant seats.' No, the states' representation will not be allowed to go by default.

This is so far as the states' participation in the Federal powers goes. As regards the states' subjection to the Federal authority, it will be expressly provided that the Governor-General as Governor-General will have no voice in the administration of the states which will only be subject to the control of the Crown through the Viceroy.

The sacrosanct rights of the Princes will thus be given adequate protection against political forces in British India. The Princes will not only remain princes as much as or perhaps more than before but will become into the bargain British Indian politicians of sufficient constitutional importance to weight the balance of power in whatever direction their controlling forces decide. But the British Indian politicians, alas, must ever be content to look upon the states from a respectful distance as so many heaven-created sanctuaries of sacred privilege and inviolate power. As regards the people of the states, well, they hardly at all exist except as data for determining the number of seats the states are entitled to in the Federal Assembly. Let sceptics say what they will, the glorious dream of Indian Unity is at last come true!

#### IV

#### AUTONOMY FOR THE PROVINCES

The Joint Committee's Report is meticulous about emphasizing the differences between the 'letter and spirit of British constitutional doctrine,' and the absence of all the four factors underlying the 'British conception of parliamentary government,' viz., 'the principle of majority rule; the willingness of the minority for the time being to accept the decisions of the majority; the existence of great political parties divided by broad issues of policy, rather than by sectional interests; and finally, the existence of a mobile body of political opinion'. One is tempted to ask on whom rests the responsibility for such a state of affairs, why sectional interests seem to dominate the surface of Indian public life, or, how majority rule and a 'mobile public opinion' could gather momentum in the absence of even the shadow of responsible government, or who determined the methods and materials for, what the Report terms, the 'apprenticeship in parliamentary methods'? All this is only to convince Parliament 'to take account of the facts of Indian Life' and to 'discard theories and

\* The states are to have 100 out of 250 seats in the Council of State and 125 of 375 seats in the House of Assembly.



analogies and, instead, to base our scheme on the government of India as it exists today'.

The Report observes that the "safest hypothesis on which we can proceed . . . is that the future government of India will be successful in proportion as it represents, not a new creation substituted for an old one, but the natural evolution of an existing government and the natural extension of its past tendencies." From this point of view, the Committee's "first and basic" proposal is to "found the new constitutional system in India on the principle of Provincial Autonomy." This is how the whole problem of responsibility at the centre and a Federal Dominion for India, questions which had loomed so large in the Round Table discussions, have been not only side-tracked but, for all practical purposes, thrown overboard. Even the curious *pot-pouri* of a Federation between 'safeguarded' British Indian provinces and the autocratically governed states, with so much of the flair of the essentials of 'responsible government' 'reserved' and cut out of it as to make it a *bete-noire* of future text-book writers on political theory,—even such a Federation is to appear after several pre-requisites and conditions have been fulfilled to the satisfaction of both Houses of Parliament.

But, Provincial Autonomy is assured; and the Report defines it as a scheme "whereby each of the Governors' Provinces will possess an executive and a Legislature having exclusive authority within the Province in a precisely defined sphere, and in that exclusively provincial sphere broadly free from control by the Central Government and Legislature. Autonomy is generally taken to imply self-government, and as a corollary to freedom from Central control goes the responsibility of Provincial governments to the people. Lest this mistake is made, the Report formulates the 'principle of executive independence', and as if this is not enough, it further emphasizes that the principle "should be reinforced in the Constitution by the conferment of special powers and responsibilities on the Governor as the head of the Provincial Executive." These measures are apparently necessary in India's interests for, "it must be recognized", observes the Report, "that if free play were given to the powerful forces which would be set in motion by an unqualified system of parliamentary government, the consequences would be disastrous to India, and perhaps irreparable." Any further commentary on the character and objectives of the 'advance' in the provincial sphere is superfluous.

The Committee are very much impressed by

the "economic, geographical and racial differences between the Provinces on the one hand and the sense of provincial individuality on the other." They do not, therefore, feel any qualms in endorsing the suggestion for creating separate provinces in spite of the consequent financial burdens, and endowing the old and new provinces with the intricate, and ornate brand of 'autonomy' without real responsibility, and even that unaccompanied by its complement, the establishment of real responsible government at the centre.

## V

In evaluating the Joint Committee's proposals the first question that occurs to us is, how far have their authors attempted to satisfy Indian opinion? This is a moot question, for the success of the proposed constitution will ultimately depend on the way in which it is worked, and worked not by Britishers only but by Indians also. Ever since the present constitution was ushered into existence fourteen years ago, there has been a persistent and vigorous agitation for a liberal move forward. Four successive Viceroys and six consecutive Secretaries of State for India have, as they have themselves so often declared, endeavoured, (or was it a pretence to endeavour?) to bring about a compromise or settlement that would satisfy Indian aspirations up to a certain extent at least. We do not take into account the numerous committees, conferences and commissions that have conducted enquiries into various matters relating to the question because these have mostly been "command performances". As the individuals associated with the conduct of all such enquiries were not quite disinterested spectators in the game, they were not the persons who could be expected to express a fair or impartial view of the questions with which they were faced.

However that may be, the authors of the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, as also the various commentators who have elucidated its complexities and intricacies, both in and outside of Parliament, have been compelled by sheer necessity, to acknowledge the essential importance of Indian opinion in a settlement of a question in which Indians are so vitally affected. The Joint Report says: "We have already referred to the long process of collaboration through which successive Governments in this country have sought to ascertain whether any substantial measure of agreement was possible upon the principles which should inform a new constitutional settlement in India



. . . Indeed, we recognise that even moderate opinion in India have advocated and hoped for a more simple and sweeping transfer of power than we have felt able to recommend".

The Joint Committee consider not only that there is not even a "remote" chance of satisfying the aspirations of Indian Congressmen, but that they are not able in like manner to meet even the very modest solicitations of the gentlemanly Liberals. But still they are anxious to demonstrate to the uninformed and unsuspecting world that their proposals have the solid support of a large body of Indian opinion. They have, they say, come across, quite recently, a new phenomenon, that is, the emergence of what they describe as "the central opinion" both in the United Kingdom and in India.

The authors of the proposed constitution realized that they needed the support of Indian public opinion. They at the same time found that the only Indian opinion that counted did not support them in their dubious and retrograde course. Nothing undaunted they set out on a new enterprise, and lo and behold, they succeeded in alighting upon something which, though it did not exist in fact, originated in the ethereal brains of these supermen. This is what they describe as "the central opinion," on the solid foundations of which they propose to build their "firm and enduring" superstructure of the new constitution. *words! words! words!!*

The authors of the Report have the merit of making a number of innovations of a novel and

ingenious nature. They were at the outset confronted with ideas and declarations that had already been made by British statesmen and sovereigns. The accepted meanings and implications of these did not suit their dispositions and inclinations. The accepted meaning of the phrase "responsible government" did not suit the authors of the Report. But quite undismayed by the actualities of the situation they have fabricated a new and special meaning for the phrase when it has to be used in respect of India, for the conditions and climate of India are quite different from those in England, and long accepted meanings of words, phrases and ideas have also begun to undergo transformation at the bidding of British statesmen. These are the men who at the time of the Great War conducted such a furious campaign against Germany for treating certain former pledges as scraps of paper. The simple word "Autonomy" has come in for a very elaborate treatment at the hands of these men and the phrase "Dominion Status" has proved a real bugbear to them.

No farsighted statesman would build on such ephemeral foundation. The memorable words of John Redmond uttered with reference to Ireland a quarter of a century ago may very appropriately be applied to India. The distinguished Irish statesman said that England invariably failed to adopt the only course, namely, trusting the people, that could help her to solve the Irish problem.

## J. P. C. ON "EXCLUDED AREAS"

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

"Better submit to the present unconstitutional government rather than to the more reactionary and further more unconstitutional government of the future."—C. Y. Chintamani in the Debate on the J. P. C. Report in the U. P. Council.

**B**EFORE 1909 His Honour the Lieutenant Governor was supreme throughout the province of Bengal; no area was excluded either wholly or partially from the ambit of exercise of his authority. The Indian element was wholly unrepresented in the executive administration. On the Legislative side, the Bengal Legislative Council with its standing and permanent official majority had the power to

legislate over the entire province. The powers of the 'recommended by the electoral colleges and subsequently nominated' members was very limited.

(2) In 1909, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was given an Executive Council of three, in which one Indian, the late Raja Kisorilal Goswami, found his seat. As a result of the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, the powers of the elected members of the Legislative Council were considerably enhanced. In 1912 on the repartition of the province, Bengal was raised to the status of a Presidency with a Governor in Council. The Executive Council consisted of two European



I. C. S. men, and one non-official Indian. The authority of the Legislative Council was supreme; and its constitution in 1912 was such that the non-official and elected element was in a slight majority. For the recollection of the readers, we summarize its constitution below :

Constitution of Bengal Legislative Council.  
*Ex-officio* members (including the Governor) 5

Electected members :

(1) by the Corporation of Calcutta	1
(2) by the University of Calcutta	1
(3) by the municipal commissioners of certain specified municipalities	5
(4) by District boards and Local boards	5
(5) by the landholders of the Presidency, Burdwan, Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions	4
(6) by the municipal commissioners of the municipalities in the Chittagong division and the landholders of the Chittagong division alternately	1
(7) by the Muhammadan community	5
(8) by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce	2
(9) by the Calcutta Trades Association	1
(10) by the commissioners of the port of Chittagong	1
(11) by certain commissioners of the Corporation of Calcutta	1
(12) by the tea planting community	1
	28

Nominated members,

of whom not more than 16 may be officials and 2 shall be non-officials, to be selected one from the Indian commercial community, and one from the European commercial community, exclusive of the tea-planter's community, and carrying on business outside Calcutta and Chittagong 20

Total 53

To which may be added 2 expert members. [Southborough Committee's Report, Appendix III, p 48.]

(3) Under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, the position of affairs was considerably altered. Certain areas were treated as "Backward Tracts" and excluded from the new Reforms. Sec. 52A sub-Sec. (2) of the Government of India Act, 1915-1919 runs thus :

"The Governor-General in Council may declare any territory in British India to be a 'backward tract,' and may by notification, with such sanction as aforesaid [i. e., with the sanction of His Majesty previously signified by the Secretary of State in Council] direct that this Act shall apply to that territory subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be prescribed in the notification.

"Where the Governor-General in Council has, by notification, directed as aforesaid, he may, by the same or subsequent notification, direct that

any Act of the Indian legislature shall not apply to the territory in question or any part thereof or shall apply to the territory or any part thereof subject to such exceptions or modifications as the Governor-General thinks fit, or may authorise the governor in council to give similar directions as respects any Act of the local legislature."

Under the powers conferred by this section, certain areas were declared backward tracts in almost every province, and the powers of the reformed legislatures were considerably reduced by notifications. The case of Bengal may be taken as typical. In Bengal, the Hill tracts of Chittagong were wholly excluded from the Reforms, and the Darjeeling district was partially excluded; A quotation from the relevant Notification regarding Bengal will show the nature of its scope.

"1. The provisions of the Government of India Act which confer powers on the Indian legislature and on the local legislature of Bengal to make laws, respectively, for British India and for the presidency of Bengal—

(a) shall not apply to the Hill tracts of Chittagong, and (b) shall be construed in their application to the Darjeeling district as requiring those legislatures, when making laws solely applicable to the said district or any part thereof to insert in every law so made a provision that such law shall come into operation only on such date and subject to such exceptions and modifications, if any as the Governor-General in Council or the Governor in Council, by notification in the Gazette of India or the local official gazette, as the case may be, direct.

"2. The provisions of the said Act which require proposals for expenditure by the Governor-General in Council and by the local government of Bengal to be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly and of the legislative council of the Governor of Bengal, respectively, shall not apply to proposals for expenditure, declared by the Governor-General or the Governor as the case may be, to be for the purpose of the internal administration of these territories.

"3. In lieu of the provisions of the said Act which enable rules to be made for prohibiting or regulating in either chamber of the Indian legislature the asking of questions on, and the discussion of, any subject specified in the rules, there shall be substituted a provision prohibiting the asking of questions on, and the discussion of, any subject relating to these territories; and the provisions of the said Act which enable rules to be made for prohibiting or regulating in local legislative councils the asking of questions on, and the discussion of, any subject specified in the rules shall be construed as if they prohibited the asking of questions on, and the discussion of, any subject relating to those territories in the legislative council of the Governor of Bengal save with the sanction of the Governor.



"4. Section 46 (1) of the said Act shall be construed, in its application to these territories as if the words 'in relation to reserved subjects' and the words 'and in relation to transferred subjects (save as otherwise provided by this Act) by the Governor acting with Ministers appointed under this Act' were omitted." [Gazette of India Extra-ordinary, 3rd January, 1921 p. 42.]

The inauguration of the Montagu Reforms placed these backward areas, or areas excluded from the Reforms under disadvantages of two different kinds. Before the Montagu Reforms, the people of Darjeeling had some representation in the Bengal Council, for not only were the municipal commissioners of Darjeeling and Kurseong permitted to take part in the election of the representative from the Rajshahi Division, but they had as many as 15 votes out of a possible maximum of 41, and a good chance of being elected. Under the Reforms of 1919, Darjeeling does not form part of any constituency, and it has got no representation in the Legislative Council. It has lost its former rights. Neither has the new Legislature the same jurisdiction as before. The increased popular element and the greater power of putting questions and voting supplies are of no use to these backward areas. So far as the executive Government is concerned the power is in the 'Governor in Council'; and as usually two out of the four Executive Councillors are Indians, the government of these backward areas is Indianized, if not popularized, to that extent. Of course, it is permissible for the Governor to nominate one or more non-officials to represent these areas; but hitherto the power has scarcely been exercised, perhaps because the Reforms do not apply there.

The power to declare any area "backward tract" is at present vested in the Governor-General in Council. To the extent there are Indian members of the Viceroy's Cabinet, there is Indianization, and the Indian opinion, if not popular opinion, is represented. Further the Governor-General being the man on the spot may be expected to be aware of the popular feeling about the exclusion or inclusion of any given area as a "backward tract".

(4) But the recommendations of the J. P. C. are entirely reactionary and retrograde in character. The Simon Commission proposed to call these "backward tracts" *excluded areas*. Their recommendation was:

"We are proposing to transfer from the provincial Governments to the Government of India the charge of backward tracts, which in future should be called 'excluded areas.' This is a very responsible and important branch of government, and one in which the progress and protection of the inhabitants of these 'excluded areas' almost entirely depend upon good administration. The question should be considered whether a portfolio should not be specifically created in this connection, which would be held

either by a Member in charge of "excluded areas", or combined with other duties in the hands of an existing Executive Councillor." [Simon Report, Vol II, p. 142.]

This recommendation of the Simon Commission has not been accepted by the J. P. C. According to the J. P. C. the executive authority and power is to be vested in the Governor. In para 67, J. P. C. says:

"The White Paper proposes to do away with the dyarchical system. It vests the whole executive power and authority of the Province in the Governor himself, as the representative of the King, and provides the Governor with a Council of Ministers to 'aid and advise' him in the exercise of any powers conferred upon him by the Constitution Act, except in relation to such matters as will be left by that Act to the Governor's discretion."

This is bad enough for the Ministers; and the progress of responsible self-government. But lest any weak Governor be "aided and advised" by his Ministers, the J. P. C. in a footnote explains the Governor's position with respect to the "excluded areas." The J. P. C. says: "These (i. e. excluded areas) will be administered by the Governor himself, and the Ministers will have *no* (italics ours) constitutional right to advise him in connection with them."

This is reversion to the simple one-man rule as before 1909; and the Indian opinion goes wholly unrepresented. The J. P. C. says: "The (Constitution) Act will commit certain matters to the Governor's *sole* discretion, such for instance, as his power of veto over legislation and the regulation of matters relating to the administration of the excluded areas." (para 74).

The mention in one breath of the Governor's veto, and the administration of excluded areas shows the nature of autocracy in the Governor expected of him. The position is made clearer when the J. P. C. deals with the Partially Excluded Areas. It says:

"The responsibility for the government of Partially Excluded (as opposed to wholly Excluded) Areas will primarily rest upon the Ministers; but we agree that in view of the responsibility which Parliament has assumed towards the inhabitants of the backward and less civilized tracts in India, it is right to impose a *special responsibility* (italics ours) in this respect upon the Governor." (para 80).

It is further explained when the J. P. C. deals with the sphere of Action of Ministers. "The White Paper proposes that Ministers shall advise the Governor in all matters other than the administration of excluded areas, and matters left by law to the Governors' discretion. With regard to the first of these two exceptions, we approve the conclusions, and are content, to adopt the arguments of the Statutory Commission." (para 89).

With regard to the powers of the proposed



bi-cameral legislatures in respect of these areas the J. P. C. has made the position very clear :

"It is proposed that the powers of a provincial legislature shall not extend to any part of the province which is declared to be an 'Excluded Area' or a 'partially Excluded Area'. In relation to the former, the Governor will himself direct and control the administration ; in the case of latter he is declared to have a special responsibility. In neither case will any Act of the Provincial Legislature apply to the Area, unless by direction of the Governor given at his discretion, with any exceptions or modifications he may think fit. The Governor will also be empowered at his discretion to make regulations having the force of law for the peace and good government of any Excluded or partially Excluded Area, but subject in this case to the prior consent of the Governor-General. We have already expressed our approval of the principle of Excluded Areas, and we accept the above proposals as both necessary and reasonable, so far as the Excluded Areas proper are concerned. We think, however, that a distinction might well be drawn in this respect between Excluded Areas and partially Excluded Areas and that the application of Acts to, or the framing of Regulations for, partially Excluded Areas, is an executive act which might appropriately be performed by the Governor on the advice of his Ministers, the decisions taken in each case being, of course, subject to the Governor's special responsibility for partially Excluded Areas, that is to say, being subject to his right to differ from the proposals of his Ministers if he thinks fit." (para 144).

The White Paper proposals did not make the expenditure relating to these areas non-votable. The J. P. C. makes it so. It says :

"In one respect, however, we think the test is defective. The administration of Excluded Areas is a matter which will be the exclusive responsibility of the Governor, and following the analogy of the Governor-General's reserved departments, we think that the expenditure required for these areas, whether derived from

Provincial or Central revenues, should not be subject to the vote of the Provincial Legislature." (para 148).

So the power of the Legislature is reduced to zero. So far as law-making powers are concerned the Governor becomes the sole Legislative Authority. That the position will be worse may be gathered from the following quotation from the White Paper proposal no 108 : "The Governor will also be empowered at his discretion to make regulations for the peace and good government of any area, which is for the time being an excluded area or a partially excluded area, and will be competent by any Regulation so made to repeal or amend any Act of the Federal Legislature or of the provincial Legislature, which is for the time being applicable to the area in question."

Even the existing safeguards may be taken away ; petty theft may be made a capital offence, with no constitutional machinery to protest against its imposition.

At present, the power to declare any area "backward tract" is in the Governor-General in Council ; and Indian opinion and influence is to some extent reflected. But the White Paper proposed : "His Majesty will be empowered to direct by order in Council that any area within a province is to be an "Excluded Area," or a "Partially Excluded Area," and by subsequent Orders in Council to revoke or vary any such Order." (proposal no. 106)

The proposal has been accepted by the J. P. C. (see para 378f).

The result is that a premium is put on executive irresponsibility to Indian influence. If the Secretary of State advises His Majesty to declare the whole of Bengal, for example, to be an Excluded Area, what guarantee is there that we shall be apprised of it, before it becomes an accomplished fact ?

Considering all these recommendations together there cannot be any difference of opinion about their reactionary and retrograde nature. Hence they must be, according to a certain school of opinion, for the benefit of India.

## CORRECTION

*The Modern Review* for December 1934,

p. 645. [L. 1 and 2 for 3,000 acres of and per day read 12 acres of land per day.



# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

**A STUDY OF ANCIENT INDIAN NUMISMATICS**, *from the earliest times to the rise of the Imperial Guptas, with special reference to Northern India.* By Surendra Kisor Chakraborty. Pp. 242. Price Rs. 5.

In this treatise the author deals with the evolution of coinage, the evolution, origin and antiquity of coinage in India, weights and coin denominations, the metrology of coins, the mode of fabrication, the State in relation to coinage, the symbols appearing on coins and their provenance and types. The author has taken great pains to collect from various sources a mass of materials relating to his subject. But the book is not a mere compilation. It throws welcome light on a number of important topics, for instance, the determination of the Satamāna unit, the variations in the weight of coins, the indebtedness of India to Greece regarding the fabrication of coins, and the bimetallic system adopted in ancient times. Mr. Chakravartty is to be congratulated for the critical exposition and able handling of numismatic data. He has not taken any opinion on trust, but has tried to go to its very origin—a method that has enabled him to show the hollowness of some of the theories propounded by well-known scholars. Thus he has shown that the arguments in support of the theory that 'coined money' existed in India as early as the middle of the third millennium B. C. "lack conviction and the acceptance of this theory would be against the experience of the evolution of coinage all over the world." The book will serve as an important hand-book to the advanced students of ancient Indian numismatics.

N. G. MAJUMDAR

**CHINA'S PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTION**: By Wang Ching-Wei—China United Press, Sanghui, pp xxii+199, price \$ 4.50.

This volume is the second of the "China to-day" series, edited by Mr. T'ang Leang-Li and published

by the China United Press. The history of Modern China is really the history of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, Father of the Chinese Republic, and Perpetual President of the Kuo-Min Tang, who died on March 12, 1925. The two men closest to him were Mr. Hu Han-Min, and Mr. Wang Ching-Wei, and of the two the latter is the best loved. He is a poet-politician, generous, sympathetic, and strongly idealistic. He was the leader in the 1910 attempt to assassinate the Prince Regent at Peiping, but such was his popularity that the Government, although they arrested him, did not dare to execute him. From 1917 till 1925 he acted as confidential secretary to Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, but on his death he came more to the front as the leader of the National Revolution, but the differences among the leaders resulted in his resignation, and only in 1932 as a result of the Japanese attack did he again take part in active politics, and in 1933 he became President of the Executive Yuan. His unquestionable sincerity, and unselfishness, his personal magnetism, combine to make him respected, but though he has been to some extent successful as an administrator one wonders whether his real rôle is not that of a prophet, and reading this book tends to confirm this idea.

One of the most striking slogans of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was "To understand is difficult, but to achieve is easy", and a great deal of his success was due to his realization of this fact. Too many people fail to realize that action, unless it is directed to a *clearly conceived end*, is useless. Very often impulsive enthusiasm resulting in precipitate action does more to hinder a cause than to help it, since the result of the action may be to create a too strong reaction. The actions of the terrorists in Bengal is an obvious case in point, since the actions of individual terrorists, which aim at obtaining greater freedom for India, succeed only in obtaining a greater curtailment of freedom in those districts where they occur. Now it is this lack of clearness of realization, and analysis which is responsible for many of China's present disorders. The ideal of the author is obviously the welfare of the people, and all his political concepts are based on his belief in the people, but there



is not a clear enough realization that the people unless they have power are at the mercy of those who have power, and power ultimately means economic power.

Now China is essentially an agricultural country, with the people in the country desperately poor, and trying to support themselves on small uneconomic holdings. In central China, for instance, the idea that the peasants might improve their condition by combining arable cultivation with animal husbandry is impracticable, since the lack of any fuel, whether wood, or coal, makes it necessary to use the grass as fuel (*c.f.* Tawney, *Land and Labour in China*). The author quite rightly says that the productivity must be increased but increased productivity is only possible with large scale production. The policy of the Kuo-Min Tang as put forward by General Chiang Kai-Shek is to encourage the villagers to form co-operative societies which will buy any land offered for sale, and then distribute the land so acquired among the members who will pay a rent for it to the society. He then goes on, "The purchase of land by such societies is likely to be effected through *loans from banking interests*, so that the Government need not either float loans or take forcible measures for the acquisition of land". P. 174. (*Italics are mine*). But in the United States of America where the farmers took loans from the banks and so were able to increase their productivity, many of them now find themselves being driven out of their farms since they are no longer able to meet their obligations to the banks! In the Irish Free State the Agricultural Credits Corporation Ltd., has loaned the farmers over £1,000,000 charging only 6 per cent interest, but the farmers are finding it difficult to meet their obligations and have been warned by the Corporation that no excuses can be accepted. The reason for this is simple, namely that the fall in agricultural prices, *due to greater production*, means that the farmer gets less money than before for his crops, but as the amount he must pay remains the same, the burden becomes greater. To put the matter as simply as possible, the banks deal in money which is a commodity, and like all other commodities, it alters in value, and the farmers having borrowed this commodity at a low price, have to pay it back at a high price. This scheme of the Kuo-Min Tang would therefore put the farmers' co-operative societies at the mercy of those who had loaned them the money. In this connection one might point out that the value of money may easily be altered by forces outside the control of the country, as for example has happened as a result of the decision of the United States to buy silver. China being on a silver basis, and the production of silver increasing of recent years, the result has been that prices inside China have not fallen to the same disastrous extent as in other countries. Now the American decision to buy silver is raising its price, with the result that the quantity of articles one can purchase with an ounce of silver is increasing and therefore, looking at it from the other side the amount of silver money one gets for a particular article is less.

It is impossible in a short space to do more than indicate briefly what appears to be some of the weaknesses of the Kuo-Min Tang policy, but one cannot help wondering whether a United Front against Japanese Imperialism in Manchuria would not have been a means of uniting the people of China rather than concentrating on attacking the Com-

munists in South China. The recent speeches by members of the Federation of British Industries Mission to Manchuria, as the *Manchester Guardian* has pointed out, suggest that soon Manchukuo may be regarded so much as a *fait accompli* that it will be practically impossible for China to regain it. In spite of these criticisms the book is important, and as such deserves to be carefully read and studied.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

THE SCIENCE OF THE SULBA: *By Dr. Bibhutibhusan Datta, D. Sc. Published by the University of Calcutta.*

The subject-matter of this work comprises the Readership Lectures delivered by the author at the University of Calcutta in 1931. In this book the author has studied the Vedic rites of the Agnicayanas (or "the construction of the Fire-altar") from a purely secular point of view. His object has been to give an insight into the knowledge and achievements of the Hindus in the science of mathematics, more particularly in the branch of geometry. The Vedic Hindu, in his great quest of the Supreme Knowledge, made progress in the Inferior Knowledge (Relative Truths), including the various arts and sciences, to a considerable extent, and with a completeness unparalleled in antiquity. Of these the special concern of the present volume is with the Vedic science of geometry, technically called by the name of Sulba.

The Sulbas, or as they are more commonly known at present, the Sulba-sutras, are manuals for the construction of altars which are necessary in connection with the sacrifices of the Vedic Hindus. Before Dr. Datta several eminent scholars had attempted to deal with mathematics in the Sulbas, *viz.*, Burk, Cantor, Levi, Muller, Weber, Thibhaut, N. K. Mazumdar and others. But none had dealt with the subject with such thoroughness and precision as Dr. Datta has done. The book contains sixteen chapters of which the first three deal with the significance and influence of the sulbas, the nature and description of the available commentaries on them, and the growth and development of the sulbas in the Vedic sacrifices. Then in chapters IV and V the author defines the postulates of the sulbas and gives the methods of the construction of the figures. Next three chapters are devoted to areas and volumes;—combination of areas, such as multiplication, addition and subtraction of squares, triangles, pentagons, etc., transformation of areas, such as transformation of a rectangle into a square, that of a square into a rectangle, into an isosceles trapezium, or into a triangle, transformation of a triangle into a square or into a rhombus; determination of the area of a square, a rectangle, a triangle, a parallelogram, or a trapezium; construction of a square having a given area, of an isosceles trapezium having a given area; and determination of the volume of a prism or cylinder. Then in chapters IX and X the author deals with the theorem of the square of the Diagonal and with rational triangles and calculation of the gnomon. The next chapter is devoted to some very important geometrical propositions, *viz.*, circling the square, squaring the circle and determination of the values of  $\pi$  with its early history. The remaining chapters deal with similar figures, geometrical algebra (geometrical solutions of simple and quadratic equations), indeterminate problems, elementary treatment of surds, and fractions and progressive series. In an appendix the author



explains some technical terms of the sulba and at the end is added a bibliography of the sulba.

The whole work is done in such an admirably systematic manner that we cannot have but praise for the scholarship and insight of the author who has spared no pains to present his work in the form of a connected treatise on Hindu geometry. It is a great pleasure to read this work for the interest the author has created by his profound study and minute investigations of the mathematical aspects of the sulbas; and it can be said with confidence that his work will create a lively interest in the early Hindu geometry among the historians of mathematical sciences.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

BY PACIFIC WATERS: *By Mrs. Douglas Blair. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., 29, Ludgate Hill, London E. C. 4.*

It is only women writers who can invest with magic the commonplace incidents and trivial details of our daily life. Jain Austen, as everyone knows, showed the way in this direction and many women writers since that day have kept up the tradition worthily. Mrs. Blair may be regarded as one of this band. Her stories which deal with life in New Zealand show her delicacy of observation and her ability to make interesting the unheroic lives of ordinary men and plain women. She eschews everything that is thought to be conventionally and traditionally heroic, romantic or adventurous and yet her stories make very delightful reading. This she is able to do because she is master of the art of the short story. Each one of her stories produces a singleness of impression which centres round a character or an incident. And yet she is not unmindful of the atmosphere in her stories. She reveals the beauty and charm of New Zealand in a hundred small touches: "And now the purple deepens in the shadows, and across the golden lake comes the sound of song. It is from the gliding canoe of soft-voiced Maori singers—and Tutaua floats on the lovely autumn air. As the mountains and lake are flooded in glorious gold, the Maori's paddle on, and then are lost from sight as gloom spreads on Pane-kiri. And now, as the night voices creep on, Fred and Ellie pass to the valley below, ever to remember that they forgot their past quarrels on the beautiful shores of Waikaremoana."

It will be futile to expect of the writer to thrill or enchant us. But no one can deny that her stories have a delicate charm of their own and the wonder is that this charm is wrung out of the most familiar happenings in our lives.

DIWAN CHAND SHARMA

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE: *By Thomas Hywel Hughes, M. A., D. Litt., D. D. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 10s/6d. net.*

This book is an able attempt to meet the growing challenge to Religion from Psycho-analysis and its allies. It contains a good summary of the position of the New Schools in Psychology in reference to Religion; and the dangers to which Religion has been exposed in consequence of this new line of thinking adopted in Psychology have been carefully

pointed out. The undue importance that the New Psychology attaches to Sex, specially as the foundation of religious experience, has been controverted with skill.

But there are certain weak points in the defence of Religion that our author has put forward. For instance, crying 'hands off' to psychology (p. 49) in respect of the problems of religion is not much of a defence. If a psychology of the other emotions of the mind is permissible, a psychology of the religious sentiment cannot be banned. Psychologists will never allow men of religion to fix the boundaries of their science.

Then, again, to exclaim that 'such a fact as "the cross" would be impossible on the Freudian theory' (p. 75), or to appeal to the consciousness of "those who accept Jesus" (p. 101), may be an effective weapon in popular debate but is not a scientific defence of religion. A defence of religion is not the same thing as the defence of any historical form of it.

The obtruding fact remains that there is too much of sex-imagery, sex-symbol and sex-metaphor in religious thought, practices and literatures. And the fact that most religions have advocated celibacy, i.e., encouraged repression of the sex-impulse (p. 128), is an argument that cuts both ways.

The doctrine of 'libido' cannot be successfully refuted on exclusively physiological grounds; and the menace of the New Psychology to Religion cannot be met purely on spiritual considerations. As our author recognizes, "religion belongs to the realm of ethical values" (p. 150) and the control and regulation of the impulses including the sex-impulse, too, is an affair of morality, and religion is one of the means by which morality effects it. Unless the impulses are tamed by religion among other forces, we land ourselves in utter barbarity and brute immorality. It is here that the proper vindication of Religion is to be found. But this is a question which cannot be fully discussed within the bounds of a review.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

PARABLES OF RAMA. *Swami Rama Tirtha, M.A. The Rama Tirtha Publication League, Lucknow.*

Swami Rama's spirit of love and godliness are not very well known to the rising generation. Yet they deserve a wider publicity, and a more grateful and devoted circle of readers. A brilliant graduate of the Panjab University, Rama Tirtha preached love and renounced the world and went to America to preach the Vedanta Philosophy. His many sayings, poems and lectures delivered in India and abroad have been collected and published. The pithy anecdotes in which they abound have been brought together and classified in the volume under review, with a short preface from Mr. B. P. Bhatnagar, M.A., L.T., Secretary of the Rama Tirtha Publication League, Lucknow. The volume is cheap and handy, but it is irreverent to affix any earthy "dignities" (?) like "M.A." to the name of a Sannyasi and the "moral" specifically noted at the end of each parable should have been discarded, to be thought out by the reader himself. Swami Rama's teachings should be made accessible to all classes of readers, and the present publication deserves welcome so far as it helps in that direction.



**THE OLD ROAD FROM SPAIN. CRUMP FOLK GOING HOME.** *Constance Holme.*  
*Oxford : World's Classics. 2/- net each.*

The author, in the *Old Road from Spain*, has succeeded in weaving together elements of quiet nature, as well as mysterious forces working in and around humanity, and the strange turns of the soul in response to them. A flock of sheep, lonely and mysterious, with an uncanny knowledge of what is likely to happen, sway minds of people to and fro and are harbingers of death or misfortune for a particular family, apparently under a curse and therefore unsettled for ever. The element of mystery is so strong that even a car grows a soul and refuses to budge, though sound in its machinery, under the influence of fate. Luis Huddleston, with Spanish blood in his veins, and diplomatic service in Spain to his credit "The man with a career," is thrown on to his native village during a fit of illness; but he brings with him a vague presentiment of evil for his elder brother who is resident there and who looks after the paternal estate while going on a busy round of philanthropic activity through the drudgery of committee meetings and welfare exhibitions. Luis brings with him an air of enchantment as well and rouses antipathy and love in the mind of Julian who is startled by her new experience to give up Bill for him. It seems to be old love born again, for had not Julian's mother the same—though not exactly the same—love for Rowly? The love interest grows till thrown over by the feeling of uncertainty and the family curse, which works its way up to the end, cuts through the gossamer fancy-work of love and quiet, bringing about the inevitable tragedy in a setting of the fateful flock of sheep, crowding to witness the doom of fate.

Apart from the story, the book grips the reader by virtue of the description of the mysterious working of Destiny, seen in the quiet movement of massed sheep, little pattering feet that are to be heard everywhere on the eve of a crisis in the life of a Huddleston; the book is charming on account of a style suited to a deep placidity, to an effective representation of quiet landscapes in South Westmoreland. One feels tempted to predict that passages in the book will find a place in future anthologies of English prose; we are forced to recognize that the mysterious element of heredity defies the levelling effect of civilization and that a shallow form of altruism may often cloak an individual's distressed efforts to divert the soul from its terror.

*Crump Folk going Home* covers the same ground of a family curse; but the throb of the human passion is more distinctly to be felt there. Verity, Deborah, Lionel, Nettie—creatures of flesh and blood, they are lively representations of impulsive young people who are rash but impelled by generous motives. Here, as in the other novel, the author has shown the deep attachment which generations of experience breed in us for Mother Earth; 'Debbie dear' loves Crump soil, with such intensity that it forms a powerful link between the agent's daughter and the young proprietor—a refined but still powerful way in which feudalism walks the earth today while 'Crump Folk' ends happily for all young persons, the 'Old Road' is a tragedy; in the one we have the speed of passion, in the other the deep, quiet gloom of the investment of Destiny. It is easy to see without any idea of disparagement, that the *Crump Folk* was the author's first published novel, and they have been both very

fitly included in the World's Classics series to be accessible to a wide circle of readers.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**INDIAN SCULPTURE:** *By Stella Kramrisch. With 116 illustrations and one map. The Heritage of India Series. Published by the Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, and Oxford University Press, Calcutta. Pp. 240.*

A comprehensive work on Indian Sculpture, dealing with the subject-matter not from the point of view of the archaeologist, but bringing out the salient features and aesthetic values of the ancient Indian sculpture, has long been a desideratum. The purpose of this small book, neatly bound, nicely printed and written in a clear and forceful style, is not to give an outline of history of ancient Indian sculpture, but to present before us in a concise form how 'the Indianness' is expressed in terms of relation between line, surface, volume, and other elements of visualization. The art of a country like the character of its inhabitants belongs to the nature of the land. The climate, the scenery and the contrasts of each country clothe the artistic impulse of the people. Art is the expression of thought and feeling in harmony with its conditions. It is a confusion of thought, therefore, to attempt to pit art of one country against another. The physical conditions which surround a man will naturally influence his expression of thought and perception of beauty. The forms and designs growing out of conditions and necessities of one land will be inappropriate in another. The tyranny of Hellene, the application of Western canons unreservedly, have for a long time prevented the European scholars from appreciating the great merits of Indian art. The authoress, therefore, sounds a timely note of warning that 'Western terminology and canons of art criticism' have to be recast according to the demands of Indian art. The work is divided into four chapters, viz., I. Ancient Indian Sculpture, II. Classical Sculpture, III. Mediæval Sculpture, and IV. Essential Qualities of Indian Plastic Art. Besides these, there are full descriptions of the plates, notes, bibliography and an index. These are eloquent testimony of the patience and painstaking care of the learned authoress. But the bibliography is not exhaustive. The book is not merely an introduction to the study of ancient Indian sculpture, but possibly the best work of the subject, written by a lady, who has devoted a considerable part of her life to the cause of Indian art. Amongst the original theories, pronounced here, that the sculpture of the Indus Valley is a link between palæolithic and late Indian art, that 'Maurya sculpture, of all its impressive size, is one of the slightest contributions within the Indian art', that 'Madhyadesa, Vengi and Dekhan after the Maurya period produced 'an early art' contributing their own aboriginally or otherwise ethnically conditioned heritage, deserve serious consideration.

A special merit of this book lies in the fact that some new illustrations have been published. Amongst these mention must be made of illustrations numbering 11, 12, 13, 52, 60, 66, 92. Amongst these, again, No. 11 is most important for its artistic merit, while No. 66 is interesting from the point of view of iconography. The latter should be properly identified with the help of Sanskrit texts, if any, by experts in this field. On the whole the publishers are to be congratulated for having placed before the public such an important and interesting publication.

A. C. BANERJI



**GUIDE TO LIFE ASSURANCE:** By J. C. Mitra. Published by Insurance & Finance Review, 14, Clive Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

It is well known that insurance has nowadays become the most popular business and many of our young men have become eager to be acquainted with the technical aspect of the subject. The absence of a comprehensive book for the purpose was a great handicap and this has been removed by the publication of Mr. Mitra's book. The author has dealt with all the important questions in which average students are interested, e.g., the theory of life assurance, its origin, administrative problems, their scientific analysis, legal aspects etc. The existing insurance laws of India have been fully explained and every effort has been made to make it useful to insurance students of India. There is no doubt that the book will be highly appreciated by those for whom it is meant.

S. C. RAY

**COW PROTECTION:** By Valji Govindji Desai, Gosevasangh, Sabarmati. Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad, 1934. Pp. VIII+170.

We did not know that the cattle of our country had reached such an appalling condition as described by the writer of the above book, and must thank him for having drawn our attention to a question which proves to be of such prime importance. Mr. Desai has shown that animal-breeding and the dairy-business have become so unprofitable in our country that milkmen find it cheaper to get all the milk out of cows for a year or two and then hand them over to butchers, who turn the carcasses into all sorts of profitable use. His analysis shows that the reasons of this are (i) shortage of pasteurage, (ii) the need of maintaining cows within the cities, connected, as it is with bad methods of marketing, (iii) export of the best cattle from India to countries which can afford to pay high prices for them, and lastly (iv) the absence of proper methods of breeding for improvement of the necessary qualities in cattle. Mr. Desai proposes to cure these ills by establishing model *pinjrapoles*, which will show the way of turning the milk industry into a profitable concern. This will be done by good breeding, improvement of marketing methods as well as of pasteurage, and the full utilization of the carcasses of animals which die naturally. The profit of these *pinjrapoles* will be utilized in saving cattle from the butcher's knife, and our writer hopes, though he does not expressly say so, that this will go a long way to solve the cattle problem in India.

While not denying that individual efforts can go some way, we do not consider that, by themselves, they will be enough to remove fully all the ills from which the cattle-tribe suffers today. Mr. Desai's description of facts tends to prove that the sufferings of the cow have not been so much due to the ignorance and mental perversion of those engaged in the trade, but rather to the much more fundamental dislocation which agricultural life is suffering today in India from the industrial policy which England is pursuing in this country. Against this, individual enterprise can hardly make any headway. If the railway rates are such that it is always cheaper to export hides to ports than to centres of the hide industry in India, if pasture lands remain as hard to get as they are now, if other countries continue to be rich enough to buy up all our best cattle, and if the need of the peasant for ready-money remains the same as it is today, then all the efforts which we can bring forth

against the distintegration of agriculture and the dairy industry, as such, will be like knocking our head against a stone-wall. We may fret against the sinful nature of man, ridicule him for his lack of determination, but that will not be enough to save the cow, whom we profess to love. Unless the whole economic life of India is completely reorganized on the basis of the real good of the masses, we do not think that piecemeal efforts, like the one advocated in the book under review, can do any lasting good.

But that apart, it cannot be gainsaid that even such efforts have something to be said in their favour. If this type of constructive work is undertaken in the right spirit, and workers come into closer contact with the economic life of the villagers in trying to work out these constructive phases of our national programme, and if the workers are not afraid of following their efforts to their logical conclusion, then these programmes will, at least, help to organize the masses both economically and politically. And in that alone can any justification lie for constructive programmes, as outlined by our present writer.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

## SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

**THE PADYAVALI OF RUPA GOSVAMIN,** Critically edited by Sushil Kumar De of the University of Dacca. Published by the University of Dacca, 1934. No mention of price.

Rupa Gosvamin's *Padyavali* is a work important not only to those who are interested in Chaitanya Vaisnavism but also to those who are interested in late Classical Sanskrit literature. This first critical edition of the anthology by Dr. De is therefore doubly welcome. The Introduction (pp. i-cxvii) is an admirable summary of the essentials of Chaitanya Vaisnavism. Next comes the description of the MSS. and editions of the text on which Dr. De's edition is based. The text covers 178 pages with the critical apparatus appended in foot-notes. The text is followed by notes on authors. This section has especial value for those who are interested in mediæval Vaisnava literature. Then come various indices, which are not the least useful section of the work under review.

In the introduction Dr. De translates 'Gosvamin' as 'law-giver.' It is not a happy translation, nor can the epithet 'law-giver' be properly applied to Raghunatha-Bhatta and Raghunatha-Dasa, two of the six Gosvamins. It would have been better to use the term 'Lord Spiritual.'

Dr. De seems to have accepted Saka 1417 as the original date of composition of Rupa Gosvamin's *Danakehikaumudi*. At that time Rupa Gosvamin must have been not more than twenty or twenty-one years old. How could he have resided at Nandisvara at such an early age?

SUKUMAR SEN

**VIVEKA-CHUDAMANI OR CREST-JEWEL OF WISDOM OF SRI SANKAR-ACHARYA.** Text in Devanagari and translation by Mohini M. Chatterji, F.T.S. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

Mr. Chatterji's English translation of this well-known and important philosophical poem is not always faithful to the original and is occasionally



rather unusually free. The translation of verse 7, for instance, does not at all agree with the text and taken by itself also it scarcely gives any sense.

**RIGVEDA SAMHITA.** *With an introduction, translation into English, and notes by S. Padmanabh Iyengar, B. A. In twelve parts. Part I. Printed at the Sournya Press, Mylapore, Madras. Price Rupee one.*

This is the first part of a projected popular edition of the text of the Rigveda, with a free English translation, in twelve parts. The present part contains the first 57 hymns of Book I. The translation, though stated to be based on the commentary of Sayana, does not always follow him. No diacritical marks are used in the translation of Sanskrit names which are spelt in peculiar ways with letters of the English alphabet, e. g., *Sookta*, *Yagna*, *Vaideeka*, etc. When completed the edition will bring the Rigveda within the easy reach of the general reader.

**SAPTAPADARTHI OF SIVADITYA.** *Edited with Introduction, Translation and Notes by D. Gurumurti, M. A. (Hons.) Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

Here we have a fine edition of an important work which deals with the elements of the *Nyaya* and *Vaisesika* systems of philosophy. This work, according to the editor (p. xxx), is the earliest work which seeks to synthesize the two systems of philosophy. No attempt, however, appears to have been made to disprove the view of Prof. Keith, according to which there were still earlier works which attempted at this synthesis. The exhaustive introduction, besides discussing the date of the work and the place occupied by it in the history of *Nyaya-Vaisesika* literature, gives a brief account of the most important doctrines of the systems. The unfavourable and gratuitous reference (p. xx), made to 'the usual methods adopted by oriental scholarship for fixing dates' betrays only an imperfect acquaintance of the learned editor with the various methods of historical investigation and their comparative value. It is curious, however, that the editor is also thankful to the orientalist (p. xxv), with whose methods he finds fault, for their labours in ascertaining the chronology of philosophical works and their authors, thus paying the way for their appreciation in their true perspective. He accepts the result of these labours as 'provisionally satisfactory' and uses it as basis of 'consecutive study' (p. xxvi).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

### SANSKRIT-TIBETAN-ENGLISH

**MADHYANTA-VIBHAGASUTRA-BHASYATIKA:** *Part I, edited by Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya of the Visvabharati, Santiniketan and Professor Giuseppe Tucci of the Royal Academy of Italy, Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 24., pp. V+54. Published by Luzac & Co., London.*

The history of India will ever remain incomplete, without a proper study of Buddhism, both of the Hinayana and the Mahayana Schools, for the present form of our culture and civilization is largely a reflection of Buddhism of old and mediæval India. It

must be acknowledged that the study of Buddhism, more specially, of that phase of it which goes by the name of Mahayanism, had been greatly advanced by European savants before other Indian scholars, particularly those of Bengal, took it up seriously. Such books as the one under review are very much welcome to all students interested in Indology.

There are certain philosophical antitheses, such as *asti-nasti*, *atma-anatma*, *nitya-anitya*, *sunya-asunya* etc., which philosophical speculators adopt for explaining the origin of Truth, Reality, or Universe or whatever one may call it. The Buddhists of the Madhyamika School headed by Nagarjuna propounded a Neo-Middle Extreme (not of the sort of the Middle Path or Majjhima-patipada as taught by the Tathagata himself as we read in the Pali texts). The Madhyamikas recognize that the ultimate reality cannot be explained by any one of the *antyas*, including the new third one (*Madhya-anta*). They hold, however, that one can only attain the *nairatmya* or what is technically called *nirvana-pratipatti*, when one realizes that it is not of the form of any one of the three types of knowledge (*antyas*) referred to above. The philosophers of the Yogacara School headed by Maitreyanatha also regarded the same *madhya* as an *anta*, otherwise the name of his famous work as *Madhyanta-vibhaga-sutra* would have remained inexplicable. It is unfortunate that this sutra (written in *karika* form) in its original Sanskrit version does not exist now, but it has both Tibetan and Chinese renderings. The same is the fate of the *bhasya* of this *sutra*, written by Vasubandhu. The *tika* or commentary again on the *bhasya*, which is the work under review, was written in Sanskrit by Sthiramati. But this last also exists only in Tibetan translations. But to the good luck of scholars a copy of its original Sanskrit text was in possession of the preceptor of the Nepal Royal family, named His Holiness Hemaraja. It is with the help of a copy of this manuscript in fragments and the Tibetan translations of the book that Professors Sastri and Tucci edited a restored version of the Sanskrit *tika* of Sthiramati. And thanks to the munificence of Dr. N. N. Law for his arranging to publish the first chapter of this work in the Calcutta Oriental Series, which is now in the hands of the scholarly world. It must be acknowledged that the task of the publishers was also really very serious, as the business of printing such works partly in Devanagari, Roman and Tibetan scripts is difficult indeed, specially in India. Then again the value of the restoration or reconstruction work by the two eminent editors which each of them first carried on independently and with so great a degree of success cannot be adequately appreciated by ordinary readers. It appears that the Tibetan version of the original text (the *sutra*) and its *bhasya* were also used by Sthiramati himself in this *tika* and the learned editors tried to verify them from the Tibetan. Hence the importance of the appendix inserted to the edition, which contains the corresponding Tibetan words or passages given in note-form, is also very great to the scholars. The editors have announced, moreover, that they intend to edit and publish the whole text of Sthiramati's work in five parts and in five chapters. Let us hope they would be able to finish their promised edition in due time. The entire scholarly world will ever remain grateful for the facility of study they have thus created by making such a laudable attempt at restoration of lost Buddhist Sanskrit works of the Mahayana School.

RADHA GOVINDA BASAK



## SANSKRIT

**THE UPANISHADS.** *Second edition. Revised by Visvanath P. Vaidya, B.A., M.R.A.S. Published by V. P. Vaidya, 88 Cathedral Street, Bombay. Price One Rupee.*

Herein is given in big bold types the text of the ten principal Upanishads, (e. g., Isa, Kena, Katha, Mundaka, Mandukya, Aitareya, Taittiriya, Chhandogya and Brihadaranyaka) on which alone the great Sankaracharya is supposed to have written commentaries, as also of the Svetasvatra Upanishad. In the prefatory note there is a brief discussion about the genuineness of the commentaries of some of the Upanishads, going under the name of the great Sankar. In spite of the existence of a number of handsome editions of the Upanishads this handy edition of only the principal Upanishads will not be superfluous.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## HINDI

**BHAJANA-SANGRAHA :** (Parts I-III), *Compiled by Vijogi Hari. Published by Ghanshyamdas, Gita Press, Gorakhpur. Price Annas two per part.*

These three handy booklets contain a selection of a little over 600 songs by some of the best known and most popular of the lyric poets of Hindustan like Tulsidas, Surdas, Mira Bai, etc. The songs of each of these poets have been arranged into different groups according to their central ideas. The richness of the contents of the booklets combined with their nice get-up and extreme cheapness—six annas for the whole collection—is found to have justly commended itself to the notice of the public so that almost yearly editions of 5,000 copies of them had to be issued.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## GUJARATI

**(1) RAICHURA NI RAS KATHAS:** *By Gokuldas Dwarkadas Raichura, Editor of "Sharda." Printed at the Lohana Mitra Steam Printing Press, Baroda. Cloth bound. Pp. 148 : Illustrated Price Re. 1-8-0.*

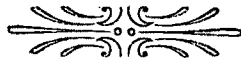
**(2) SORATHI LOK VARTAS :** *By the same author. Printed at the same Press : Cloth bound. Pp. 170. Illustrated. Price Re. 1-12-0.*

Both these collections of stories are interesting, depicting as they do the life of Kathiawad in olden times, and the life lived by the people of Gujarat, specially Bombay, in present times. They cater to the taste of various classes of readers. The stories, however, relating to old Kathiawad are full of romance and portray vividly the virtues, courage and adventure of such old and indigenous tribes as Charans, Ahirs, Mar and Rabaris. The simple life lived by the males and females of these tribes, even now, in their collections of huts and cottages is vividly brought out by the compiler and in that way it is likely to prove more attractive than its companion volumes, which narrate Bombay Stock Exchange Speculation and corruption prevailing in Vaishnav Temples. Both are well illustrated.

**GORAKH AYA, Parts I & II:** *By Gunavantraji Acharja. Printed at the Jayaswadeshi Printing Press, Rampur. Cloth bound. Pp. 180 each : Price Re. 1-8-0 each.*

The legend of the two stern ascetics Gorakh and his Guru Machchendra is prevalent all over India, and has been dramatized and put on the stage and the screen. This legend is 'sought' to be applied to modern problems of sex, marriage, morals, capitalism, right of women to earn their own livelihood, compassionate relations between man and woman. The writer has most skilfully woven the several incidents known about these two Sadhus into the web of a romance, which though apparently concerned with old and ancient times, times of Queen Semiramis of Egypt, and the Devi-ridden Bhairavi Chakra and the atheist or agnostic Charvak, still reads like an account of the doings of the present-day Man and Woman. These two Sadhus, though woman-haters, ultimately climb down and actually marry. One of them became the father of a child : the other contracts a marriage where his wife vows to be his companion (सखा) merely. The problems referred to above are well set out, and arguments *pros* and *cons* ably advanced. The book is likely to prove of interest to those who want light reading as well as to those who desire to ponder over questions which at present agitate all the four continents.

K. M. J.





# WHITHER : TOWARDS, OR AWAY FROM, DOMINIONHOOD ?

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

## I

A deft hand drew up the report signed by the Earl of Linlithgow and a majority of the Lords and Commoners to whom Parliament had committed, for consideration and, where necessary, recasting, the proposals for the revision of the Indian constitution embodied by His Majesty's Government in a White Paper. With remarkable economy of strokes he has filled in a picture that may not be to our taste but cannot be dismissed either as amateurish or as unrevealing.

Placed alongside it, the double-barrelled report made in May, 1930, by Sir John Simon and his associates of the Statutory Commission, though not lacking in literary quality, seems prodigious and prolix. This earlier document, particularly Volume I. of it, bore upon its face the imprint of the legal mould in which it had been cast. It read, in portions, like a verbatim record of an address delivered by an advocate before a judge and jury. Over the argument was spread, in carefully selected places, an emotional appeal such as an experienced counsel cleverly employs to win the case for the client who holds him in fee.

The main Linlithgow Committee Report, too, contains passages over which a shimmering, rose-bordered veil has been thrown : but there are not many of them. They are, moreover, in juxtaposition with others in which the steely-blue glint of reality refuses to be hidden.

## II

If however these two reports differ in manner of presentation, the purpose behind them both is much the same. The Indian clamour for a constitution of the Dominion type has been seized by the authors as an opportunity to "safe-guard" British authority, both civil and military, and British economic interests in our Motherland, in a way that leaves little scope to unfettered Indian initiative in the management of central or even provincial affairs. The path pointed out may be different, but the goal is identical in either case.

The fields of legislative and administrative activity kept outside Indian control—in some cases openly and in others through carefully designed devices—are many and extensive. The areas in which Indians are to be responsible are so hedged about that they are likely to become entangled in brambles.

Then, too, from what section of our people are to be chosen the legislators and ministers of the immediate future? Every interest that is

chained down to earth, to the past and to prestige, is to be mobilized for the purpose ; and all elements desirous of soaring into the realm of progress are severely held back.

The machinery to be used for encompassing that end will activate the fissiparous tendencies in India, already alarmingly strong. Factionalism of every description will receive fresh support and menace the progress of national development.

## III

Almost every page of the Linlithgow majority report cites some passage or recommendation of the earlier document or contains some reference that is an echo of the Simon Commission production. Such departures as have been made, avowedly in the interest of progress, are likely to have a terrible reaction upon modernizing and cohesive tendencies.

This point needs to be pondered by those among our countrymen who, no so very long ago, were exulting over the victory they fancied they had scored over the Simon Commission and more so over (the late) Lord Birkenhead, the creator of that Commission. The boycott of that body in which the "Liberals" joined hands with the Nationalists on the plea that Indians had been barred from it, was supposed to have confounded Sir John Simon and his colleagues and to have brought about a radical change in the approach to Indian reform by His Majesty's Government.

The first Indo-British conference that met in the Empire's capital was, indeed, hailed, by certain sections of our people, as the harbinger of a new era. Indians did, to be sure, sit side by side with Britons at a round (or was it an oval ?) table in a gilded hall in a London palace, exploring avenues whereby the interests of the two countries could be reconciled, professedly with the object of evolving, by general agreement, a scheme for the reform of the Indian constitution.

Though, for the most part, Indians noted for their conservative tendencies had been sent by the Government of India to the original Conference and its two successors, except on one occasion when Mahatma Gandhi, as the representative of the Indian National Congress, participated in it for a time, the results achieved, as embodied in the White Paper, failed to rouse enthusiasm even among many of these conservatives. Nor are they likely to be better pleased with the scheme as it has emerged from the



hands of the Linlithgow Committee, with which some of these Indians were co-opted during the evidence taking stage of the enquiry.

Had these years of "round-tabling" carried India anywhere near "Dominion status," a shout would have gone up that would have been heard in high heaven. But Indians who might have been expected to be singing hosannas are chanting a dirge in mournful measure. They have put the Parliamentary Committee's majority recommendations under a microscope and are distressed at the discovery that the minimum described by them as irreducible, has evidently been regarded by that Committee as capable of reduction almost to the vanishing point.

#### IV

Grief seems to be particularly poignant over the absence of the phrase "Dominion status" from the pages of the Linlithgow Committee main report. Its inclusion in a statement made by the Baron Irwin (now the Lord Halifax) during his Viceroyalty and Governor-Generalship, had raised the pulse of many Indian politicians. They apparently regarded it as the crest of a wave over which they fondly expected to ride into the constitutional haven of their heart's desire.

The statements made by spokesmen for His Majesty's Government in the two Houses of Parliament in the course of the latest Indian debate, as cabled to this country, have also been studied under a high-power magnifying glass. In them, too, this phrase is missing. What might have been regarded as merely "absence" is being taken, in consequence, as "avoidance."

At least one member of the Committee—the Archbishop of Canterbury—refused however to be a party to this policy of silence. Speaking from his place in the House of Lords he, as reported by Reuter's Agency, declared that the time had come "to discontinue the use of the misleading phrase, 'Dominion status,' which was capable of infinite misunderstanding because nobody was certain whether it meant the constitution or the position." Respecting the former interpretation, the Archbishop asked "whether it was conceivable that India would have a constitution identical with those countries so entirely different as South Africa, Australia and Canada." On the other hand, he pointed out that "a great All-India Federation would have, increasingly within the Empire, a place of honour quite as distinct and recognized as any Dominion."

The Primate suggested that "the path towards fuller Self-Government indicated in the report was the path of Destiny but that in no way indicated that the development of India's constitution would follow exactly the lines of Britain's."

Lord Strabolgi, better known to us as Commander Kenworthy, joined issue with the Archbishop. His plea, as cabled by Reuter, was

that it was "too late to go back on the declarations of British statesmen." "The Labourites," he declared, "believed that Britain was pledged to bring India as rapidly as possible to the position of a Dominion and, they hoped, as a part of the Empire." His Lordship analysed the report and gave it as his opinion that it contained "very little hope for the masses."

Howmuchsoever Lord Strabolgi may sympathize with Indian aspirations in this matter, he belongs to a Party that is not in a position to translate its words into action. Whether it will essay to do so when it recovers from the smashing blow given to it by one of its creators—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald—and eventually comes into power, and succeeds in so doing, may be left for the future to decide.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, on the other hand, belongs to the ruling order of Britain. His opinion may well be taken to reflect that of his co-signatories of Linlithgow Committee majority report and even that of the generality of the dominant classes in that Isle.

For the sake of argument, we may wipe the parliamentary slate clean of the Archbishop's words and consider that nothing has been said, one way or the other, in respect of "Dominion status" for India. A profession of intentions, had it been made, would, by itself, have been of little consequence, no matter how pleasantly it may have been phrased. Even if the Linlithgow Committee, without a single dissentient, had, in terms susceptible of one meaning only, recommended Parliament to confer "Dominion status" upon India, it would still be necessary to examine the scheme produced by the Committee to determine if provision had actually been made to translate that intention into actuality, or whether, in the phraseology of the report itself, it was one of those "mere paper declarations which have been sometimes inserted in constitutional documents."

The question really turns upon the internal evidence contained in the report, upon the basis of which, it is authoritatively stated, the forthcoming Government of India Bill is being drafted. Does it—or does it not—warrant us in believing that the sum and substance of the recommendations will tend to carry this country a substantial stage towards Dominionhood ?

#### V

The report contains abundant materials to enable us to answer this question with tolerable certainty. It is, to be sure, not entirely free from phrases that, however sincerely uttered by Britons, sound unctuous to us. Allusion has, for instance, been made to the doctrine of trusteeship, which lifts Britons—at least in their own sight—on to an elevated moral plane. In our eyes, however, their feet appear to be too much entangled in mundane matters to permit them—a few high-minded persons above com-



mercial attractions expected—to soar to empyrian heights. But making due allowance for racial pride and national interest, the honesty of the report is, on the whole, transparent—boldly (and, at times, even recklessly) transparent.

This candour we owe to a peculiar political exigency in Britain. Certain elements in Parliament and in the constituencies behind Parliament, whom the signatories of this report dare not offend, affect to believe that His Majesty's Government is bent upon bestowing powers upon us which would enable us to oust Britons from the Indian services and to destroy the economic interests built up in India by Britain. I have cause to know that the outcry is raised, in the first instance, by persons desirous of making political capital against men in office. Personal jealousy rather than genuine nervousness constitutes the motive power behind it.

It would, nevertheless, be a mistake to believe that no forces other than envenomed animus are at play in Parliament. While the men who engineer the moves against the Government may be impelled by motives no higher than self-interest they succeed in raising alarms because in the rank and file, particularly of the Conservative Party, there are elements upon whose fears men with dialectic ability can work with ease and sureness, as an organist produces effects at will by using the various stops or pressing down the loud or soft pedal.

The "Irish analogy"—as it is being called—is susceptible of being utilized, to great advantage, in this connection. Mr. Stanley Baldwin has tried to dismiss it, largely with a wave of his hand. But it will not be so easily dismissed.

Certain "safe-guards"—to use the phrase of the day—were brandished in the face of Britons who opposed the Anglo-Irish settlements. The Irishmen who agreed to them did so, not because they had come to realize the justice of the British position, but merely because they could not, at the moment, resist them successfully. After the lapse of a few years other Irishmen, who had expressed their determination to resist these terms to the bitter end, came into power in the twenty-six counties that, in 1922, were constituted into the Irish Free State; and, as they could make the opportunity, set these conditions at naught. It may, of course, be urged that the persons who submitted to the British will in these matters and those who subsequently defied that will, are all sons of Ireland: but, politically, belong to two different sets. That contention does not, however, get over the fact that the safe-guards by which so much store was set in the beginning of the last decade by His Majesty's Government, of which, if I remember aright, Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill was a member, proved to be "mere paper declarations." Hence so much nervousness in the rank and file of the British Conservative Party over almost

any scheme for the reform of the Indian constitution.

## VI

But for the necessity of allaying these fears, the signatories of the Linlithgow Committee Report may not have indulged in the plain speaking that they have employed. Their criticism of the existing machinery is particularly candid.

"As our enquiries have proceeded", they note, "we have been increasingly impressed, not by the strength of the Central Government as at present constituted, but by its weakness." The members of the legislature with which that Government is confronted "are unrestrained by the knowledge that they themselves may be required to provide an alternative government; their opinions have been uninformed by the experience of power, and they have shown themselves prone to regard support of government policy as a betrayal of the national cause." Such being the case, they regard it as "no wonder that the criticism offered by the members of such a Legislature should have been mainly destructive." There can be no doubt, they assert, in view of the history of the past twelve years, that "criticism by the Assembly has constantly influenced the policy of the Government." It has followed, as a natural consequence, that "the prestige of the Central Government has been lowered and disharmony between Government and Legislature has tended to sap the efficiency of both."

This criticism, though directed towards the Central Legislature as a whole, must really have been meant to apply to the Indian Legislative Assembly: for the Council of State, constituted as it is on a conservative basis, has not offered to the Government of India anything like the opposition that the Assembly has given. In the days when adherents of the Indian National Congress sat in it in full strength, were led by a tactician like Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and could count upon the forensic ability of Lala Lajpat Rai and the quiet, devoted work of A. Rangaswami Iyengar, no quarter was sought or given. Nor did Vithalbhai Patel hesitate to use the opportunities that the Speakership of the House gave him to embarrass the officials. After the withdrawal by the Congress of its contingent in the Assembly, uncompromising combatants on the Treasury Bench have been able to secure the support of that body to measures of a nature that the Nationalists would doubtless have thrown out. But the opposition offered, though unavailing, has, on occasions, been marshalled under the general direction of Sir Abdur Rahim with consummate skill and pertinacity.

## VII

India however is not the only part of the British Empire where conflict between the



executive and the legislature manifested itself. There have been periods in British history when the King and Parliament were ranged on opposite sides. Nor have certain Colonies tied by ethnic and credal kinship as they were to the Mother Country, acquired the "Dominion status" that they enjoy without conflict between a legislative organ of British creation and the representative placed in the name of the King in control of the executive branch of the Colonial Government.

Lord Linlithgow and his colleagues do not stand in need of being reminded of this fact. They know only too well that the constitutional system obtaining in Britain and certain portions of Britain Overseas—or the British Commonwealth of Nations, as the Round-Table group would say—is the outcome, at least in the earlier stages, of such conflict.

Such conflict existed, for instance, in Canada, just about a century ago. There were, in 1837, hostile demonstrations in Lower Canada (as the province we know as Quebec was then called) led by the Papineau; and in Upper Canada (now Ontario) in which W. L. MacKenzie—the grandfather of the ex-Premier W. L. MacKenzie King—figured as the principal figure. Martial law was proclaimed and was not revoked till almost the end of April, 1838; while general amnesty was not conferred until June 28th of that year.

British statesmanship, rising to the occasion, brought the movement under control. Power was transferred from Britain to Canada in an instalment so generous that in less than two decades authority for internal administration had passed, all but in name, to executives responsible to local legislatures. In less than a score of years the provinces had united to form the confederation which, during recent years, has been recognized by the British as a co-equal partner.

### VIII

Lord Linlithgow and other signatories of the majority report are aware, as words already quoted from that report show, that the actions of the Indian Legislature of which they write adversely, proceed from lack of responsibility. The remedy then is obvious—the grant of responsibility.

Instead of boldly applying this remedy to India, they recommend to Parliament a scheme for strengthening "an already weakening Central Executive." No considerations of false modesty prevent them from saying that they "can see no other way in which" that Executive could be strengthened.

What plainer admission could one expect from Lord Linlithgow and his co-signatories of the main report that they are not prepared to take India on the road to Dominionhood? If such admission be desired, however, it is available within the pages of that document. In more than one place they have made statements to the effect that the foundations upon which the

structure of responsibility could rest do not exist in India.

### IX

The element of novelty is almost lacking in these statements, though in places language used is elegant and even impressive. With the space at my disposal I can do no more than to make a passing reference to them.

The subject is introduced with a homily on the slow development of "the English constitution." Indians are reminded that they cannot expect to acquire, "in the twinkling of an eye" a technique "painfully developed" by the British people "in the course of many generations."

The "facts of Indian life" differ widely, it is pointed out, from those of British life. The four hinges upon which the parliamentary government moves in the United Kingdom do not exist in India today. They are:

- (1) the "principle of majority rule";
- (2) the "willingness of the minority for the time being to accept the decisions of the majority";
- (3) the "existence of great political parties divided by broad issues of policy, rather than by sectional interests"; and
- (4) the "existence of a mobile body of political opinion, owing no permanent allegiance to any party and therefore able, by its instinctive reaction against extravagant movements on one side or the other, to keep the vessel on an even keel."

In India, the signatories of the majority report emphasize, none of these conditions exist. There are "no parties" in the sense that there are in England. There is "no considerable body of political opinion which can be described as mobile." Instead, there is "the age-old antagonism of Hindu and Mahomedan, representatives not only of two religions but of two civilizations." There are also "numerous self-contained and exclusive minorities, all a prey to anxiety for their future and profoundly suspicious of the majority and of one another"; and "rigid divisions of caste, itself inconsistent with democratic principles."

These, forsooth, are not the only obstacles preventing the introduction of parliamentary government modelled upon the British pattern. There is "the ever present risk of hostilities on her (India's) frontier" in addition to the "cleavage between communal interests—innumerable differences of race and speech" and a "vast population in every stage of civilization." Then, too, the financial system in India "is largely dependent for credit on centres outside India."

It is inevitable that persons of this way of thinking should come to the conclusion that the polity in India is not "likely to take the same form as in Great Britain, but rather to be moulded in its course of development by social conditions and national aptitudes." In another



place they add: "Parliamentary government in India may well develop on lines different from those at Westminster."

Therein any person who has the eyes to see has the answer as to whether or not the signatories of the majority report of this particular committee are prepared to take India an inch on the road to Dominionhood.

### X

Holding such views as they do, it seems strange that they should have not only recommended the abolition of dyarchy from the major provinces of India, but should also have advocated the introduction of responsibility in a limited zone in the central government. Evidently they felt bound by certain commitments already made and, at the same time, realized the danger of standing still.

The Committee could not, for instance, wipe off the slate the pronouncement made in August 1917, in behalf of His Majesty's Government of the day, by Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu, while replying to a question put by Mr. Charles Roberts, lately Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, and the subsequent legislation intended to give effect to that pronouncement. A remark made by Sir John Simon in the course of the debate in the Commons on this Committee's report is significant in this connection. Apparently wishful not to leave unanswered the questions put in that House and elsewhere as to the goal towards which the MacDonald Government, of which he is an important member, was conveying India, he, according to a despatch sent out by the Reuter Agency, made the cryptic statement that:

"The goal had been proclaimed in Mr. Montagu's classic declaration as to the progressive realization of responsible government for India."

Sir John Simon did not have anything to say respecting the interpretation and amplification made to allay Indian disquiet by a colleague of his (Lord Halifax) some years earlier when that British statesman occupied the exalted office of the Viceroy and Governor-General. Nor, judged by the cabled report of Lord Halifax's statement in the House of Lords in the case of a similar Indian debate, did that Peer refer to "Dominion status" for India, though the Montagu pronouncement, during its short existence, has received many twists and turns, some of them at the hands of Britons occupying important positions in the Indian administration—twists and turns disquieting to Indian politicians looking to Parliament to make India a Dominion.

There is one more consideration worthy of note. Men in power in Britain have lately departed from the position in which Sir John Simon and his colleagues of the Statutory Commission intended to leave the central government: but only because certain Rajas made that departure possible by offering to enter an Indian

federation. One of the pre-requisites to such entry, as laid down by these Indian Rulers, is the introduction of "responsibility" in that government.

The spectacle of personages themselves determined to adhere to personal rule, prescribing a condition of this kind, is, in itself, a paradox. This paradox has an explanation, but on account of limitations of space, it cannot be given in this article.

### XI

The entrance of the Rajas into the federation, as Britons in power have stated at different times, would give to the central government that degree of "stability without which the introduction of even a limited measure of responsibility in that Government" would expose this country to the gravest risks. The terms on which the union is to be effected, as approved by the Linlithgow Committee majority, is likely to chain India to reaction. It certainly cannot quicken the pace of the "progressive realization of self-government," especially if it is to be of the Dominion type.

Moving in that direction would involve the strengthening of the legislative institutions in this country and shearing the representatives of the Crown in the provinces and at the centre of executive functions all except in name. Such action the members of the Linlithgow Committee, who signed the majority report refuse to take. They are not willing even to leave matters as they are. Instead they propose to weaken the central legislature, or rather the Lower House of that legislature, and to create strong executives both in the provinces and at the centre. The schemes evolved for this purpose are naturally based upon the finding that in its present stage, Indian society, dominated as it is by "religious and racial cleavages," cannot develop a stable sense of even provincial, let alone national citizenship.

In this circumstance, the recommendation made for the abolition of dyarchy in the provinces seems to me to be little more than one of those "paper declarations" to which the Committee referred in another connection. The grant of provincial autonomy is so circumscribed, not only in the region of law and order but also in respect of matters affecting the public services, the minorities, British economic interests and the like, that I very much fear their proposals amount only to concealing rather than to abolishing dyarchy, so far as the provinces are concerned.

In the central sphere they ask for the introduction of dyarchy and speak of leaving to Indians the "whole field of social and economic policies." In view of the reservations made, this wish is to remain merely an aspiration rather than to become a reality.

A reference to the powers of the United States President contained in the report—apparently only



of a casual nature—indicates the general direction in which the eyes of its authors are turned. The entire passage deserves to be read, in the original:

“...On the one hand, the safe-guards we contemplate have nothing in common with those mere paper declarations which have been sometimes inserted in constitutional documents, and are dependent for their validity on the goodwill or the timidity of those to whom the real substance of power has been transferred. They represent on the contrary (to quote a very imperfect but significant analogy) a retention of power as substantial, and as fully endorsed by the law, as that vested by the Constitution of the United States in the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Army—but more extensive both in respect of their scope and in respect of the circumstances in which they can be brought into play. On the other hand, they are not only not inconsistent with some form of responsible government, but in the present circumstances of India it is no paradox to say that they are the necessary complement to any form of it, without which it could have little or no hope of success. It is in exact proportion as Indians show themselves to be, not only capable of taking and exercising responsibility but able to supply the missing factors in Indian political life of which we have spoken, that both the need for safe-guards and their use will disappear.”

In referring to the position of the President in the polity of United States, the authors of this report have been careful to point out the imperfection of the analogy. For persons who have not lived in that country, nor are familiar with its constitution, it may be added that the President of the United States must be an American by birth and is not sent to Washington, D. C., from some other land to rule the Americans. He is placed in the Executive Mansion, not by any outside authority, but by the votes of his own people. The Constitution contains explicit provisions which have the effect of preventing him from acting, in certain matters of a purely executive character, without carrying with him the Senate, which, with all its reputation for conservative tendencies, would, I believe, look like a radical organ placed alongside the House of Assembly constituted on the basis of the recommendations contained in the Linlithgow Committee majority report. There are further provisions that give to the United States Congress powers to over-rule the President even to the point of over-riding his veto.

## XII

When I first read the words quoted above from this report and the criticism of the existing central legislature contained in it (to which I have already referred), they had a familiar ring to me. But a moment's thought was necessary for me to recall the passages of which they reminded me.

Let the reader turn to pages 18 to 24 of the *Report of the Special Commission on the (Ceylon) Constitution* made by the Earl of Donoughmore

and his colleagues in June, 1928, and he will see the Ceylon Legislative Council, as it then existed, castigated in much the same terms as Lord Linlithgow and his colleagues have employed in criticizing the Indian legislature. “The unofficial members, who are not responsible for the conduct of public business, enjoy an overwhelming majority in the Legislative Council,” wrote the Noble Earl and his co-signatories. The “official members, who are so responsible, are in a permanent minority.” In other words, those “who have controlling votes in the Council are not called upon to bear the responsibility for their decisions: those who have to bear the responsibility are without the controlling vote.” Referring to the situation as it developed, they wrote:

“Acceptance of the position of co-partnership faded from the picture of practical politics and the unofficials came gradually to regard themselves as a permanent Opposition. As soon as this tendency was manifest it was clear that the constitution would place the Government in a position of extreme difficulty. . . there was at work among them (the unofficials) one common sentiment, namely that they could administer the country more efficiently themselves. Thus in an atmosphere of uncertainty and instability the only constant factor was the general desire to make political capital out of the shortcomings of the Government and to add to its embarrassment. . .

“In this unenviable situation the Government was faced with alternative courses of action. It could either risk a crisis by standing its ground in the face of an adverse majority, adhering to its considered proposals and throwing on the Council the responsibility for rejecting them; or it could give ground when opposed in order to secure the best compromise available. The Government chose the latter course. . .

“...they (the unofficials) were encouraged to redouble their efforts, seeing as they now did the full extent of their power. They had only to maintain the pressure to have the administrative machinery completely at their mercy.

“These developments, perhaps inevitable, served the best interests neither of the unofficial members nor of the Government. The former were emboldened to travel outside the sphere of legislation and to hamper the machinery of Government in executive and administrative matters. The policy of the Government involved a virtual surrendering of control, and its representatives in the Council could not but lose dignity. The reactions on its supporters and on those who looked to it for support, were equally unfortunate, the effect on the morale of the public services disastrous.”

At the recommendation of the Donoughmore Commission this Council was superseded by a legislature that was split up into seven committees. The new legislative organ had no control over the public services, such as its predecessor had through the power of the purse. A concealed dyarchy was introduced whereby administration over external affairs, defence, public service, finance and justice was entrusted to “Officers of State” who were in no sense and to no degree responsible to the new legislature. The Governor's powers were also enhanced, both in respect of



legislation and administration. In justifying these changes, the Donoughmore Commission wrote, on page 72 of their Report :

"Our central aim in devising a new constitution has been the devolution on the inhabitants of Ceylon of the responsibility of managing their own internal affairs, subject only to certain safe-guards in the background. It follows then that the executive responsibility of the Governor must be *pro tanto* diminished. But here we are faced with a paradox. For with every transference of responsibility to representative organs the Governor must be given such additional reserve powers as will enable him to see that this responsibility is not wrongly exercised. These reserve powers will represent one form of safe-guard, which will operate if and when the principles of the constitution should be infringed : the other form of safe-guard which we contemplate lies in the presence of Officers of State as expert advisers and critics."

The hand that drafted the passage in the Linlithgow Committee Majority report for justifying "safe-guards" (which I quoted), must have been trained in the same political school. Not only is the apologia on similar lines and, in parts, even the phraseology almost identical, but the nature of the reservations made and of the executives designed for the two countries bear a close resemblance.

### XIII

A great opportunity to conciliate educated opinion was lost in 1928. A similar opportunity is being lost in India in 1935.

The shearing of legislative powers in that island and the setting up of a strong executive did not end—or even diminish—agitation. Discontent with the new institutions is, if anything, greater than was the case with those which were superseded.

With all the care that has been taken in manufacturing "reserve powers" and "safe-guards," the experience in India will, I am convinced, be similar. Agitation will not only continue, but will become intensified and embittered.

The forces of Indian life might, at the moment, be divided : but they will not always remain disunited. They are being trained within a channel much too narrow to give them sufficient play.

The embankments that are being built, have, it is true, been designed with skill. Into the making of them much honest labour has been put.

But the designers have woefully under-estimated the strength of the living forces. Their plans have not been touched with imagination or generosity. The embankments will not, therefore, stand the strain to which they will be subjected even before the mortar has had time to set.

## THE JOINT COMMITTEE'S REPORT AND MINORITIES AND OUR NATIONAL DUTY

By RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph. D.

**P**UBLIC criticism of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report on Indian Reform has been so far mainly destructive in its character and has not proceeded along any fruitful or constructive lines. This is perhaps due to the first wave of profound disappointment that has swept over the country as a reaction to the Report. The Report which is now unequivocally condemned by all sections of Indian opinion has created a first class political crisis calling for the highest constructive statesmanship to meet it. Practically the situation amounts to this that India is being forced to accept a constitution which is manufactured entirely in England, a completely foreign article.

Indeed, one may say that this drama of Indian constitutional Reform has now been completed in five Acts, the four so-called Round Table Conferences followed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, but Indians do not know how to describe it, whether to call it a tragedy, or a comedy, or a huge farce. There has been a show of Indian opinion being called into

consultation at every stage in the development of this drama, but with a progressively decreasing effect until it ceased to be at the last and decisive stage. The Report of the Joint Committee ends by ceasing to reflect Indian opinion at any point, not even moderate opinion such as that of the Joint Indian Memorandum. It is a strange irony of fate that while the Statutory Simon Commission was a completely British composition from which the Indian element was studiously excluded on principle, it could yet produce a Report which, on the whole, and in certain vital and fundamental matters, shows far greater response to Indian opinion, a far greater respect for the views and sentiments of the very Indians who had boycotted that Commission than the Report of the Joint Committee following in the wake of the three so-called Round Table Conferences, all of which were composed differently from the Simon Commission on the basis of the more acceptable principle of Indo-British co-operation in a joint endeavour towards the fashioning of a satisfactory democratic constitution for India.



But what has been the ultimate outcome of this protected Indo-British partnership? The stronger partner has subjected the weaker one to a process of progressive impotence until the joint concern became the concern of only one, the stronger party. The Simon Commission was only inferior in the method of its composition, but it certainly reported better on many essentials than the Joint Committee and the Round Table Conferences and Committees. These no doubt gave a better show in democracy but show is no substitute for substance, and mere manner or method is of far less consequence than the matter achieved.

Now the question is, what should Indians do to meet a situation that is now going to materialize by the force of its own momentum which it has gathered in all these years of Conferences and Committees? Even moderate Indian opinion, that of the Liberal Federation, has repeatedly declared that the coming constitution will be far less desirable than the existing Montagu constitution and that there should be no Reform rather than a doubtful one. The Congress condemns the coming constitution as a mere "costly mask" aiming to perpetuate the British domination and exploitation of India. But all this Indian opinion will not avail to stay the coming of this condemned constitution. The British Government are fully determined that it should come. They must rule India on their terms and on conditions that may suit their mission and purpose in and for India and their own Imperial policy.

The British determination has been officially expressed in no uncertain manner by the Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare in the recent Commons' debate. He said:

Let me as a friend put the position as I see it. I do not believe it a choice between the Bill founded on the broad lines of the Committee's Report, and a more advanced Bill of any near future date...I do not see within any reasonable compass of time any other Government, Conservative, Labour or Liberal, giving time, trouble and incurring unpopularity in this country for producing another scheme...The scheme is made by Government with a majority behind it, determined to carry the proposals into effect without delay, and in the course of this Session."

The Government evidently intend and expect that any modifications of their scheme, which the Indians want, must now come from the working of the scheme by the Indians. They take support for this view from the latest Congress resolution on the subject.

It may be said for the Government's reform proposals that they do not alter the general structure and frame-work of the constitution to which the Congress itself had agreed under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The Congress agreed that India was to get Responsibility both at the Centre and in the Provinces subject to (a) Safe-guards and (b) Federation. Safe-guards, as deductions from democracy, were only agreed to where they

would be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India, while Federation was agreed to in the interests of the unity of India as a whole, so that the two parts of India, British and Princely, might be integrated into a common constitution as its organic parts.

The Joint Committee have not departed from the main lines of this agreement whereby Responsibility for India must hang ultimately on the Princes, and be further limited by safe-guards. Keeping to the agreed general structure of the constitution, they have introduced changes in the agreed conditions on which Responsibility must depend, changes in the direction of rendering Federation more acceptable to the Princes, and also of stiffening and adding to the safe-guards in a purely British view of what are required in the interests of India. Lord Irwin (Halifax) has publicly stated that he would be quite ready to prove on any platform that each and every one of the safe-guards proposed by the Joint Committee was necessary in the interests of India, as was stipulated in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

I do not know if the Congress has really receded from the position settled in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, nor the practical significance of its recent Resolution for the total rejection of the White Paper and the Joint Committee's scheme. I do not know if the Congress is now opposed on principle to Federation and Safe-guards as the two conditions of Responsibility to which it had previously agreed, conditions which the Congress was even prepared to explore and to discuss with the British authorities at the second Round Table Conference. It is not clear whether the Congress attitude is merely destructive, or whether the Congress has any constructive alternative scheme except the very general scheme for a Constituent Assembly. According to Sir Samuel Hoare,

"Any proposals of a constituent Assembly in India are quite impracticable and Indians themselves know it. Time has come to end this long period of protracted delay and to take definite action upon the sole scheme that holds the ground and to which no workable alternative has been proposed."

At the same time, the Congress wishes for an agreed line of action, and an all-parties' united front in India to resist the coming constitution. It is very unlikely that a united front will be possible on the basis of the mere demand for a Constituent Assembly. The conception of a Constituent Assembly touches only the question of method and procedure, and does not solve the vital problem of any agreed Constitution. To make a fresh start in the work of Constitution-building, to reopen settled questions, and to write on a clean slate will simply mean dangerous and disastrous delay. Moreover, the proposed composition of the Constituent Assembly on the very basis of the vicious and anti-national system of communal electorate and representation, which



is itself embodied in the nefarious and notorious Communal Award as the best antidote to democracy, must necessarily make the chances for its production of an agreed constitution very remote and uncertain. If the Congress shows a little more regard for history, the history which it has itself created, it can certainly revive and accept the Nehru Report as an excellent basis of an agreed constitution for India, and avoid waste of valuable time, and, what is worse, a fresh crop of communal disagreements which the projected Constituent Assembly must inevitably rouse.

India has not done well by the Nehru Report, which has laid down the only possible way towards an agreed Indian Constitution. The only change which time has brought with it is in respect of Federation. The Nehru Report had within its purview only the politics of British India as a whole, the problem of its political development and destiny as a separate entity by itself. Even up to the other day, the time of Lord Irwin and of the First Round Table Conference, both the Government and the people of India were agreed that British India must before long be developed and constituted into a self-governing Dominion like Canada or Australia. I do not know if the Congress has acted wisely in agreeing to mix up the Princes with the politics of British India which has so far evolved on its own independent lines. If the Princes are a problem for India, a problem for her intrinsic unity and wholesome political development, that problem could always be dealt with by the Government of India, however it might be constituted and composed for the time being. Even if the Government of India were constituted like a full-fledged Dominion, its Foreign office would be quite competent to deal with the Indian States individually and collectively in accordance with the Treaty-rights of each, and on lines on which they are dealt with by the present Government of India with its imperfect constitution. Federation has only served to postpone the day of India's Responsibility and also to enhance very much the price at which it can now be obtained.

In all other matters, the Nehru Report is quite up-to-date and can easily be pitted by India as her agreed scheme, and a 'working alternative' to the Joint Committee's scheme, as a reply to the statement of Sir Samuel Hoare cited above.

The basis of the Nehru scheme is Joint Electorate as the only basis of an acceptable Constitution. The most fundamental and disastrous defect of the White Paper and of the Joint Committee's scheme is the proposal to found a constitution on the basis of a system of separate electorate and communal representation, which is absolutely unparalleled in history, unprecedented in politics and unprincipled in theory. The introduction of this discredited system shows in advance that the constitution which

the Government intend for India is never to be any kind of democracy or Dominion Constitution. This very fundamental constitutional point is of course fully comprehended by successive British authorities at every stage of their transactions relating to Indian Reform, although it was retained and extended by them at each such stage. As is well known, the system was condemned by Lord Morely who disclaimed his personal responsibility for it as the then Secretary of State and fathered it on Lord Minto who as Viceroy first introduced it as a part of his own Reforms. It was equally condemned in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, while even the present Prime Minister of England has condemned it in no uncertain terms in his speech at the House of Commons while reporting on the First Indian Round Table Conference as its Chairman. And yet every dose of reform that has been given to India has also brought with it an extended dose of the evil until the poison now permeates the entire Indian body politic, the whole field of Indian Constitution from the centre to the provinces and local bodies. There may be two opinions on many of the safe-guards and reservations frankly introduced as deductions from democracy in the coming Constitution, but there cannot be two opinions on separate electorate as being the very negative of democracy and responsible Government. Opinion on this point is, of course, unanimous among the many British statesmen responsible for the present scheme of reform.

The Joint Committee themselves state that India lacks some of the essential factors of Parliamentary Government such as "the principle of majority rule, the willingness of the minority for the time being to accept the decisions of the majority, or the existence of political parties divided by broad issues of policy rather than by sectional interests..."

"In these circumstances, communal representation must be accepted as inevitable at the present time, but it is a strange commentary on some of the democratic professions to which we have listened..."

"Meanwhile, it must be recognized that, if free play were given to the powerful forces which would be set in motion by an unqualified system of Parliamentary Government, the consequences would be disastrous to India, and perhaps irreparable." (Para 20).

Cannot India give the lie direct to this charge of the Joint Committee that she is fundamentally unfit for democracy and Parliamentary Government by declaring firmly, and with one voice, for Joint Electorate? Cannot the great Muslim democracy of India join hands with all other Indian communities in voting down communal representation as the greatest obstacle to democracy?

The Joint Committee also themselves "deplore the mutual distrust of which the insistence on the demand for separate electorates



by the minorities is so ominous a symptom" (Para 120). It is time that India herself now puts an end to this deplorable situation.

The recent Congress decision that the Congress "neither accepts nor rejects the Communal Award" is perhaps responsible for the following rather strange statement of the Joint Committee :

"It is clear to us that there is among almost all the communities in India (not excepting the Hindus) a very considerable degree of acquiescence in the Award in the absence of any solution agreed between the communities." p. 123.

It is very interesting to note that this statement was added and incorporated at the last moment into the Report by an amendment moved by Sir Samuel Hoare himself, and supported by his Under-Secretary, Mr. Butler (p. 554 of Vol. I, Part II). The Secretary of State was certainly moved to make this addition by the Congress Resolution on the Communal Award and give the benefit of his up-to-date knowledge of Indian affairs to his colleagues of the Joint Committee so as to make their Report also quite up-to-date.

Fortunately, Hindu Bengal has exploded this cheap theory of Hindu acquiescence in the Communal Award by its verdict at the last Assembly elections.

There are other members of the Joint Committee and Parliament who are even more emphatic on this primary issue of the electorate.

The Press reports state that

Lord Salisbury "ridiculed the idea of communal electorates, declaring that the arrangements were of the grossest absurdity and did not give Self-Government at all. There was no means of working Self-Government on those lines. The real, honest truth was that the Government was anxious to conciliate Moslem opinion. He held no brief for Hindu or Moslem, but even if he preferred the Moslem, he would consider there was no future for such a jerry-mandering policy, founded on a complete constitutional fallacy."

Col. Wedgwood, that never-failing friend of India's freedom, stated as follows in the Commons' debate :

"Communal representation would permanently divide India. If democracy was once started on these lines, there never would be democracy." He also declared that "the Hindus will never accept the Communal Representation."

Major Attlee of the Joint Committee could not refrain from recording his opinion that

"the division of the Electorate into watertight compartments and the allocation of seats according to the numbers of various religious communities seems to us to cut very deeply at the roots of a real system of democratic Government."

Lord Strabolgi is reported to have "described the Communal Award as the most hideous denial of everything in which the Labourites believed."

The Marquess of Zetland was so convinced

of the inequity of the Communal Award that he proposed a regular Amendment to Paragraph 121 of the Joint Committee's Report on the subject, from which the following extract is made :

"We do not propose to elaborate the objections which may be urged against the system (of Communal Representation) as a whole. But it is one thing to concede separate communal electorates for the purpose of giving Minorities reasonable representation in the various Legislatures ; it is an entirely different thing to employ the system for the purpose of conferring upon a majority community in any particular province a permanent majority in the Legislature, unalterable by any appeal to the electorate. Such a course has never hitherto been adopted. It was considered and rejected by the Simon Commission who declared that a claim submitted to them which in Bengal and the Punjab would give to the Moslem community a fixed and unalterable majority in the general constituency seats was one which they could not entertain ; 'it would be unfair,' they wrote, 'that Muhammadans should retain the very considerable weightage they now enjoy in the six Provinces and that there should at the same time be imposed, in face of Hindu and Sikh opposition, a definite Moslem majority in the Punjab and in Bengal unalterable by any appeal to the electorate.' This is the position which will arise if the distribution of seats proposed in the White Paper for the Legislative Assembly of Bengal is given effect to..."

With the Moslems in a majority in any particular Province, we think that no reservation of seats for them ought to be necessary, and the logical solution of the problem would be to make no provision for a separate Moslem electorate but to throw the whole of the general seats open to Moslems and Hindus, so that candidates, whether Moslems or Hindus, would have to stand on their merits and make their appeal to the electors at large.

But lest this proposal be considered as too radical, "we recommend as a general principle that in any Province in which seats are reserved for a community which constitutes a majority of the population, a decision whether election in the case of the general seats including those reserved for the majority community should be by separate or by joint electorate, should rest with the Minority."

The Amendment which was thus moved by the Marquess of Zetland was supported by eight other members named below :

Lord Salisbury, Lord Derby, Lord Lytton, Lord Middleton, Lord Hardinge, Lord Rankeillour, Sir Reginald Craddock, Joseph Neill.

The "Not Contents" numbered 14.

Lord Rankeillour further moved that the Joint Committee "recommend the Government to reconsider the Communal Award especially as regards Bengal."

This Amendment received the support of as many as 10 "Contents" and was lost only by 3 votes.

Cannot Nationalist India and the Congress even now strengthen the hands of the Marquess



of Zetland and of other members of Parliament of his way of thinking, by declaring for Joint Electorate as the only possible basis of an acceptable Constitution? Should the Congress fall below the political standard for which Lord Zetland has been so nobly fighting for India?

But the only bright spot in the otherwise dark scheme of the White Paper and Joint Committee's Report is that the question of electorate is still left absolutely to India. In the matter of this fundamental issue of the electorate, India has been given the right of complete self-determination. The Communal Award will be scrapped the moment India is ready with an agreed substitute. Let India now concentrate on the structure of her electorate and ensure the foundations of the constitution she wants by deciding that the electorate must be general and joint, as in every other civilized country of the world including Turkey, Iraq, and Palestine which are no less torn by communal conflicts than India. And yet communalism in those

countries is being deliberately dealt with by the system of Joint Electorate breeding that spirit of a common, national citizenship which is the best remedy and antidote to communalism.

Let India present a united front against the Joint Committee's report by asking for Joint Electorate as the basis of the coming constitution, and then, on the basis of sound and strong democratic beginnings, gather up strength to nullify the many and multiform Safe-guards and Reservations proposed in the Report. The citadel of Autocracy and Irresponsible Government cannot be conquered except by the weapon of Joint Electorate. The strongest fortification of that citadel is formed by the construction of Communal Electorate. The most fundamental safe-guard which the British Government have taken against the development of India into a democracy is this system of separate electorate, but it must be said to their infinite credit that they have left its continuance entirely to India.

## THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

[Plot of Previous Chapters. Subarna, the only child of Pratulchandra Mitra of Jamral, was secretly given away in marriage at the age of eight to Shribilas Guha of village Bhatgram, by Subarna's mother Narayani. Pratulchandra, who lived in Calcutta, had intended to educate his daughter and to get her married after she had grown up to womanhood. This earnest desire of his was frustrated by the orthodoxy of his wife, who lived in her husband's village-home. So, in anger he left his wife, and did not see her again till the time of her death. Subarna was very much ill-treated by her mother-in-law, who refused to allow the girl to go to see her dying mother. Subarna ran away from her husband's house to see her mother, who expired soon after the meeting. Pratul wanted to send Subarna back to her husband. But she refused through fear, saying her mother-in-law would kill her for running away. Pratul took her to Bhatgram himself and was surprised to find that Subarna was refused admission into her husband's house. He took her away deciding to educate her and make her independent of her husband's family, for ever. Subarna's name was changed into Suparnā, and she was sent by her father to Delhi to live in the family of Taran Babu, a friend of his and to study for a medical career. In this family she had a friend in Amitā, daughter of her father's friend. Here, after a few years, she met a young doctor named Sudarshan. They fell in love with each other, and Sudarshan proposed, being under the impression that Suparnā was an unmarried woman. But Suparnā refused to listen to him and sent him away. At this time she received a letter from her father, informing her that her husband Shribilas was wanting her back. In great perturbation of spirit, Suparnā fell ill and then decided to leave Delhi. At the

station Sudarshan met her and pleaded with her again. This upset her still more and she arrived in Calcutta, a physical and mental wreck. Here Shribilas met her and tried to persuade her to return to him. But Suparnā stoutly refused to do so. Shribilas was persistent and left saying that he would come again very soon.]

**T**HOUGH Suparnā told off Shribilas very summarily, she was feeling far from easy in her mind. She was determined not to live as the wife of Shribilas again, but how and where she was to live, was not at all clear to her. Had she the courage to go to Delhi again? She knew, she would not be able to control herself, if she saw Sudarshan again and felt his deep look upon herself. She had not been able to hide the secret of her heart, she had to run away after letting it out. Amitā, too, had found her out. She had passed the most peaceful and happy days of her life in Delhi. How could she go back there now, with her clouded existence? Shribilas would never let her live in peace. When the people there would come to know that Suparnā was not a maiden but a married woman, who had been posing as unmarried, how tongues would wag over her tale! How people would whisper and wink! And what would Sudarshan think of her? Had Suparnā the strength to bear all these? How could she go back to Delhi? But where else could she go? Calcutta had become the citadel of her enemy. Could she defend herself against him, if she lived here?



As she was about to enter her own room, her father came out of his, and asked, "Has Shribilas gone?"

"Yes, father," replied Suparnā.

"What have you decided?" asked her father again.

"I have told him, that I am not going back," said Suparnā. "But it does not seem that he would let me off so easily. He said that he was coming again the day after tomorrow."

"Stick to your own decision," said Pratul. "You need not fear his threats. We knew beforehand that he would try his worst to take you away, but you must not submit to coercion. That is why, I brought you away from their house. But where have you decided to stay? Do you want to go back to Delhi?"

"I cannot yet make up my mind, father," said Suparnā. "I shall have to think it over again."

"You can stay on and continue your studies here," said her father. "But here there is a risk of being molested all the time. Delhi is better in that respect. But there you lived like an unmarried girl. If Shribilas follows you there and makes scenes, it would be extremely unpleasant for you. You must consider first, whether you can stand all these."

"I was thinking of that, father," said Suparnā. "Perhaps I shall be obliged to give up my studies, and live in retirement for a while. But if he has recourse to law, I may be forced to remain in Calcutta."

"I don't think, he would venture so far," said her father. "Well, let us wait and see," saying this, he went back to his own room.

Suparnā, too, went to her room and flung herself down upon her bed. She had told her father, that she was going to think things over, but she could see no end to her troubles. If she remained in Calcutta, Shribilas would give her no peace. If she went to Delhi, she would have to live continually in fear of exposure and scandal. The only course open to her was to live in hiding for a time. But then she would have to give up her studies and Pratul would have to take leave from the college. She decided to wait till Shribilas's next visit. If he was determined not to give up his rights as a husband, Suparnā would have to stay on here and try to arrive at a settlement with him. She could not ward him off for ever, neither could she fly from him for ever. She did not want to live the life of a hunted animal, she wanted to live the life of a free human being. If she consented to live as the wife of Shribilas, she could have peace. But the very thought gave her the creeps. It was better to kill herself.

But poor mortals never know beforehand what God would ordain for them. The final disposal always rests with him, not with man.

Suparnā could not sleep the whole night, so she got up rather late. The servant was calling to her to come to tea. She rose from her bed in a hurry, and washed and dressed herself rather quickly and went to the tea table. Her father was already there. "Did not you sleep well?" he asked upon seeing his daughter.

Suparnā felt rather awkward and answered, "No father, I remained awake till three."

Pratul pushed the teapot towards her and said, "Pour yourself a cup of tea. I did not pour it out, as I thought it would grow cold."

A letter was lying under the teapot. As Suparnā moved the teapot, it flew down to the floor. "A letter from Delhi, for you," said Pratul. "I suppose, it is from Taran Babu's daughter?"

Suparnā's heart gave such a jump, that she nearly choked. The letter was not from Amitā, but from Sudarshan. Though she had forbidden him expressly to write, he had still written. What had he to say to her?

Pratul had not expected any answer to his question. He finished his cup in silence and took up the morning paper. Suparnā swallowed a cup of tea somehow and left everything else untouched. She took up the letter and went off to her room again. She tore the envelope with trembling hands and took out the letter. Sudarshan had written—

"Respected Madam,

"I do not know how else to address you, so I am addressing you thus. When I look within my heart, I find there no respect left for you. You had forbidden me to write, yet I could not obey you. I shall tell you why. You know very well what my feelings had been for you. I had not given up the hope of making you my wife. I had decided to try my utmost, to crush all obstacles in the way. Amitā had given me hopes, saying that there were no reasons to be discouraged so easily. So I went to Taran Babu, knowing that he was your guardian in Delhi. I had decided to come to Calcutta, if Taran Babu received me favourably. I wanted to ask for your hand again, also to lay my proposals before your father. But what I heard from Taran Babu, destroyed all my hopes for ever. I never even dreamt that you were a married woman. You ought to have told me this, knowing full well that I was under the impression that you were unmarried. Why you masqueraded under the guise of a maiden, I do not know, and I do not want to know. But have you ever thought what sorrow and despair you were causing a human being, through this foolish act of yours? Perhaps I have no right to criticize your conduct, but I feel that I have earned the right through the deepest suffering.

"I am going away from here tomorrow. I had postponed my departure only for a few days. Possibly, you, too, will never return to Delhi. My last request to you is, do not fool men any



more, by holding out false hopes. There are women who glory in conquering and breaking hearts. But I hope you will remain above this cruel sport, after this.

Sudarshan."

The letter dropped on the floor from Suparnā's hand. So Sudarshan had written this terrible letter to her! She took up the letter and tried to read it again, but she did not seem to grasp its meaning. Her brain seemed to be on fire, and a stream of poison seemed to course through her veins. She felt a choking sensation. Suddenly a cry of agony escaped her and she fell on the bed, shaking with suppressed sobs. Was there no mercy for her anywhere in this world? She had steeled her heart against those whom she knew to be her enemies and persecutors. But the man whom she honoured as a God in her heart, whose memory was the only treasure of her barren life, how could he thus strike her with a poisoned missile? What was he thinking of her? Could not he even ask her what cruel trick of fate had compelled her to take a disguise? Why did he judge her and punish her so precipitately?

When at last she returned to her senses, she heard her father knocking at the door. She had been weeping all this while, like one senseless. Nothing had any meaning for her. As she tried to sit up, she felt that her whole body was trembling. Still she forced herself to stand up. She wiped her eyes and went and opened the door.

Pratul looked at her tear-stained face in amazement and asked, "What is the matter, dear? Have you received any bad news?"

Suparnā cleared her throat and said, "No, father."

"The letter was from Taran Babu's house, was it not?" he asked again.

Suparnā hung down her head and said indistinctly, "Yes."

"You have eaten nothing," said Pratul, "are you feeling very unwell?"

"Yes, father," Suparnā replied, "I am feeling rather unwell. I shall try to sleep a while."

Pratul was a man of few words. Even to Suparnā he could not talk for long. He went back to his own room, and Suparnā, too, went back to her bed. She was too excited to think coherently. She was so terribly hurt by Sudarshan's letter, that her naturally calm intellect had become clouded over. As a person strikes back involuntarily, when struck unexpectedly, so Suparnā wanted to strike Sudarshan even a harder blow than he had struck. She wanted to destroy herself and thus cause him to suffer. But she was accustomed to suffering and sorrow from her childhood; it was not possible for her to lose control of herself entirely and act like one insane. After a few hours, she became more calm and her normal understanding returned to her. But she still wanted to be revenged.

She could neither eat nor drink that day. The servant came to enquire and was told that Suparnā had got fever. Pratul came in and felt her forehead. It was hot. He laid the blame for all these at Shribilas's door and his heart filled with hatred for that man. Whenever he went in to see Suparnā, he found her sitting in the same position, staring straight before her. She seemed to have lost the power of moving her limbs even.

Pratul drew up a chair by the side of her bed and sat down. "Look here, little mother," he said, "You must not be so easily upset. You have still most of your life before you. Cast away all thoughts of happiness and ease from your mind, and you will feel far more relieved. Try only to keep your head erect. Let this be your only thought. When I was your age, fate dealt me a similar blow. I knew that happiness in the ordinary sense of the word could never be mine. It took me time to get over it, but still I did it. A woman's heart treasures love beyond everything else. A life without love seems barren as a desert to her. Still you may have to accept such a fate, in order to keep your self-respect. Try to understand this calmly, try to gather strength. If you feel that it is impossible for you to walk through life alone, then accept dependence. If Shribilas had been a good man, the solution for you would have been easy. But I do not think he has changed much. Still, you must decide for yourself. It is no use going on like this. You must not be agitated so much. Trials await one at every turn of life."

"I am trying to think, father," said Suparnā in a trembling voice, "but I cannot see any end to my troubles."

"They have got to end, somehow," said her father. "You cannot drift on for ever like this."

As Pratul went out of the room, Suparnā drew out Sudarshan's letter from under her pillow again. She read it over once more. Hatred seemed to breathe through every line of it. He was laying all his sorrows at her door, but was not she suffering also? Was he really such a fool as he was pretending to be? Had not he understood anything at all? She must have appeared to him as the vainest and lightest of creatures. He was requesting her not to entangle any one else in her meshes. So that was what he had taken her to be after knowing her and seeing her for so many years? Had not she tried her best to make him desist? Still he could accuse her thus?

Well, she was going to keep Sudarshan's request. She was going to take off her mask for ever. She was a married woman and she was going to lead the life of one. She would not delude people again by posing as a maiden. This would mean to her nothing short of a sentence of death, still she would accept it.

In the evening she had only a cup of tea and went up to the terrace. She remained there till it was dark. At night, too, she could not



sleep, but sat by her window, watching the darkness.

Next day, her father saw that Suparnā had decided for herself. She was going about her duties, very calm and collected. Only her face was ashen, her eyes dry as the sands of the desert. "What have you decided?" asked Pratul of his daughter.

"I shall go to Bhatgram, father," replied Suparnā, shortly.

Pratul seemed petrified with amazement. After a while, he asked "Have you thought about it, quite calmly? Will you be able to stand it?"

"I shall have to," replied Suparnā. "I shall not hinder you," said her father. "It is for you to decide. I can only help you to the best of my ability."

He finished his tea, rather quickly, then went off to his own room, with the day's paper. Suparnā sipped her tea alone. Then she put back the bread, butter and jelly inside the meat-safe. She called the servant and said, "That gentleman will call again in the evening. Inform me, as soon as he calls."

The afternoon passed very slowly. To Suparnā it seemed as dreary as the last hours before execution seem to a condemned man. One moment, she wanted to prolong these few hours of freedom, next moment, she wanted to end them as quickly as possible. The torment was proving too much for her. But the minutes passed in their usual way, paying no heed to human joy or sorrow. The evening arrived at last. Suparnā did not move from her seat. She neither did her hair, nor changed her dress. She looked like one who had just got up from a bed of illness.

Shribilas arrived quickly enough. Today he was not dressed up finely as on his previous visit. The servant showed him to the drawing-room and went to inform his master. He was reading. He did not raise his eyes from the pages of the book, but said. "Inform the young mistress."

Suparnā came at once. Looking at her face Shribilas cried out in surprise "What is the matter? Are you ill?"

Suparnā drew up a chair and sat down, saying "No, I am not ill. Sit down."

"Shribilas sat down. "What have you decided?" he asked. "I have thought the whole of yesterday. You must give me an opportunity for atoning for all my past sins towards you. It is a stigma I want to wipe off."

Suparnā remained silent for a while. Her heart burnt with rage at his manner of speech. She knew he was only delivering a speech he had learnt by heart at home. This was his first attempt at playing a part and he made repeated mistakes. Suparnā wanted to laugh aloud, but she suppressed the inclination. "All right," she said, "you shall have your wish, I shall go with you."

Shribilas did not seem to believe his ears. He bent forward and asked, "What did you say? You are going with me? You?"

"Yes, I. I shall go with you," said Suparnā in a hard and bitter tone. Shribilas jumped up from the chair in his excess of joy. As he moved forward towards her, Suparnā laughed and said, "Don't excite yourself. I shall go with you, but only on one condition."

Shribilas stopped. "What is the condition?" he asked, rather discouraged.

"I shall live in your house," said Suparnā. "But I shall live separately, like a guest. You must not demand anything of me, until I can grant you voluntarily the rights of a husband. This is my condition."

Shribilas went back to his chair. He pondered for a while with bent head. "I must submit," he said at last. "But you are placing me in a most difficult position. Even if you had made the condition, I would not have used force towards you. I hope, you believe this."

"That may be," said Suparnā. "But my condition remains all the same. If you ever break it, under any pretext, I shall come away, at once. No power of law will ever bring me back."

"I have given you my word and I shall keep it," said Shribilas, rather angrily. "Please let me know when you can start. I shall write to my sister accordingly."

"I can go, tomorrow," said Suparnā. "Is not your father at home?" asked Shribilas getting up.

"He is very busy" replied Suparnā. "Is that so?" said Shribilas. "Very well. I am going now. The train is at eight p. m. sharp. Be ready in time."

## XX

Suparnā had begun to pack up from the morning. Pratul had remained in his room, immersed in his book. He had not visited Suparnā even once. He had consented to Suparnā's decision perforce, as he respected the rights of free determination in every human being. But his mind remained averse to this decision. He did not trust Shribilas at all. He was fully convinced that he would show his true colours as soon as he got Suparnā in his power again. His courteousness and humility were feigned, to serve his end. He saw that untold sorrows were awaiting his child. He had never thought that his daughter, educated and intelligent girl that she was, would ever let herself be caught in such an easy trap. But he did not try to hinder her, on principle.

In the evening, he came to her room once and said, "Have you finished packing, my dear?"

"Yes, father," replied Suparnā, "I am taking only this suitcase and this bedding with me now. I shall send for the other things later on, if I need them. I have all my jewellery in this big trunk, you must keep it carefully."



"Did you bring over all your things from Delhi?" asked her father.

"All, with the exception of the books" said Suparnā. "I did not know what I might need here."

Pratul took out a packet of currency notes from his pocket and handed it to Suparnā, saying, "Keep these. Do not say anything to Shribilas about it. There are three hundred rupees in the packet. Spend them whenever you need them. And keep these envelopes, stamps, postcards and telegraph forms. I am writing to Jamral and Bhatgram today. Your uncles are in Jamral, they will be able to look after you. The post master at Bhatgram belongs also to Jamral and is well known to me. I shall write to him, too. Write to me everyday. I shall remain very anxious."

"Why do you feel so anxious, father?" asked his daughter calmly. "I shall be able to take good care of myself. They may be very cunning people, but no cunning will be of avail now against me. If I cannot pull on with them, I shall come away."

"It is not always possible to act according to one's desire," said her father. "But it is useless thinking about these things now. When is your train?"

"It is at half past eight," said Suparnā. "I must start from here at eight. Will you come to the station, father?"

"No, my dear, I do not think I shall go," said Pratul. He ordered the servant to get dinner ready in time and went back to his room.

Suparnā had her dinner early and got ready for the station. If any of her modern friends had seen her now, they would have stared agape at her. She was dressed so plainly and simply, that nobody would have believed that she was going out. Even her feet were bare. She wore her sari simply, like purdah ladies. Pratul looked at Suparnā once, but did not say anything. The girl was becoming an enigma to him. She was not trying at all, to hide the fact, that her mind was full of disgust and hostility. Then why had she consented to go with Shribilas? Pratul could not think that she had agreed through fear, for really there was no reason for so much fear. If he had questioned her, she would have given him some sort of an answer, but he did not like to pester her any more.

Shribilas drove up in a taxi. Suparnā was standing at the door. He looked at her and cried out "Why, you are not ready yet? There is not much time left, so I came with the taxi."

"I have been ready this one hour," said Suparnā. "We can start at once."

"Are you coming like this?" asked Shribilas in wonder. "Won't you put on shoes even?"

"What's the use?" asked Suparnā. "None of the ladies of your village, put on shoes. What shall I do with the shoes, when I get there?"

Shribilas was a parsimonious man. He did not want to enter into a dispute now with Suparnā, as the taxi was waiting. So he said, "Do as you please. I have no objection, if you have none to walking barefoot."

The servant brought out Suparnā's luggage and put them in the car. Suparnā went in and bowed down to her father, saying, "I am going now, father."

Pratul came out with her. "Please send me news of your safe arrival there," he said. He looked at his son-in-law and asked "Has not a telegraph office been established in your village?"

"Yes, there is one there, for the last few years," answered Shribilas. He too made a hasty bow to Pratul and got into the car.

As the taxi started, Shribilas looked at Suparnā and asked, "You are taking practically no luggage. May I ask, why?"

"This will do for the present," said Suparnā. "When I need more things, I shall send for them. It is not very far from Calcutta."

"It seems you do not intend to stay very long there," said Shribilas.

"I cannot tell you now how long it will suit me to stay. I have not made all my plans for the future yet. It will depend on circumstances."

Shribilas made no comment. The car reached the station very soon. Shribilas paid off the driver and said, turning to Suparnā, "Shall I get second class tickets for you?"

"I shall be quite comfortable in the intermediate class," answered Suparnā.

Shribilas ordered two porters to carry the luggage in. Then he spoke again to Suparnā, rather angrily. "Though I am not a rich man like your father, I am not exactly a beggar. So you need not try to pose as a martyr in all things. I think, I can afford to keep you in the style to which you have become accustomed. At least, you ought to let me try."

"There is no question of my letting you do anything. You can do whatever pleases you," said Suparnā.

Shribilas marched off in a temper and got tickets for the inter class. "Do you want to go in the ladies' compartment?" he asked Suparnā.

"Yes," replied Suparnā. The train was already in, so she followed the porter and got into the inter class ladies' compartment. The porter put in her luggage, after her. The compartment was not empty. A few ladies were already seated in it. Any other time Suparnā would have disliked the idea of travelling with so many people. But today she liked it, as she did not want to be alone. She felt rather at ease, because the presence of the other women would prevent Shribilas from coming in at every station to enquire about her.

Shribilas stowed in all his luggage in his compartment, then came and stood by the window where Suparnā was seated. "I see nothing but



a water jug with you," he said, "will that appease both your hunger and thirst?"

Suparnā repressed a smile. So the wolf was already getting tired of the lamb's skin. His claws were itching to scratch. But she liked it. Shribilas might have made her forget his true self, if he had continued his pose longer. She must always be on the alert against this man. She must not slacken at all.

"I won't die of hunger within these few hours," she said in reply to Shribilas, "and you ought to remember that I was not in the habit of having seven square meals during twelve hours."

Shribilas did not dare to show off his temper before so many people. Besides, the train had not yet left Howrah, it might be unwise to provoke Suparnā now. So he said, "All right, go on brooding over all the wrongs you suffered twenty years ago," saying this, he marched off to his own compartment in a huff. Suparnā's fellow passengers were regarding these two people with a good deal of interest. It is usual with uneducated Bengali ladies to feel inquisitive, whenever they see a man and a woman together. So as soon as Shribilas had gone away an elderly lady approached Suparnā and asked point blank, "Who is that with you?"

"He is my husband," replied Suparnā with an effort.

"Oh, is that so?" said the lady with a smile. "Do not mind my asking, my dear girl. Why have you not put vermilion\* on your forehead, and why is not there an iron bangle\* on your wrist? People might think otherwise. You should not go out like this."

"We do not usually put on these things at home," said Suparnā. "So we cannot remember always to put them on when we go out."

"Oh, are you Christians or Bramhos?" asked the lady sagely. "One would not take you to be either, you must excuse my saying so. I have Bramhos living on both sides of my house and I know their manners and customs to the smallest detail. If they make one step out of their rooms, they put on shoes and stockings and petticoats. But you are dressed just like a Bengali woman."

"I am a Bengali woman, so how can I dress otherwise?" said Suparnā with a smile.

"Of course, you are a Bengali," said the lady, "but not like one of us."

The topic was dropped now. Another young woman came forward and asked, "Are you going to your father's house?"

"No, I am going to my husband's house," said Suparnā.

The train started now. Suparnā was not feeling much inclined to talk, so she put her head out of her window and stared straight before

her. She was afraid to think, yet one's mind cannot remain vacant for ever. If she looked behind, an ocean of tears confronted her, whose end she could not see. All her happiness, all her hopes, lay buried there. Before her, she could only see a barren desert. Why did she ever set foot on this path? The man who was causing her thus to sacrifice herself would never know about her self-immolation. He would never know how her heart had broken under the terrible blow dealt by him. Sudarshan! No, she must forget even his name, else she could not live.

Shribilas came now and then to enquire how she was getting on. Suparnā would not speak, if she could help it. She would only nod in answer to his questions. All her fellow passengers soon came to the conclusion that the husband and wife had no liking for each other.

The night advanced apace. Shribilas had fallen asleep probably, for he did not come to see Suparnā after eleven o'clock. The ladies, too, fell asleep one by one. Suparnā alone remained awake. She could not sleep. She was seeing the death of her real life advancing with every roll of the carriage wheels. One could not sleep under these circumstances.

The train stopped at Chorabil station early in the morning. They had to get down here. The rest of the way they had to go by boat. They would reach Bhatgram at about eleven. Suparnā had nothing to make ready, or to get ready herself. So she sat on, as she had been doing. She looked out of the window and saw Shribilas jump down on the platform and shout for a coolie. The station was a small one and the train stopped only for two minutes here. So, instead of waiting for Shribilas or the coolie, Suparnā opened the door herself and got down with her suitcase in hand. Shribilas ran up to her. "Take down the bedding," she said to him.

Shribilas got the bedding out somehow and the train started the next moment. Shribilas's shouts had not been in vain. A few coolies now appeared, still yawning drowsily. Through Chorabil lay the route to many places. So there were good many passengers, and all the coolies were engaged. Shribilas put all his and Suparnā's luggage on the heads of two coolies, and said, "We must wait at Rashik's shop for a while. We must have some breakfast and must engage a good boat."

"Yes," said Suparnā. "Let us walk on, it is not far off."

The station was a small affair. The platform strewn with red gravel sloped down to the open fields on one side, and on the other it led to the only road, the village boasted. One had to reach the road after getting down three or four steps. Shribilas led the way with the coolies, and Suparnā followed him. Rashik's shop stood at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the station. It served also as the village hotel. There were a few other shops, but there one

\* These are marks of wifehood as distinguished from widowhood or from maidenhood.



could find no accommodation for a whole family. Those consisted of only thatched sheds, one for each shop. Rashik had two thatched rooms behind his shop, where the passengers could rest and cook and eat. They could also bathe there in the village way, if so they desired.

Shribilas came first and engaged the better room for Suparnā. "Wash your hand and face here or have a bath, just as you desire," he said. "I am going to engage a boat. There are many passengers today. So, if I don't hurry, I shall not get a good boat. Shall I order them to get you some tea? They keep tea here now."

"Very well," said Suparnā. "But please order tea only, I don't want anything else."

Shribilas went out.

The room contained two wooden bedsteads, with mats spread on them. Suparnā threw away the mat from one of these, and sat down on the bare boards. She opened her suitcase, and took out her toilette accessories. But she became nearly sick, when shown into the place, which served as the bathroom. She gave up all ideas of having a bath, and returned to her room after washing her face somehow. She found Rashik's wife and daughter there, waiting for her with a large metal plate full of sweetmeats and two cups of tea. "Why have you brought so many things?" asked Suparnā, "I ordered tea only."

"But the gentleman told me to bring sweetmeats," said the woman.

Suparnā remembered the swarm of flies and wasps, she had seen setting over these sweetmeats, when she had come in. It took away all wish on her part to taste them. "All right," she said, "let him come in."

The women wanted to have some conversation with Suparnā, but seeing that she was not at all inclined for it they got up to go. "Will you cook, madam?" asked the shopkeeper's wife. "Shall I make preparations for it?"

"No," said Suparnā, "We shall have to start very soon." The women left after that.

There was a small window in the room. Suparnā looked out and saw the village-road stretching before her. A few bullock-carts were passing, leaving a cloud of dust behind. Each cart contained a number of men, women and children together with many bundles. These people, too, were looking out with drowsy sleep-laden eyes. Trees and shrubs on both sides of the road seemed to be holding up an offering of fresh leaves and flowers to the morning god. A long-forgotten fragrance, emanating from damp earth, fresh flowers and grass, seemed to be knocking at the gates of her heart, rousing in her heart the memories of a happy childhood. In that past life of hers, there had been no fear, no despair and no insults. She had passed her days in great joy and happiness in the laps of her mother and grandmother. Then came the darkest days of her existence, and joy and happiness vanished like a mirage.

Suparnā finished her tea, and sat waiting for half an hour, before Shribilas returned. "So you have finished your tea?" he said. "I, too, shall get ready for tea in a minute. I have got a very good boat. We shall reach the village, before eleven."

Suparnā did not say anything. Shribilas went out to wash his face and came in after a few minutes. He took up the plate covering the sweetmeats and said, "So you have not touched anything, I see. Do you want to go on hunger-strike? Why did not you say so before? Then I would not have brought you away needlessly. You should know that it is no use over doing things."

"I am not going on hunger-strike," said Suparnā, "You need not be afraid. I shall take something after I have completed my journey. What's the use of getting ill, through taking bad food on the way? These things are not fit for human consumption."

As Suparnā was a medical student, Shribilas did not like to enter into dispute with her. So he finished his tea and sweets with a grave face and said, "As you please. But look here, you must keep one of my requests. I shall, of course, keep the conditions you have imposed on me. But it is not one of which I need be proud and I would not like to publish it to the world. Since you have adopted the dress of an orthodox Hindu woman, do so completely, so that people might not mistake you for a widow."

"How is that to be done, in the midst of a journey?" asked Suparnā.

Shribilas brought out an iron bangle and a packet of vermilion from his pocket. He handed these things to Suparnā, saying, "Put some vermilion on your forehead and wear this bangle. I did not get lac for the feet at that shop, else I would have brought that too. And please take off this sari which has got too narrow a border. Wear one with a broad border, preferably a red one."

Suparnā took the articles from him and put them on, as desired. Then she said, "Go out and make preparations for starting. I shall change my dress meanwhile. I have not got any red bordered sari with me. But I shall wear another with a broad border."

Shribilas made a grimace and went out.

## XXI

The river Bhairabi again. The boat was advancing, carrying Suparnā, a captive, being led back to her joyless prison. Once this river had been the way, leading towards an independent life, now it had changed its character.

The scenery on both sides of the river were superb. A person seeing it for the first time would have been struck with wonder, even persons who had seen the place before would have viewed it with joy. But Suparnā did not see anything. She sat inside the boat, like one



turned into stone. She never stirred her limbs, she scarcely seemed to breathe. The wind, blowing across the mighty expanse of water, stirred her locks and the end of her sari.

Shribilas sat at a little distance outside the enclosure. Sometimes he talked to the boatman, sometimes he remained silent, sunk in thought. But every now and then he was stealing a look at Suparnā. She was dressed so simply. With the exception of two bangles, she did not wear any ornaments also. She wore a sari, with a broad black border, and a streak of vermilion at the parting of her hair. But how wonderfully beautiful she looked. What a face and what a figure! Even the severe expression on her face, enhanced her beauty, making her resemble a flame. Suparnā had been good-looking in her childhood also, but nothing like this. Shribilas cursed his bad luck in his heart. Such a beautiful woman, but alas, she was his wife only in name. He had not the right to talk to her even, unless she permitted him. But hope never dies in human breast. He believed firmly that he would be able to tame Suparnā in the long run. He only wondered how to begin. He was afraid that he might be making a mistake in bringing her over to the village. The memories she had of this place, were extremely unpleasant. Shribilas's sister, too, was still living in his home. Perhaps Suparnā would become still more hostile to him in this place. But what else could he have done? He had no establishment in Calcutta. He had put up at the house of a relative for a few days. He could not take Suparnā there. Besides, Suparnā would not have obeyed him in anything if they had remained in Calcutta, he would not have dared to say a single word to her. Time alone could prove whether he was right or wrong in bringing her over. He had written to his sister, explaining the situation clearly to her. Perhaps she would have the sense to behave well.

Though Shribilas did not acknowledge it to himself, he had begun to fear Suparnā in his heart. Her unbroken silence, increased his fear. She seemed to him as terrible as a volcano, just before an eruption. If Suparnā had screamed and quarrelled, if she had abused him roundly, Shribilas would have felt much easier in his mind. He was accustomed to seeing such things and settling them. Women first screamed, then wept, and then they calmed down. They only needed some sweet words and some petting. But he did not know how to tackle this scornful silence. The blows he tried to strike her, fell on her armour of silence, and turned back on the striker. Even if he tried to quarrel with her, she never spoke more than one or two words. As to sweet words or attempts at love-making, he could not dream of them. So, how could he establish the normal relationship of a married couple between himself and Suparnā? But his eagerness

was increasing by leaps and bounds and threatening to become uncontrollable.

He got over his fear and diffidence after two or three attempts and going in, sat down near her. "Is not the scenery here very beautiful?" he asked.

Suparnā lifted her eyes to look at him once and replied shortly, "Yes."

Shribilas had come in, determined not to be discouraged by anything. So he began again, "Perhaps these things do not seem worth notice to you, since you have seen the great palaces of Agra and Delhi. But to me, nothing seems so beautiful as the riversides of Bengal.

"You can hardly compare palaces and riverside scenery", said Suparnā. "They do not belong to the same order of things."

Shribilas was silenced for a while. Then he began again, "In which year were you studying there?"

"I had just completed my third year," said Suparnā.

"Oh, then you are nearly a fullfledged doctor," cried out Shribilas, trying to appear very enthusiastic. "You can even practise in the village, if so you desire."

Suparnā did not answer. "Where did you live there? In a ladies' hostel?" he asked.

"What's the use of talking about those things?" said Suparnā, rather impatiently.

Shribilas stopped in embarrassment. After a while, he got up, and returned to his former seat. His brain seemed to be on fire through anger. Was he so much beneath her, that she did not hold him fit for conversation even? She might be educated, but was he not so, too? Then what right had she to be so stuck up? This was the reason why orthodox people regarded female education with distrust. As soon as they learnt to read a few pages of English, they begin to think themselves too high and mighty and lose all sense of proportion. Well, he was going to teach Suparnā her proper place, else he was not a Guha of Bhatgram.

They had been able to secure a really good boat. Shribilas consulted his watch, and was relieved to find that they would reach their destination much before eleven. He went in again to Suparnā and said, "We are nearly there. Just another bend of the river. Get ready."

"I am ready," said Suparnā.

"You pose to be a village woman," said Shribilas with a sneer, "won't you veil your face?"

"I have no objection," said Suparnā. "But I would not like to create a comic situation. Nobody would expect me to veil my face."

The boat came to a stop in the well-known landing place. Everything was unchanged, except that the children whom Suparnā had known, had all become adults, and many of the grown-up persons she had known were there no more. The villagers had gathered to the landing



place in a crowd. Suparnā understood at once that the news of her arrival had been published only too well. Her face became even more serious and grave, as she followed Shribilas down from the boat. Shribilas's sister had sent the only palanquin of the village for Suparnā. As the bearers advanced with it, Suparnā entered it hurriedly and drew the doors together. Shribilas began to load the luggage in a bullock-cart.

A murmur arose from the crowd, and gradually grew louder.

"But where is the Memsahib?" asked an old woman. "Did you not say that a Memsahib, with gown and shoes on, was coming? But this one looks exactly like a Bengali, only she is a bit tall."

"But she is fair as a Memsahib," cried out a little girl.

A small village urchin pushed apart the doors of the palanquin a little bit and peeped in, unable to control his curiosity. "The Bramhin aunt told me that the bride had become a doctor," he said, "But where is the doctor's hat and bag?"

Shribilas pushed him away very roughly and said, "Get away from here, or I shall give you a slap."

At this display of temper, the crowd fell back a pace or two, but showed no sign of going away. Nothing had created so much excitement in the village, within ten or twelve years. How could the people go away, without enjoying the situation to the full? That little girl Subarna, who had been so ill-treated and oppressed by her husband's people, had now come back as a lady doctor! They must see how she looked, how she dressed and how she spoke. They had felt some disappointment seeing that she was not dressed in bat and gown, still they began to follow the palanquin in the hope of seeing what she ate and hearing what she spoke. They also wanted to see whether she would dance with her husband, as Memsahibs were reputed to do. Shribilas was extremely annoyed at this, but he knew that it was impossible to manage a village crowd, once their curiosity was roused. So he had to remain silent, though furious.

It took only a few minutes to reach his home. There was nobody in the house now except Shribilas's elder sister Haimabati. Shribilas had written at great length to her, requesting her not to pick up a row at the very moment of Suparnā's arrival. Haimabati was a worthy daughter of her mother. She was a child widow and had always lived in her father's family. She held the opinion that brides should be well abused all the time and beaten too, if necessity arose. Else those ill-bred housewives would never know their places. Haimabati always took the lead in oppressing poor Subarna, as she was frightfully jealous of the little girl. Whenever she thought that Subarna had a right here and she was there merely on sufferance, the blood

would mount to her head, making her see red. The punishment that properly ought to have been inflicted on unjust custom fell always on poor Subarna.

Haimabati had never liked Shribilas's eagerness for bringing Subarna back. A father-in-law who was audacious enough to snap his fingers before Shribilas's nose and take away his daughter, should never be forgiven and his daughter should never be taken back. Such things had never happened in the Guha family. To supplicate for the return of a wife? What were things coming to? But Haimabati did not dare to oppose her brother strongly now-a-days. She was not very intelligent. But this much she understood that her regime had come to an end, with her mother's death. She was nobody now. She had spoken once or twice about going away to Benares, in order to gauge Shribilas's feelings, but his enthusiastic reception of the proposal, had made her calm down at once. She felt now that she was regarded merely as a burden. This knowledge had increased her ire against Subarna.

During Shribilas's absence in Calcutta a distantly related aunt had come and stayed with Haimabati. Haimabati was still young enough to need protection. The aunt had her husband living, though he seldom stayed at home.

The noise of the crowd made Haimabati realize that the party from Calcutta already arrived. She was seated on the verandah, with displeasure writ large on her face. "Please, aunt, come out," she called aloud, "The queen has arrived."

The aunt came out of the kitchen smiling.

"It is very unkind of you to get so angry. Himu, my dear," she said, "It is her home really, then why should not she come? Your luck is bad, else why should you remain in your brother's house at this age?"

"True, true," cried Haimabati, stung to the quick. "now the home is hers, of course. But if we had not taken care of the home all these years, would there be a brick standing? Now let her come and rule over everything and gratify us. We would have been still more obliged to her, had she been a decent woman. We heard such tales about her. I only hope, we shall not be outcasted on her account."

The aunt was in the kitchen for the purpose of cooking some fish for Suparnā. Haimabati had taken a vow not to do anything for the despised great. Haimabati's aunt was now washing her hands, saying, "Please stop, dear. Don't begin to abuse her as soon as she steps into the house, after so many years. First see what kind of a person she is."

The palanquin and the bullock cart came to a stop before the door. Shribilas jumped down from the cart and coming to the front door, called out "Didi."

Haimabati came out with her aunt. "Aunt,



you take her inside," she said. "I am a widow and must not show my face to these fortunate ones on ceremonial occasions."

The aunt opened the door of the palanquin and Suparnā stepped out. The old lady was struck with wonder at the sight of her face. So this was Shribilas's wife? My God, she looks like a flame, thought the lady. She felt that bad times were awaiting foolish Haimabati. This made her a little depressed.

Suparnā recognized her as she had seen her, before. She bowed down to her, and the old lady blessed her, saying, "Come in my dear. You are the Lakshmi of this house. Come right in." She turned to the crowd, which was trying to push in, crying, "Go away, you fools, why do you come tumbling over people? Do you think a theatrical performance is being held here?" She dragged in Suparnā and Shribilas banged the door on the face of the curious crowd.

"Why do you close the door?" cried out Haimabati. "All your luggage are outside."

"All in good time," said Shribilas. "First let those monkeys go away. They seem to be enjoying a theatrical show, free."

Suparnā was standing in the middle of the room. Haimabati advanced towards her, her lips curled in disdain, and asked, "Do you recognize me?"

Suparnā did not at all feel inclined to bow down to Haimabati. Still she had to do it, on account of social etiquette. But no sooner had she bent down to touch Haimabati's feet, than she jumped back, crying, "What are you doing? Please don't."

Suparnā straightened herself up again. The cartman and the palanquin-bearers carried in all the luggage. "Please keep them on the verandah now," said Shribilas, "We shall arrange them afterwards."

"If you will kindly carry my suitcase into a room, I can see about having a bath," said Suparnā.

"You are quite right, my dear," said the aunt. "You have come over such a long way and must be feeling tired and hot. Have a

bath and eat something. Your room is quite ready for you."

The house was a fairly big one, but most of the rooms had thatched roofs. Only two rooms had brickbuilt roofs. The family god was placed in one of these and the other had hitherto served as a bedroom for Shribilas's mother. As long as the old woman had lived, Haimabati too had lived with her mother. Now she had removed her things to a smaller room, vacating this one for her brother and his wife. The furniture given to Suparnā, at her marriage, had all been placed in this room. A chair and a table belonging to Shribilas had been brought from the outer room and placed inside this one.

To Haimabati the sight of this room was nothing short of torture. "Aunt, you arrange about your niece's bath," she said, "I shall see to their breakfast." Saying this she hurried out. But instead of going to the kitchen, she bolted herself in her own room, and began to cry.

Shribilas put in Suparnā's luggage in the big bedroom and was going out to the outer room with his things. His aunt stopped him, crying out, "Where are you taking these things? Why cannot they remain here?"

"Let me put them in the outer room now," said Shribilas. "I shall see afterwards where I can put them." He went off, dragging his trunk with him.

Suparnā opened her suitcase and asked the old lady, "Do you still bathe in the Dutt's pond?"

"Yes, my dear," replied the lady. "But for you, Shribilas has had a bathroom made. Come with me, I shall show you."

A place by the side of the cowsheds had been hedged in and thatched. This was Suparnā's bathroom. Water, too, had been kept ready for her. Suparnā saw that she had gained much in prestige now. But it did not make her at all happy. She wanted to remain as she had been before. She finished her bath in a hurry and went back to her room.

*(To be continued.)*





## FIRST AMERICAN WOMAN CABINET MINISTER \*

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

**T**HE appointment of Miss Frances Perkins last year to the post of Secretary of Labor in President Roosevelt's Cabinet marked a red-letter occasion for the great army of American womanhood. For Miss Perkins is the first woman in the history of the United States to become a Cabinet minister.

Less than twenty years ago women in this country had no vote. And when some reformers declared that woman was not only entitled to vote but to hold any government office within the gift of the American people, they were derided and laughed at. The leaders of the woman's suffrage movement were not infrequently subjected to vile abuse, and even physical assault. In 1840, when the first World's Anti-Slavery Convention met in London, it refused to seat the American "female delegates" on the ground that for any woman to take part in a public meeting was improper and degrading to the sex! Since then the Western world has learned much. Today not only are the American women enfranchised, but one of them has taken her seat in the Cabinet room of the White House. And Mrs. Roosevelt put out the suggestion the other day that a woman may be President of the United States. In any event, American women with vote are near enough in numbers to make them politically an almost controlling power in Government.

In the face of lingering prejudice, the first American woman minister has earned a reputation of being the best "man" in the Cabinet. A noted jurist has asserted that she has the rarest legal mind he ever encountered, and a distinguished publicist has called her "an angel at the Cabinet table".

Miss Frances Perkins is a descendant of an old colonial family of New England. In her veins flows the revolutionary blood of James Otis, a Founding Father, who opposed the infamous Stamp Act and denounced British tyranny. Miss Perkins is slender, good-looking, and of medium stature. She has brown hair, brilliant brown eyes, and a mobile, sensitive mouth. She is fifty-two years of age. On occasions, she wears

horn-rimmed glasses. There is about Madame Secretary—as she likes to be called—a certain restraint and reticence which is engaging.

The lady Cabinet minister has brought to her work splendid training, knowledge, and a keen social conscience. She was graduated at the age of twenty from Mount Holyoke College with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. She also attended the Universities of Chicago, Pennsylvania and Columbia, specializing in economics and sociology. Later she became a teacher in Chicago, and while there frequented the Chicago Commons, a welfare settlement house in the industrial district. She met Jane Addams, the pioneer of American social settlement movement, and about the same time read Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman*, and Vida Scudder's *A Listener in Babel*. These books made a profound impression on her, and through them she realized the importance of the relation of man to his environment and its effect upon man. When she finished her term of teaching, she spent six months with Jane Addams at Hull House and her life work—the practical application of sociology and economics—was decided upon.

Miss Perkins has held positions of trust almost too numerous to mention. She has been executive secretary of the Consumers' League, executive secretary of the New York Committee on Safety, head of the New York Industrial Commission, director of the Council on Immigrant Education, director of the American Child Hygiene Association, the Child Labor Commission, the Maternity Center Association, and a member of many other organizations devoted to sociology, political science, and public health.

About twenty-five years ago Miss Frances Perkins, shocked by the terrible tragedy of the Triangle Shirtwaist factory in New York, hurled herself into a fight to force fire protection on New York manufacturers. In that fire 146 perished, chiefly women workers. The screams of the dying gave her the zeal of a crusader. A committee of citizens investigated the fire, and Miss Perkins was its secretary. Out of that work of Miss Perkins' came many changes for the better in industrial plants and the drafting of many new labor laws, designed to protect workers. To be more precise, during the six years she was

\* The writer of this article follows the American rules of spelling and capitalization.



connected with the Committee on Safety, she forced more than thirty bills and practically a new and civilized code of factory laws through the New York State Legislature. Governor Al Smith made her a member of the State Industrial Commission. Governor Franklin Roosevelt made her his labor expert in the State Cabinet and when he became President, he took her to Washington—to be the first feminine Cabinet officer in American history. She got the job not because she was a woman, but because she was good at it; not as window-dressing, but on the basis of merit.

For many years Frances Perkins has been a writer and lecturer on labor subjects, and is the author of several books dealing with her speciality. In private life she is Mrs. Paul Wilson, wife of a well-known New York business man. When she married Mr. Wilson, he was secretary to a mayor of New York City. Though happily married she decided to keep her maiden name, not from principle, but in order not to embarrass Mr. Wilson with her welfare work, which often turned up unsavory incidents in the City's administration. She is the mother of a most promising daughter, who will enter college this year. The daughter makes all the normal claims on her mother's time and attention.

Shortly after Miss Perkins was appointed to the Cabinet office, she was asked by a reporter if she felt under a handicap in dealing with her position and its problems because she is a woman. "I am not the person to answer that," she protested, laughing. "You see, I am so accustomed to being a woman that I never think about it. Except in climbing trees, it never bothers me. I really believe most people make the mistake of over-estimating the difficulties a woman meets. I think I most object to being classified as a 'mind', no matter what adjective is used with it. I am a person, warm, breathing and human—I don't want to be depersonalized."

Queried what she regarded as the most serious of the problems demanding attention, Miss Perkins said that to get the workers back into jobs that will pay them living wages which will restore their purchasing power is the primary object of the government. "Out of the welter of problems facing us today," remarked Madame Secretary, "it seems to me that the human one of no work, no wages, no buying power is really the most crucial. Our present social organization rests upon industrial mass production, and mass production has as its corollary mass consumption. But mass consumption in its turn means that the wage-earners must be able to pay. When the family pocket-

book is empty, the neighbourhood shops are empty. They cannot buy from the wholesaler or the manufacturer, and the manufacturer cannot buy from the basic industries that supply him with tools and raw materials. The wheels stop, more workers are laid off or cut to lower than subsistence wages, so that they also are forced to stop buying. Like the ripples eddying out from the pebble dropped into a pool, the circle grows until it has reached every part of the social structure."



Miss Frances Perkins—Cabinet Member

As Secretary of the Department of Labor, Miss Perkins heads a staff of 1,200. They are none too many. As defined by an act of Congress, the purpose of the Department of Labor is "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." The Department not only seeks in an exceptionally direct way improved conditions for working people, but acts as mediator in labor disputes, studies living costs and wage rates, endeavors to control immigration in the interest of workers and the nation, compiles labor statistics. The results of the Department's various investigations are made available promptly through a monthly publication, the *Labor Review*, supplemented by numerous monographs or "bulletins."



When Frances Perkins took the Labor portfolio, she started her job with characteristic thoroughness. Her first day in office, she disbanded the Immigration Bureau "secret service," an undercover gang of detectives, stool-pigeons, provocateurs and informers employed by the previous Secretary of Labor to rid the country of illegally admitted aliens, and ingrowing Bolshevism. Members of this gang were conducting raids without warrants, frequently serving as detective, prosecutor and judge combined. The new Secretary of Labor by eliminating this despicable immigration squad, whose salaries amounted to almost six million rupees a year, corrected a most serious evil. She announced that from now on she would give a humane interpretation of the immigration laws. She admitted to the United States Tom Mann of England and Henri Barbusse of France, Communists, and Emma Goldman, a Russian anarchist.

Many of the current Utopians thought that the female Cabinet member would be a misty-eyed dreamer. The sober fact is that she is a hard-headed realist, and not a crack-brained theorist. In the handling of a social or economic situation, she takes the scientific attitude. She assembles all the available facts and then rests a flexible programme on what she finds to be really true, not on some preconceived notion. She believes in no one panacea, but relies upon the strategy of battle which closes in from a variety of points.

Miss Perkins applied the "scientific approach" when the code of the National Recovery Act (N. R. A.) in relation to the steel industry came up for final hearing. In preparation for the hearing she went to Pittsburg, a great center of coal and iron industry. There she visited the steel mills and personally talked with dozens of the workmen, who were stripped to the waist in the blistering heat of the furnaces. She not only saw the blast furnaces working, but visited coal miners' hamlets to study actual living conditions.

When the code hearing took place at Washington, it was the informed woman Cabinet minister who said: "Espionage, overspeeding, and irregularity of hours and employment are the sources of the major complaints that have come to me. Whether the complaints are justified or not, these are the unfair practices that the working people are concerned with." Backed by first-hand information, she was fearless. Standing at the head of the long committee table, lined on both sides with sitting members from

the Senate and the House of Representatives, Miss Perkins flicked back answers to tricky, catch questions fast enough to make her interrogators blink. She told one Congressman that his statement "didn't make sense," and added to the befuddlement of another by begging him to be "realistic." The feminine Cabinet member, stripped of cant and bigotry, is refuting every day the old charge that women in politics are "sentimental rather than thoughtful."

Secretary Perkins has made the Department of Labor hum. During the past year, her Division of Conciliation has settled 934 "strikes" and "lockouts," most of which were strikes. When she entered the Cabinet she recognized the great injustices that had been done the working man and woman through the misinformation of inaccurate employment statistics. They gave a politically favorable, rather than a true reflection of conditions. She organized the new Federal Employment Service—the first organization which is equipped to keep track of unemployment statistics with any degree of accuracy. Gone are the old, lying sun-shine statistics. She also created a national Labor Exchange so as to keep the out-of-work man in touch with the job market at home and in other sections of the country.

Of course, Miss Perkins has her critics. They say that she kowtows to big-business men, that she is not willing to press forward along the revolutionary road to immediate and complete freedom, and that hers is only oratorical liberalism. Unjust and unkind assertions these seem to be. She is patient, conciliating, tactful, and courageous. "She is," remarks the *American Review of Reviews*, "a friend of organized labor and unorganized labor; of wage-earner and employer." She postulates "intelligent, creative relation between government and industry" for the future social justice.

This is her programme: she wants greater understanding by business men of the human problems; more contentment for the workers; unemployment insurance; old age pensions; public employment agencies and vocational guidance; the "conference method" in industrial dispute; high wages, short hours and collective bargaining. With this programme in hand she is ready to battle to the end for human betterment, seeking no reward save the sense of having served.

So far the first woman to sit in the United States Cabinet has been a huge success. She is one of the most important administrators of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. She is a hard worker. She toils at her job time and



a half and overtime. President Roosevelt tries to inject a little humor, a little gayety, into her days—days overcrowded with cares and conferences and negotiations. It is said that sometimes he even plays pranks on her in the most business-like moments. Once Miss Perkins' secretary turned from the telephone to announce that a man named Franklin wished to talk to her.

"Franklin? Franklin?" questioned Miss Perkins, who cannot be disturbed by casual telephone calls. "I don't know anybody by that name. Find out who he is and whom he works for."

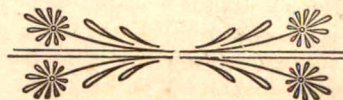
The secretary returned and explained: "He says his name is Franklin Roosevelt, and he works for the United States."

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS LABANYALATA SEN GUPTA stood first in Pure Mathematics in the last M. A. Examination of the Calcutta University. She had topped the list of the successful female candidates of the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations in 1926 and 1928 respectively. She graduated from Bethune College with Honours in Mathematics and received the Santilata Basu Ray Gold Medal in recognition of her merit.



Miss Labanyalata Sen Gupta







Side view

A Bust of Dr. Annie Besant by Mr. D. P. Roy Choudhury, Artist and Sculptor,  
Principal, the School of Art & Crafts, Madras.



Front view



## NAVAL TALKS

By KARUNA MITTER

HE would be an extraordinary optimist, who, after the unalloyed failure of the World Economic and World Disarmament Conferences, would expect an agreement in the points of view of different Powers on naval armaments as a result of the talks begun in June last and resumed in October in preparation for the Naval Conference scheduled to meet next year. Though the bilateral talks have been strictly limited in scope, the divergence of opinion of the several governments participating already manifested is so wide that the prospect and the utility of calling the 1935 Naval Conference is open to grave doubt. The deadlock seems all but complete, and at the time of writing the American delegation is inclined to the opinion that all that remains for them to do is to pack up and say good-bye.

### OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF AGREEMENT

Apparently, the outstanding cause of the failure is the Japanese demand for "parity." But though such a demand by itself would be sufficient to end all hope of "reduction and limitation" of naval armaments, it is by no means the only issue. All the old and thorny questions that have beset the path of agreement in the past are very likely to come up during the discussions if the conference meets after all. The fact that a certain amount of agreement was reached at Washington in 1922 and in London eight years later does not preclude vital difference over the same questions now. Two salient features of the present situation have to be borne in mind. They are brought out by the contrast in conditions as existing then and now. First, the aversion to war was probably greater then because of the memory of the immediate past which was yet fresh, and public opinion was more critical of national policies that smacked of war-like preparations; in the second place, international tension was at its minimum; all the great Powers ravaged by the World War were not prepared to think of still another war as inevitable. In these respects the situation today is far worse. There is a wave of resurgent nationalism in Germany and Italy whose avowed aim is the glorification of the national cult at the cost of the international.

It is a truism to say, that where objects are diverse it is impossible to bridge over even the smallest difference, but where objects are same whatever the amount of difference it is always possible to throw a bridge over it—and this is no more true in any other sphere than the

diplomatic. Insoluble problems of naval disarmament are, therefore, *au fond*, more political than technical. What is wanting today is a faith in the professions of others; that is to say, there is utter lack of mutual confidence.

The present difficulties are to be traced primarily to Japanese actions and her foreign policy which going counter to her undertakings given at Washington have destroyed the very foundations on which the naval agreement rested. For, at Washington in 1921-22 two major political pacts settling the outstanding problems in the Pacific formed the basis of the Arms Treaty. The Nine-Power-Treaty and the Four-Power Pacific Treaty paved the way to naval limitation.

### FOUR POWER PACIFIC TREATY

One of these was designed to give security to the leading naval Powers in the Pacific. By mutual consent of England and Japan, this treaty superseded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, whereby it had been agreed that if either Power were at war with more than one other Power, the other would extend its help to its ally—a pact calculated to afford both States a certain amount of "security" and stability. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was renewed in 1905 in a somewhat altered form and a clause was later on inserted, omitting the United States from its purview. Nevertheless as there was a chance that Britain might be drawn into a conflict between Japan and America, on the side of Japan, the United States made the ending of this Alliance and its replacement by a multilateral treaty directed against none a condition for the scrapping of its huge naval building programme. This proposal of the United States Government had the fullest support of the Canadian Government. Accordingly, an agreement was entered into by the United States, Great Britain, Japan and France, whereby they agreed to respect one another's rights in the Pacific, and, in case these rights were threatened, to "communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken."

Further, Great Britain agreed not to fortify Hong Kong, the United States agreed not to fortify Hawaii and Japan agreed not to fortify the former German islands in the north Pacific which had come to her as a result of the War. This together with the new ratio for the relative strength of the navies of Great Britain, the United States and Japan fixed at 5 : 5 : 3 carried the assurance that no naval warfare was contem-



plated, the nearest bases being so far apart (Singapore and Hawaii are each about 3000 miles distant from the Japanese islands) that it would be difficult to engage in fleet action even if it was desired.

#### THE NINE-POWER TREATY

The other was the Nine-Power Treaty between the United States, the British Empire, Japan, China, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal, whereby they agreed

1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;

2. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government;

3. To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China;

4. To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states.

Japan also voluntarily agreed to restore to China the old German port of Kiaochow which she had occupied during the War, and the province of Shantung.

It is thus seen that the Nine-Power Treaty reaffirmed and revitalized the doctrine of the "open door," or in other words, it was designed "to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China and to promote intercourse between China and other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity."

The mass of treaties and resolutions made at Washington in 1922 cannot be fully understood unless they are seen as related to one great objective—the encouragement of China to seek her own liberty, her own freedom from foreign yoke, her own unfettered sovereignty. Although it was clear from the very outset of that Conference that no more than this (*i. e.*, what was embodied in the Nine-Power Treaty) could be done, Japan, at the same time, was made aware of the charge in her position which the conference brought about. For it was her military Imperialism in China and Siberia which was chiefly in question at Washington, and she was left to consider what her relationship to the American, British, Chinese and Russian peoples must eventually be if her policy was continued.

That Japan has persisted in, and even extended, her Imperialist policy is undeniable. Therefore if she finds herself today in a position in which she cannot be confident about her own security, she has only to thank herself. But it is sheer bunkum to talk about her own security when she

can gather enough courage to flout world opinion as she actually did when she refused to consider the Lytton Commission's Report, and in contempt of the League's almost unanimous verdict upon it resigned her membership of that body. By occupying three Manchurian provinces and the province of Jehol and setting up there a government after her own choice (evidently to carry out her bidding) she violated not only the League covenant but the Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty as well. It is no wonder, then, that her recent proposal at Washington made by her Ambassador that Japan and the United States should enter into a bilateral non-aggression pact was turned down. It is not enough by way of explanation to say that the Hull-Hirota Notes exchanged some months ago amply serve the purpose of a non-aggression pact. Obviously, the United States could not endorse the idea of a pact which would be taken as representing a part guarantee of Japan's position in the Far East. Nor was it to be expected that the United States would agree to limit the freedom of her action in case of future conflict in which Japan and Russia might be involved. Japan had herself turned down early in the year a Soviet proposal for a mutual pact of non-aggression.

That is but one side of the problem—the problem of ensuring peace in the midst of clashing interests in the Pacific. This has been referred to at length because of the direct bearing it has on the Japanese claim to parity. But there is another question which may prove no less a stumbling-block—the question of "the freedom of the seas." It will be well to state the vital problems arising out of this doctrine before dealing again with the Japanese claim and task before the naval delegates meeting in London at present.

#### FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

Sea power may be considered in two different aspects, one being "command of the seas," the other "freedom of the seas." The first represents the attitude of a dominant or belligerent sea power; the second, the attitude of an unimportant or neutral sea power. Until recent years "command of the seas" has been the policy of Britain, and "freedom of the seas" that of the United States. To "command of the seas" the British owe historically their national entity, geographically their world empire in overseas countries, and economically their food supplies. To "freedom of the seas" Americans owe historically their national government, for it was a despotic claim to "command of the seas" that resulted in the War of Independence and a temporary loss of that command decided it. Americans also owe to "freedom of the seas" their expanding economic world empire.

In short, this is an issue of such importance between Britain and America that they have



already twice—in 1781 and 1812—resorted to force to defend each her own point of view. And except in 1863 during the American Civil War when the North blockaded the South, and the two rivals reversing their roles as champions of the two doctrines went very near war over the *Trent* affair America has been the protagonist of the right of neutrals to trade without interference from any belligerent side. Between 1914 and 1917, therefore, America insisted, in face of Britain's assertion to the contrary, on her right to maintain normal communications with the Austro-German countries. The contention became so serious that the United States Government in a note formally warned the British Government that Germany and America were contending for the same object—"freedom of the seas." Ultimately, however, America went to war against Germany on this very issue, President Wilson being extremely exasperated at the German declaration of her intention to renew and indulge freely in submarine warfare.

But although the United States resorted to the various ways of interfering with neutral trade to which she had taken exception earlier, President Wilson remembered his original principles when the time to make peace arrived. Freedom of the seas figured as Number Two in Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points:

"Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."

This point was lost in the shuffle at the Peace Conference. And in spite of the fact that Britain had agreed to discuss this question with the United States separately the subsequent refusal of the Senate to entertain the idea of American participation in the League of Nations left America no other alternative but to rely on her own power for the maintenance of her rights. So she started work again on her huge naval building programme which had been interrupted on her entry into the War, with the declared aim of giving herself a navy so powerful as to deter other nations from interfering with her normal communications at any time.

The question of the freedom of the seas was again shelved at Washington in 1921-22 but that does not mean that the problem can be ignored if naval power is really to be regulated by international agreements. Indeed the assertion of "freedom of the seas" by a "neutral" power may very well jeopardize the operation of sanctions under Article XVI of the League Covenant.

#### MARITIME NATIONS AND SEA POWER

Sea power can be used in two ways: to protect normal communications and to bring economic pressure to bear on the enemy by cutting off his food supplies and trade with the rest of the world. A nation which has to depend

to any considerable degree on sea-borne commerce for its food supplies and the raw materials of its industries, and for the subsequent exchange of its manufactured articles with the products of other nations across the seas, must sooner or later be reduced through economic destitution to impotence and submission if all access to sea is denied to its ships.

Now the sea being a highway and for Britain the sole highway for foreign commerce which is her life-blood, she must at all costs not only keep that highway open, but keep it in such a state of security that the cost of transportation shall be kept as low as possible by a minimum rate of insurance on freights. Otherwise, food prices would be raised to a level at which the poorer and unemployed millions would have no means to support themselves. This is so true that if the lanes of the seas were to be closed to British commerce for so much as seven weeks, starvation would be brought to the homes of the British populace.

It is quite easy therefore to understand why Britain has always stood against freedom of the seas. Because of her leading navy she had the indisputable command of the seas, and it was foolish to concede for others the right of way in times of war which so vitally affected her.

#### MODERN INVENTIONS AND SEA POWER

But under modern conditions it is ridiculous to claim sway over the sea-ways even when a Power has the biggest navy in the world. The development of motive power, the creation of weapons of all kinds, including aircrafts, submarines, explosives and gases—these have radically changed the nature of sea power.

It will be remembered that during the last war the submarine activities of the Germans gave the British no little cause for anxiety. Consequently, a change is discernible in the British attitude. Many Englishmen advocates reconsideration of the question. Commander Kenworthy (now Lord Strabolgi) wrote in 1929 in the *Review of Reviews* (London): "The one nation that can be successfully blockaded is Britain, and yet we cling to the weapon which may possibly bring about our destruction." Nor is he alone in thinking thus. Sir William Tyrell, who was permanent head of the Foreign Office during the World War, was quoted by Col. House, in *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, as having said in 1915: "Great Britain recognized that the submarine had changed the status of maritime warfare, and in the future Great Britain would be better protected by such a policy (absolute freedom of merchant-men of all nations to sail the seas in time of war unmolested) than she has been in the past by maintaining an overwhelming navy." Sir Edward Grey was also in favour of the idea that Britain should agree that all merchant shipping of whatever nature, belligerent or neutral should be immense.



### "SANCTIONS" AND FREEDOM OF ACTION

But the problem has been thoroughly altered by the League principles which have come into being since the conclusion of the War. We are called upon to decide how a situation is to be handled in which some countries are involved in war or in economic sanctions against another while some others are neutral and maintain their right of free communication. In a case like this the problem does not arise from the relative strengths of the fleets, but from the necessities of naval blockade.

It is necessary, therefore, to recognize that the principles of sea law have been as thoroughly revolutionized as those of sea war and that if the League Covenant and the Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Pact mean anything at all juridically they mean that war, whether eliminated or not, is legally outlawed. This in turn means that in future there can be no neutrality, and that therefore all issues based on neutrality—contraband right of search, right of capture—disappear. "Freedom of the Seas" itself disappears in its old legal meaning of immunity of private property at sea. "Freedom of the Seas" in return acquires a wider interpretation—that given to it in the second of President Wilson's fourteen points.

### AMERICAN DECLARATION OF POLICY

The dilemma arising from the American position outside the League was solved when Mr. Norman Davis, on behalf of his Government, stated their new policy in his historic declaration at Geneva in May 1933:

We are ready not only to do our part towards the substantive reduction of armaments but, if this is effected by general international agreement, we are also prepared to contribute in other ways to the organization of peace. In particular, we are willing to consult the other States in case of a threat to peace, with a view to averting conflict. Further than that, in the event that the States, in conference, determine that a State has been guilty of a breach of the peace in violation of its international agreements and take measures against the violator, then, if we concur in the judgment rendered as to the responsible and guilty party, we will refrain from any action tending to defeat such collective effort which these States may thus make to restore peace."

The question of parity therefore on which Japan has laid so much stress as to go near

wrecking the naval disarmament parleys is not so vital as it was formerly. Her insistence, in the circumstances, on a matter which has lost all importance because of the emergence of collective peace principles must give the impression that she is not after all imbued with innocent aims.

If it be assumed that in the last resort Japan must rely solely on the strength of her arms which is the lesson which her own actions in China have given others, even then, she is not entitled to parity with Britain and America, for as Admiral William Pratt, former United States Chief of Naval operations and former Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Fleet, pointed out in *Foreign Affairs* (July) Japan need not have to cover the seas of the world as a necessary part of her own security like the British Empire nor has she two great ocean fronts and one of the main arteries of the world to guard like America. Next, Japan's obligations and responsibilities as a neutral in case of a war would not be so great as those of Britain and United States; Japan has a secure line to the mainland which England has not; it is not possible for any nation in the world after taking care of its essential obligations at home and elsewhere to lay a successful blockade to the coast of Japan.

It is noteworthy that before 1933 Japan was not so anxious to attain parity in practice. (In reply to a British inquiry the Japanese delegation has replied on behalf of its Government that it would give no assurance that having been accorded parity in principle Japan would not build right up to the upper limit.)

It must be admitted that Japan's "security" must be judged in terms of her strength in the Pacific only. Here the 5 : 5 : 3 Washington ratio is really misleading, in the mid-ocean the ratio between the United States, British and Japanese fleets is something like 4 : 2 : 3. The fact that America's and Britain's nearest bases (Hawaii and Singapore) are more than 3000 miles distant from Japan lends strength to the assertion of Admiral Pratt that "the Japanese claim for an actual increase in her naval ratio will not further the purposes of peace, and must find other reasons than equality and security."

The search for a formula in face of such claim must be lengthy but with the claims of France, Germany and Italy added to it the task may well prove to be interminable.

Decr., 1, 1934.





## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### The Relativity of Crime

Mr. Percival M. Symonds writes in *Psychological Diagnosis in Social Adjustment*:

If the principle of relativity applies anywhere in social affairs, it is in connection with crime. Crime refers primarily to anti-social conduct. Abstractly defined, crime may be called that conduct of an individual which results in gross harm to other individuals or is destructive of the institutions of society. In our swiftly changing society, new crimes are constantly on the horizon, while acts no longer harmful to anyone are still considered criminal. What constitutes crime is partly a host of prejudices and superstitions persisting from bygone times, partly the rules and regulations imposed by contemporary legislation (often ill-considered), and partly old fundamental rules of human behavior which protect one person from the acts of violence of another. To play games on Sunday was a misdemeanor not many years ago, and in many places it still is. The Boston Tea Party, a crime against property from the standpoint of Great Britain, was heralded by the American Colonies as a bold and laudable protest against domination. Nations will honor a man for the butchery of an enemy during war, but consider this same act a heinous felony in civil society.

### A Description of Poetry

Mr. Ralph Cheney writes in *Poetry World*:

Essential poetry is a state of mind and spirit, not words upon paper. Words are but the cords of the net in which poets try to snare poetry. Poems are day-dreams, and we all day-dream. Poetry is feeling aloud as prose is thinking aloud—and we all feel aloud. As dreams are largely the symbolic fulfillment of suppressed desires, so are day-dreams in generous measure a psychic compensation for our lacks and the lacks of those with whom we feel at one. Most of us are poets when we're in love, but immeasurably more poems are written during courtship than marriage. Thus, poetry reveals what we dream, what we lack, what we desire. This applies to the poems we make our own through appreciation as well as the poems we make for ourselves, whether they be written poems or reveries.

### Compulsory Military Drill Opposed

Kansas College in U. S. A. has been disturbed by compulsory military training. We read in *The Christian Century*:

Kansas has been added to the list of states in which compulsory military training in state institutions is a live issue. The case of Mr. Raymond McMahon, a student in the Kansas State college, at Manhattan, presents all the familiar features of student protest

against compulsory drill and one new one. This student wishes to take a course in veterinary medicine, a subject not taught in any other Kansas state institution. He is conscientiously opposed to war and to the preparation for it. Upon voicing his objection and demonstrating it by absenting himself from drill, he was threatened with expulsion. The case was carried to court and Judge Paul Heinz has granted a temporary injunction restraining the president and regents of the institution from dismissing Mr. McMahon on this ground. This order is still in force. The new argument in the case was that the requirement of military training—a requirement imposed not by law, either federal or state, but solely by a college regulation—virtually deprived a conscientious objector of his equitable right to choose a vocation and enjoy the facilities provided within the state for preparation for it. It has been the custom of the Kansas State college ever since it made military drill compulsory in 1896, to excuse Quakers and Mennonites. Mr. McMahon is a Methodist. It is argued now on his behalf, as it has been argued elsewhere, that since the recent anti-war declarations by the Methodist and other churches, members of these bodies have the same right to exemption that is accorded Quakers and Mennonites. It is fantastic to assume that membership in one of these traditionally pacifist groups is the only evidence of an honest conscience against war that a college administration can recognize."

### The British Sedition Bill

*The New Republic* of New York of November 14, 1934, makes the following observations of the British Sedition Bill:

By a vote of 241 to 65 the House of Commons last week adopted the national government's hotly debated Sedition Bill—a piece of repressive legislation that leaves England but a step behind Fascist Italy and Germany in the abrogation of common civil rights. The measure, described by Professor Harold Laski as "the gravest menace to public liberty that England has known since 1817," provides heavy penalties for the dissemination of literature that might "seduce His Majesty's Forces from their duty or allegiance." What this means, in effect, is that radical and especially anti-war writings are in serious danger of suppression in England, should a reactionary regime decide that such a step is necessary or desirable. The bill makes a crime of even the printing or possession of literature which *might*, if it fell into the hands of soldiers or sailors, alienate them from their duty or allegiance. And to make the measure effective, the police are given unprecedented powers to search homes and individuals on suspicion.

The national government, in response to the bitter and widespread public criticism of the bill, has declared that these extraordinary powers will not be abused. So presumably there will be no immediate terrorization of radicals and pacifists, no immediate ransacking of



homes and libraries for volumes of Karl Marx. Yet the powers are there to be used when, as and if the occasion arises. It is ominous that the ruling class in England, the reputed citadel of civil liberties, felt it necessary to enact such drastic legislation. For the Sedition Bill gives not only a dark hint of the menacing approach of war and fascism, but also of the determination of those in control to use the extreme power of the state to put down all dissenters. Tragic is the figure of Ramsay MacDonald, staunch wartime pacifist and Socialist, who was forced by his position to support the national government's bill, though he must have known that it might be used to imprison and terrorize those loyal to the ideals for which he himself fought for many years.

### The Longing for Dictatorship

Mr. Ralph B. Perry writes in *Yale Review* about sentimental fascists:

There is no commoner form of sentimentalism than that with which we color those forms of government under which we are not obliged to live. The man who longs for a dictatorship usually imagines that he is the dictator, or at any rate that he is the dictator's best friend and most trusted counsellor. He thinks of the system as a means of getting done, promptly and thoroughly, what he himself believes ought to be done. But the fact is that for most people most of the time dictatorship consists not in dictating but in being dictated to; not in getting done what one thinks ought not to be done, but in being compelled to submit helplessly to what one thinks ought not to be done. It is true that we are living in an age when nondemocratic forms of government are being revived and modernized. But instead of weakening our allegiance to democratic institutions this should rather confirm our faith by presenting the odious alternatives in their stark reality.

### High School, College and University Education in America

*Survey Graphic* observes:

In actual practice in America we seem to have shifted the rights of man to read "life, liberty, and the pursuit of education." Schools we have built up as the bulwark of our democracy. Popular education, we have believed with naive faith, would solve all our social and political problems.

In this belief we have undertaken to supply schooling to every child in the nation—and we have almost done it. We have carried the idea of free and universal education far beyond that of other countries: to high school and college and university. Fifty-three per cent of the children of secondary school age are actually in high schools in America—a percentage three times greater than that in England or France or Germany. Over a million young citizens are in colleges and universities—a number undreamed of in any other nation. All told, something close to thirty million pupils—one quarter of our total population—are in educational institutions of all grades in America today.

### God and the Scientists

Prof. James H. Leuba after an important statistical research infers that eminent scientists are invariably independent in character and that

this independence necessarily leads them to reject belief in hallowed traditions and sacred institutions. *The Inquirer* in an editorial article deals with these facts thus adduced by the professor:

Scientists may destroy our pictures of Reality, and our idols: as knowledge increases reasoned criticism undermines the flimsy frameworks our theologies have built up. What does it matter? It is good that they should be destroyed. What is ultimately important is not the intellectual structure, not what man thinks about the Incomprehensible, but the Incomprehensible itself—the informing Spirit, and this no scientist can ever destroy. Mystery remains, something supra-rational that evokes our humility and awe—something experienced. Of this experience the mystic and seer can tell us vastly more than any scientist. (There is a way of the Intellect and there is a way of Illumination also.) And this mysteriousness inheres not within the gaps in our knowledge; it is not brought in, despairingly as it were, to "explain" what is not known; it resides in the facts themselves. Consider one simple example, the living cell. Of this Dr. Smuts has written: "Looking at this baffling mystery of active, continually changing and developing organisation, with its continuous delicate adjustments of innumerable moving parts...we find that ordinary physical categories of description fail us." There is always an over-plus, something that gives wholeness and which mechanism can never successfully explain away.

The faith that Science destroys is worth destroying. It is only our frail theologies, our interpretations and dogmas that Science has power to destroy. Blessed be Science! Incalculable indeed is our debt to the men and women who organise and increase our knowledge, giving us mastery of the natural world. But inestimable, too, is our debt to those greatest sons of men whose insight reveals that which eye can never behold. And great, too, is our debt to such an one as Albert Einstein, scientist and seer, who once spoke these words, in the country of Professor Leuba:

"The most beautiful thing we can experience is the sense of the mysterious. That sense is the source of all true art and all true science, and the scientist or artist to whom it is alien, who can no longer contemplate in awe, who has lost the capacity to pause in wonder, is all but dead. But the self-same sense of the mysterious, even if coupled with fear, is also the source of religion."

### Anglo-Indian Education

The Very Rev. J. A. Graham in the course of his address on "The Education of the Anglo-Indian Child" before the Royal Society of Arts, London, has tried to emphasize the following points to both the communities, Indian and Anglo-Indian. They have been taken from the Society's *Journal*:

To Indians

We would also broadcast this message to the Indian people:—

We plead with you for the Anglo-Indian community. While we admit and would shoulder our responsibility, we remind you that you have an equal racial relationship. Like ourselves, you have not always given them their due, and they have:



suffered from our joint neglect. We are conscious that they have not always treated you as children, should, and that they have too often shown undue partiality towards their Western kin. This has been harmful to them in many ways, but we believe that the days of better and truer relationship are at hand. Let you and us, together, respond and help each other to fulfil our natural responsibilities to them. That will bless both of us, for, seeking together their good, we shall find a unique uniting force drawing us nearer each other in many ways. Many notable sons of India have realised their responsibility to the Anglo-Indian, on whose behalf we gratefully acknowledge this much appreciated recognition. They and we were in no small degree heartened by the attitude of helpful compromise manifested at the Round Table Conference, in the consideration of a controversial matter bearing upon the education of the Anglo-Indian child.

To Anglo-India

And lastly, we would broadcast to Anglo-Indians themselves:—

We would ask you to hold up your heads in gladness, because we believe that better days are coming. Your British kinsmen have realised that they have not done all that they might have done for your welfare, and they would make restitution by helping your children to secure a sound education. One of yourselves has made this appeal to your Western relations: "You have brought this mixed race into being. There are some things you can do to help. You can be sympathetic, encouraging, just. You can take an active interest in their uphill climb. You can give them a hand when they stumble by the way." Our answer is: "We will."

We believe many of your Indian kinsmen will unite with us in doing their part to this end. We ask you to respond with alacrity to every gesture they make, and to join whole-heartedly the other communities in helping one the other in serving India. We urge you to spare no pains and to shirk no sacrifice to give your own children the best and soundest education you can possibly afford. If we all are faithful to our special duties and privileges, we can look forward with joyous expectation to a not far distant date when the problems at present vexing us in connection with your community will have been solved, and when you will have so shown by better economic position, strength of character, and altruistic and frank independence, that you yourselves are able to provide and direct your children's education, and have the wish and power to help other children of India and other lands who may be then in the straits in which so many of you now are.

### Japan's Trade Expansion

The following introduction is appended to the above subject in the *Foreign Policy Reports*:

For two years the rapid expansion of Japan's export trade, which began in August 1932, has constituted one of the major paradoxes of the world economic upswing. In other countries, the revival has been mainly domestic; in Japan, it has centered largely on foreign trade. While other countries have regained only a fraction of their lost foreign markets, Japan's total trade is already approaching its pre-depression level.

Although Japan's export gains have been achieved largely in the field of cotton, rayon and woolen yarns and fabrics, great advances have also taken place in the export of many other products. Between 1931 and 1933, in terms of the yen, Japan doubled the export value of its cotton yarns and tissues, trebled that of rayon yarns and tissues, and increased that of woolen yarns and tissues more than sevenfold. During the same period Japan doubled the export value of its potteries and glass, lamps and parts, and of drugs, chemicals, medicines and explosives, nearly trebled that of tinned and bottled foods (chiefly fish), and metal manufactures; trebled that of toys, dyes and pigments, and vehicles and parts (chiefly bicycles and tires); and quadrupled that of straw plaits.

The inroads made by Japanese exports during the past two years in markets normally pre-empted by other countries aroused general hostility. Charges of unfair trade competition, often unsupported by adequate investigation or factual data, were levelled against Japan from many quarters. Among the charges most frequently made were those of "dumping," excessive depreciation of the yen, and "sweated" labor. Countries chiefly affected by Japan's trade expansion raised tariff barriers against the influx of Japanese goods, or took other measures to protect their industries and markets. The Lancashire cotton interests of Great Britain, severely hit by the rapid growth of Japan's exports of cotton piece-goods, early secured governmental action to safeguard their position. At first confined chiefly to India, this action later took the form of quota restrictions against Japanese goods in Britain's Crown Colonies.

The same paper proceeds:

Two major causes have been responsible for the notable advance in Japan's export trade during the past few years: first, low production costs; second, the extreme depreciation of the yen. In combination, these two factors have enabled Japan to sell at prices that defy competition from the industrial countries of the West. The most careful studies, however, indicate that currency depreciation has been the more important factor.

### LOW PRODUCTION COSTS

The cheap production costs of Japanese industry are due, in the first instance, to relatively low wages and long hours. Evidence presented in the recent report of the director of the International Labor Organization, however, tends to negative the widespread assumption that Japan's trade expansion constitutes a form of "social dumping," resulting from excessively low wages and bad labor conditions. According to this report, Japanese wages in 1931 were virtually equivalent in gold value to those of Italy and Poland, although considerably below those of Great Britain. In subsequent years, moreover, the deterioration of wages and labor conditions in Japan has been no more excessive than in other countries. It should also be recognized that money wages do not afford an adequate basis for estimating the comparative living standards of Japanese and Western workers. The items entering into the cost of living of a Japanese worker result in a different and cheaper, but not necessarily a lower standard of living than that of a Western worker.

In addition to low labor costs, Japanese industry—particularly the textile industry—has derived a further advantage from an increasing degree of efficiency both in organization and management.



The following conclusion has been reached:

Japan's trade expansion has undoubtedly exerted an adverse effect on certain special industries in other countries which come into direct competition with Japanese export manufacturers. In extreme cases, the struggle has been so severe as to result in the partial or complete shutdown of the business of Japan's foreign competitor, throwing numbers of men out of work. On the other hand, whole populations—particularly in colonial areas—have been enabled to buy cheap goods which they might otherwise have lacked during years of dire economic stringency. Furthermore, for many Western exporters the rapid growth of Japan's imports—from 1,285 million yen in 1931 to 1,917 million yen in 1933—has opened up an important market for the sale of either raw materials or manufactured products. Under these circumstances, it is obvious that the expansion of Japan's foreign trade, far from being a menace, represents a distinct gain for the world as a whole.

### Autarchy

Louis L. Mann enumerates in the *Unity* numerous evils endangering religion, of which a prime one is 'autarchy' which at present threatens the national as well as international horizon. To this effect he concludes:

Autarchy means an economic state, economic self containment. It has been advocated in Germany, it has been proclaimed in Italy, and is being widely discussed in America. Autarchy means national isolation instead of national co-operation. It is an attempt to turn back the hands of the clock. If carried out it would result in national infantilism. It would represent a recrudescence of tribalism. To make matters worse, Germany now insists on the race state, claiming a pure race in such a way as to make it a poor race. At the time when rapid communication and transportation had made possible religion's great hope—the brotherhood of man, the national state, the race state, the economic state, autarchy will all but frustrate it. Time was when people believed in the divine right of kings, but when it was exemplified with satanic might to human beings, it was cast aside. Time was when people believed in the divine right of priests, but when they became prophets of the plausible and champions of the "status quo" and the guardians of superstition, they were abandoned. Nations still, by insisting on their absolute sovereignty, believe in the divine right of statehood and as a result the world is filled with suspicion, distrust, malice, hatred, ill-will, and the threat of war. The divine right of humans yet remains to be born. That is the challenge of religion.

If our planet were attacked by Mars, Germany would forget her animosity for France, France for Germany, the British Empire would overlook her national hatreds, the Italian government would forget its trade rivalry, and the Japanese would cease to nurse evil suspicions against America, but all the nations on this planet would be united as never before against a common danger, an interplanetary war. No longer would we speak of "the yellow peril," "the fascist menace," "the communist propaganda," "the socialistic tendency," but we would unite against the common enemy, Mars. We are being attacked, not by the planet Mars but by the God of Mars, whose prophet is nationalism. Shall

we proclaim ourselves morally and spiritually bankrupt and do less for peace than we would for war? Not until we can overlook the arbitrary, artificial, man-made distinctions between man and man and transcend national boundaries, racial differences, to see the God-made resemblances between man and man will God be the object of man's supreme desire and religion cease to have a dangerous and deadly rival.

For I dipt into the future far as human eye could see:

Saw the vision of the world and all the wonder that would be—

"Till the war drum throbbed no longer and the battle flags were furled

In the parliament of man, the federation of the world!

### Gandhi Withdraws from Political Command

We read the following editorial in *The Christian Century*:

Readers of the *Christian Century* who have been following the recent news-letters from Mr. P. O. Philip, our correspondent in India, cannot have been surprised at the act of Mahatma Gandhi in retiring from the Presidency of the Indian national congress. The grounds on which the mahatma based his decision to withdraw from further political leadership, as well as the decision itself, had been forecast with surprising accuracy by Mr. Philip in letters which left India more than a month in advance of the Bombay congress sessions. In a word, this act grows out of Mr. Gandhi's realization that a large portion of the nationalist movement—perhaps a majority—was giving to vital elements in his program no more than lip service. His demand for the revival of handicraft industries, in order to make India economically independent of the looms of Lancashire and at the same time to restore the productive output of the villages, was no more honestly accepted by great numbers of nationalists than his demand for the removal of untouchability. Thousands of congress adherents were following Gandhi with their fingers crossed—and that created an intolerable moral situation for the mahatma. In essence, what happened at the Bombay congress was an attempt to induce Mr. Gandhi to go on with the sort of leadership which is so familiar in western politics, a leadership in which there is no more than approximate agreement on a few issues between the party commander and his followers. This sort of leadership Mr. Gandhi rejects. It is too early to predict what effect his withdrawal from the congress presidency will have on the situation in India, although it is clear that the effect will be great. A struggle is likely to develop within the congress between the socially conservative older generation of orthodox Hindus, who will be content to keep up a form of opposition to Britain so long as slight political concessions are made from time to time, and the younger men, led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who are coming swiftly to believe that India requires both a social and a political revolution. Some day Britain will realize that, in the withdrawal of Gandhi from politics, she has lost her best friend.

### Potpourri

One finds at a glance in *The Catholic World* the following significant utterances woven together under the above caption:



## MODERN EUROPE

James Truslow Adams, in *The Yale Review* observes:

In the Europe of to-day one cannot keep one's mind for study, music, painting, literature, or travel. The old international social life in one country after another is dissolved into air... Europe is no longer a university, a pleasant society, a museum, or a playground. It is a laboratory full of high explosives and most unpleasant possibilities. The world seems to be closing in.. In spite of what Mussolini has accomplished, there is neither freedom of speech nor freedom of the press in Italy, the cradle of the Renaissance. And there is neither in Germany, cradle of the Reformation. Everywhere the masses are rising who pay no attention to the old "rules of the game" from the standpoint of what we have called civilization. Europe's new leaders come from their ranks, and it is to the new masses that they make their crude appeals.. In America one wonders what can be done to restore prosperity. In Europe one reflects upon a civilization at bay.

## NUDISM

Edwin Balmer, Editor of *Redbook Magazine*,  
writes in *Esquire*.

We seem to be welcoming a common condition of literary nudism. It is an artistic loss. Upon the pages of novels, as in nudist camps, we find too many people whose sole claim to attention is that they have their clothes off. It is a cheap way to stir up excitement.

## BIBLE AND SHAKESPEARE

Nicholas Murray Butler says:

There was a time, not so very long ago, when anyone who should address an American audience in any part of this land might safely make reference, by

quotation or otherwise, to the Bible or to the works of Shakespeare with a feeling of certainty that the reference would be understood and appreciated by the vast majority of his hearers. That time has passed. The Bible and Shakespeare are now usually read by title only and the superb literature which is their content is, unhappily, no longer part of the ordinary and every-day knowledge of American youth.

## NEED OF SPIRITUAL UNITY

Christopher Dawson in *The Making of Europe* observes:

We feel once more [in Europe] the need for spiritual or at least moral unity. We are conscious of the inadequacy of a purely humanist and occidental culture. We can no longer be satisfied with an aristocratic civilization that finds its unity in external and superficial things and ignores the deeper needs of man's spiritual nature. And at the same time we no longer have the same confidence in the inborn superiority of Western civilization and its right to dominate the world... But it is well to remember that the unity of our civilisation does not rest entirely on the secular culture and the material progress of the last four centuries. There are deeper traditions in Europe than these and we must go back behind Humanism and behind the superficial triumphs of modern civilisation, if we wish to discover the fundamental social and spiritual forces that have gone to the making of Europe.

## UTOPIAS

We read in *The Colosseum* (London), No. 2.

Utopias are the opium of the people—whether the utopia be that of Wells or Stalin, Sir Arthur Keith or Goebbels, or the sex-utopia of D. H. Lawrence. We must fight our way through the clap-trap of the pseudo-scientists and give the masses the truth about the universe and themselves.

## THE VISION OF 1935





## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Are the Special Schools for Particular Classes necessary ?

Some time back Sir Akber Hyderi condemned the tendency on the part of communalist Muslims to establish separate schools for the brethren of their faith. This, he said, hampered the progress of the Muslims and stood in the way of Indian unity. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University, stresses the point further in *The Calcutta Review* and says :

Another important question connected with education is the advisability of starting special schools for particular classes. Thus we have special schools for Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and particular sects of these religions ; then we have special schools for pupils belonging to Depressed Classes and Anglo-Indians or schools for the very rich like the projected Public School at Dehra Dun or the various colleges for scions of ruling and aristocratic families. In regard to all these I think the presumption must be against special schools based on class, community or religion and any particular case has to be fully made out. It is not desirable that during the impressionable years of life a child should be kept apart from influences which will broaden his outlook by bringing him into contact with persons he does not meet at home. A Hindu child would be all the better for coming to know that the manners and customs, the dress or food of all people are not exactly like his own and that difference in these matters is not inconsistent with a fellow pupil's being quite a "decent chap." In residential schools there may be for a little time some difficulty about food arrangements but it should be possible to get over it with a little trouble. When the difference is one of language I am afraid we shall have to tolerate the existence of special schools but admissions to them must not be based on, nay, other principle than that of the mother tongue, and with this reservation should be free to all. I am entirely opposed to separate schools for the depressed classes ; all schools maintained wholly or partially from public funds should be available to them on the same terms as to other children. I am prepared to go even so far that if such a school does not admit these depressed class children it should not get any public grant. In the initial stages there may be some opposition but experience in Bombay, where such an order was issued in 1923, shows that the higher classes have now begun to realise the advantage of educating their children and will not take them away for long on the ground of such opposition. Such common schools will do more to raise the depressed classes and to change the mentality of the higher classes with regard to them than almost any amount of other propaganda. As regards special schools for particular religious denominations with provision for the teaching of the religion of that denomination I think that they also must be open to all children and the religious teaching should be optional only. In any case I am entirely

opposed to the practice of some missionary schools which admit non-Christian children and still make instruction in the Christian religion compulsory for all and a conscience clause should be introduced where it does not exist at present in the code. Moreover the State should not subsidise the teaching of any religion and if a community wants to provide facilities for religious education of its children it should do so at its own expense. Finally as regards the proposed public school and similar aristocratic institutions I do not like the idea of separating various classes merely on grounds of wealth. It would do the rich man's child a great deal of good to know how the poor live and feel, that it is possible to go to the school otherwise than in a motor car, that there are people who do all their own work without calling for a servant and that money does not necessarily make a person liked or respected. In a school the pupils soon begin to take one another at their intrinsic worth and the lesson learnt there remains a lasting possession. We do not wish to see young children grow up like the lord who complained of being poor and wondered how it was possible to exist on an income of only fifty thousand pounds a year. Without therefore absolutely saying that such schools should not exist as it would be interfering with the freedom of others, I think it will be agreed that the State should not subsidise such expensive institutions at the cost of the general tax-payer. If the rich want to have such special schools for their own children, let them pay for them themselves.

### The Cinema Films

Mr. Ramdev Chokhany writes in Tenth Anniversary number of *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* :

The motion picture is one of the most precious among the gifts of science to man and it could well have been utilised, as it is being utilised to-day in some European countries, to promote the moral and material well-being of their inhabitants in many ways. But unfortunately it is being used in most cases for quite the opposite purpose in this country, namely, for the satisfaction of the monetary greed of its owners to the serious detriment of the moral and material interests of the society as a whole. Free love, romance, divorce, kidnapping, murder, blackmailing, robbery or other kinds of crimes and shady adventures, which have in them all the elements of obscenity, horror and mystery and keep the audience on edge all the time, form the chief theme of most of the pictures in which seductive and wistful women, often very scantily clad, employ all their arts to fascinate and leave an indelible impress on the minds of the audiences composed largely of young men, women and children. To the worshippers of the cult of nudity and to those who see art in naked beauty, in men and women indecently clad, if not in a state



of nature, these pictures may appear to be unexceptionable but the world is not inhabited by these supermen alone. To ordinary minds, naturally, they have an irresistible sex appeal and arouse all their worst passions and propensities. It is common knowledge that young people go into hysterics over many such films, lavish rapturous praises upon them and book seats days ahead. Can it be truthfully said that it is the high, moral, educative and healthy entertainment value and ennobling qualities of the pictures that draw our young men and women rich and poor, in their thousands to these shows?

A word of warning will not be out of place here to the well-to-do section of our countrymen. A number of cinema houses have come into existence during the last couple of years, which are owned and managed by Indians. Following the example of Europeans and Americans they too are producing films in utter disregard of the principles of decency and morality and young men, engaged in the concerns, are freely coming into undesirable contact with the female artistes in the studios. It is a question if many of them will be able to save themselves from the possible evils attending such intimate association. Apart from that, it is to be borne in mind that vices can never have a permanent hold on society. They creep into society stealthily and do mischief but sooner or later they are hounded out. The days of the vicious films also cannot but be numbered and those who are investing capital in them seem to be courting ruin, both moral and financial. Indian capitalists would therefore, do well to retrace their steps while there is yet time. Let them turn their attention to producing films of high moral tone and educative value, to the picturisation of all that is good, great and useful in life and nature, calculated to provide healthy entertainment and education and to mould the fabric of our national life on the right lines, and give up all thought of producing vicious films for the sake of filthy lucre. Then and then only the Indian cinema industry can expect to have a permanent footing in the country.

### The Story of the Buddhist Monasteries

Prof. S. Dutt, M. A. tells the interesting story of the Buddhist monasteries in *Indian State Railway Magazine*. Part of it is quoted below :

When the Chinese records come to a stop, the story of Buddhist monasteries can be followed only in broken and tangled threads, and we have to fall back on the less reliable Tibetan sources. These sources were first thrown open by the industry of a Bengali explorer, Sarat Chandra Das, who during the eighties of the last century undertook a well-nigh impossible journey to the veiled, impenetrable capital of Tibet. Das was one of the pioneers in the field of Buddhist researches; he was well versed in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and among his other literary works, he edited an important Tibetan work of the eighteenth century, named *Pog-zam-jong-zang*, a history, compiled from old legends, of Tibetan Buddhism, and also wrote a brochure on *Indian Pundits in the Land of the Snow*, in which copious extracts are given in translation from a Tibetan work purporting to be a life of Atisha written by one of his Tibetan disciples.

This Atisha,—his Indian name being Dipankara Srijnana,—who belonged to the early part of the eleventh century and was most probably a native of

Bengal, was for a long period at the head of the University of Vikramasila, and the story is told by Atisha's Tibetan biographer how the Tibetan king, intent on the purification of religion in the country, sent an embassy to look for an Indian scholar and how the embassy, attracted by its fame, reached, after many vicissitudes, the portals of the University of Vikramasila, situated on a rock washed by the holy waters of the Ganges. They succeeded after many tears and entreaties in inducing Dipankara to accompany them to Tibet, a Dipankara, then eighty years old, became the virtual founder of Buddhism in that country. He was sainted after his death in Tibet, and the visitor to Ghoom near Darjeeling, who must see the Tibetan monastery (Gumpha) there, will find among the images of Buddhist and Tantric deities the more humanised image of Atisha. It thus appears that by the beginning of the tenth or eleventh century, the fame of Nalanda had waned,—perhaps the premises had become too old and ruinous,—and its place was taken by another and newer University (Maha-Vihara) at Vikramasila. But after its period of glory, Nalanda must have lingered on and archaeological excavations at Bargaon have yielded inscriptions going down to the eleventh century and colophons have been found in Tibeto-Sanskrit works, dating back to that period, mentioning Nalanda as the place where the work was copied or composed. The Tibetan historiographer of Buddhism of the eighteenth century, to whom legends of the fame of Nalanda must have floated down, refers to the vastness of the libraries of the University which he says was in three sections called *Ratnodadhi* (Sea of Jewels), *Ratna-ranjaka* (the Pleasance of Jewels) and *Ratna-sagara* (Ocean of Jewels), each several stories high in structure. He adds the interesting information that these libraries were set fire to and completely burnt down by the Turaskas, probably the pioneers of the Mahomedan invaders of Bengal.

*Quite interesting -*

### The Sociological Method in History

This essay by the late Sister Nivedita has been recently published for the first time in the *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*. The late Sister discussed in it the sociological method adopted by Professor Geddes in writing history. She wrote in part :

To return to our proper subject, this particular lecture which I heard in New York represented one form only of Professor Geddes' "sequences," and I never heard it repeated. For so many, and so varied are the lines of thought opened up by this teacher that, that hearer is fortunate, indeed who can listen to a second rendering of any one theme. There is, however, one of his formulæ which is not to be placed in this category. For it is his Veda, and he cares not how often he repeats it. I refer to the Le Play-Geddes doctrine of the influence of place on Humanity. Le Play, it appears, was a French Mining Engineer who, about a hundred years ago, in mature life, went to Southern Russia to prospect some districts professionally. When he saw the country and the people living there and came to know something of their habits and ideas, however, Le Play was startled by the affinity of the whole civilization to the life of the Semitic patriarch, as described in the Old Testament, and he set to work to find out what was the determining factor which was common to the



two cases. Obviously, both were pastoral. It is true that the steppes of Southern Russia were covered with grass, and the deserts of Syria and Arabia with sand. The one country lay in the Temperate, and the other in the Tropical zone. And the one civilization was Aryan and modern, and the other ancient, theocratic, and Semitic. Yet all these elements of variation were seen to be overpowered by that of unity. The place, necessitating that men should live by keeping flocks and herds, had determined both the developments and effaced minor differences.

This led Le Play to an extended series of observations in a similar vein, of which the ultimate result, as we have it to-day, is the theory of the six fundamental civilizations. Thus it is held that the pasture lands make races of shepherds, the fertile valleys, peasants, the shores of rivers and seas make fishers, the forests make hunters and foresters, and the barren, metal-bearing mountains make miners. According to Professor Geddes and his school, then, all true social progress, and all progress in Government and organisation will lie in re-inforcing these primitive civilizations, and developing each along its own lines, to bear its proper part in the communal whole. What such development may include is indicated in the fact that he regards the village smith, and brazier as a strong miner, caught and attached to the present Commonwealth, and Lord Kelvin as fundamentally the village smith, seated on the shore of Glasgow city, bending his mind to the problem of mending the big ships as they come in! That is to say, the conquest of nature which in one place or another forms the backbone of each primitive occupation in its turn may be carried beyond nature herself into a more spiritual and abstract region. The great mathematician, physicist, and financier are thus all alike to be regarded as examples of the miner emancipated from the material conditions of his calling, only that he may overcome still greater difficulties in another sphere. The school-master will thus be the culture-master, the peasant dealing with the mind of humanity, instead of the ploughed fields. And we catch a glimpse here of the long antecedent heredity in the subconscious thought of man that makes great religious leaders of a camel-driver and a cowherd and applies to third the name of the Good Shepherd.

But some of these primitive occupations are less distinctly civilising and more characteristically piratical than others. Looked at from this point of view, indeed, it may be said that the highest of all civilisation-impulses, must needs be that imparted by the peasants. The pastoral organisation leads easily to war by the path of disputes about wells and grazing lands or personal quarrels between tribes. The work of the fisher in the deep seas demands such close organisation that he is easily diverted into the looting of the coast towns, and the whole life and ideal of the hunter is one of exploitation, even as hunting is in all ages, from those of ancient Egypt and Assyria onwards, the sport and relaxation of those supreme despoilers, kings and nobles. Of all these conquests, however, the most intensive and coherent is that of the sea. Consequently island and coast peoples will always be characterised by the most aggressive and piratical tendencies. And in order to see how true this is we need not, perhaps, confine our attention to the old-time Vikings, but may take the whole history of Europe, and every Western nation as illustrating the law in some degree or other, while in the East another island people is likely to lead the van in developing a similar type of civilization.

In truth, Professor Geddes' lecture make one bold to go further and lay down a law that I never heard from his lips, namely, that the true area of conquest for man is never other-men, nor other men's freedom and means of livelihood. The real fight for an honest man lies in the conquest of earth, rock, water, or in the destruction of wild beasts, or the tending and protection of domestic animals. Or his task may consist of any abstracted or intensified development of these.

### School Hygiene in Japan

These extracts from *The Teachers' Journal* will prove instructive :

It would be interesting to learn what they understand by school hygiene in Japan. The facts are taken from the fifty-sixth annual report on Education published this year by the Ministry of Education in Japan—chapter on School Hygiene at Pp. 422—431.

"Among the special measures taken by the Department with regard to school hygiene were : the provision of physicians for kindergartens and young men's training institutes as well as for schools—government, public and private ; the making, by way of encouragement, of a grant to Japan Physical Training Association x x ; the nation-wide observance of the 'athletic day' for the encouragement of physical training and for the diffusion of the thought concerning it ; the holding of various conferences and lecture-institutes ; the translation into Japanese, for the benefit of those who are concerned with the work, of materials for the study of school hygiene in foreign countries" &c.

It is the practice of the Japanese Education department to send school sanitary officers to different localities to make investigations with a view to (a) the establishment of School Sanitary experts, and of directors of physical training, (b) school nurses, (c) the medical treatment at *public expense* (italics ours) of illnesses of public elementary school teachers, (d) contagious diseases at school dormitories, (e) absences, long or short, due to illnesses, and participation in athletic sports of middle-grade school pupils, (f) how higher schools and special schools are joining the Athletic League. &c.

The number of schools which have physicians have been constantly growing in late years. More than 23,000 schools have such teachers now.

In this connection we should not omit to mention the School Hygiene Investigation Committee. "This Committee is under the supervision of the Minister of Education, and investigates, upon his inquiries, matters relating to school hygiene. It is composed of one President and 15 members. In addition, special members may be appointed, if necessary." It dealt with, for example in 1928, with such subjects as fencing, judo, archery &c.

Then there is the Institute for Research in Physical Training under the supervision of the Minister of Education. Its object is to make researches in, and carry out investigations of, matters concerning physical training and its guidance. It carries on investigations in such subjects, as physical training in Ancient Greece, a study of reaction time at start in a running race, on the mass proportion of the Japanese physical constitution &c.

### Scientists in Defence of Science

Some time ago we made extracts in this section showing how mechanization had increased



the volume of unemployment in America. It is amusing to note that the American scientists have now come forward to defend science. *Prabuddha Bharata* writes editorially :

It is a machine age. The application of science to industry has revolutionized the economic condition of the world. Science has got its blessings as well as evils. Some persons are of opinion that the evils which scientific discoveries have brought with them far outweigh the blessings they have conferred on humanity. During the present world-wide problem of unemployment, many say that the application of science to industry has thrown a large number of persons out of employment, and some go so far as to suggest "a ten-year moratorium on scientific investigation."

Some American scientists like Drs. Millikan and Compton try to show that if science has eliminated human labour in many fields, it has created also new opportunities for employment. The automobile industry has increased 250 p.c. jobs in the course of 30 years. "A scientific toy in 1903...the airplane to-day provides employment for 50,000 or more persons." The electrical industries, which have developed in the last fifty years, employ more than 1,000,000 people nowadays. Motion pictures give employment to 29,000 persons. "Radio alone, which is only twenty-five years of age gives work to 94,000 people in the manufacture of sets, tubes and other equipments."

#### Rabindranath Tagore at Adyar

Two young theosophists interviewed Dr. Rabindranath Tagore while he was at Adyar, Madrás. They have given an account of this interview in *Theosophist*. Part of it is quoted here :

The Secretary showed us into Dr. Tagore's room where we found him sitting at a window table dressed in a reddish-brown dhoti and kurta, engaged in making crayon drawings. Upon our entrance he put these away, and afterwards referred to them as his "child's play," for he has only recently taken up this line of artistic expression and feels that he has not yet mastered its technique. There is an atmosphere about some people which makes one realize at once that one is in the presence of greatness. Dr. Tagore has this atmosphere—perhaps because he is one of the most original thinkers and artists in the world being uninfluenced by the hundreds of petty prejudices which influence the man in the street and make him a slave of his environment. As soon as you hear the Poet speak you realize that you are not listening to other people's thought at second hand but are hearing words which represent the result of active thinking by a great mind. Both of us felt the power of his personality as the old man raised his snow-white head and gazed at us for a moment before asking us to be seated, and when he started to speak we thought that we should learn more of the real man and come closer to seeing life as he did if we allowed him to tell us of the things that were in his mind rather than if we asked him a string of questions about things which were not of interest to him (as Americans are supposed to do.)

Courteously he asked us to be seated, and when we asked him in a friendly way if he were feeling better, he at once answered in a way that made one realize that he was telling the truth (which is not always the case with lesser people when asked the

same question). He said that he was feeling better, but that it was not an easy task which he had undertaken. He said he was going about the country as a beggar, a thing he dislikes to do, and at times he and his troupe have been forced to bring their art and culture down to the level of those who are unresponsive and not artistic by nature, in order to make money for his Institution at Santiniketan. This should not be so, he said. The people should come to them. After all, the spirit of the Institution is much more important than the material side, and though he is proud of it at present, it has not reached his ideal, and probably never will. Yet this does not discourage him, for he thinks it is worth while for the Institution to strive and work towards this ideal.

He told us that if we visited Santiniketan we might be disappointed as there were no imposing buildings. This, however, is a matter of little significance, for the Institution consists not of buildings but of the personalities which it is able to attract. It is his object to attract to Santiniketan great thinkers on all lines, and he does not mind in the least what ideas or ideals they have. They may have opinions or thoughts utterly opposed to his, but they will still be welcome at Santiniketan. There he seeks to combine all points of view and make a real international Institution.

#### Prof. K. M. Ghosh

*The D. A. V. College Union Magazine* writes editorially :

It is with deep sorrow that we record the sad news of the death of Prof. K. M. Ghosh. His passing away has been a great personal loss to us, for he was not only our teacher, our tutor and our colleague, but also our friend. We had the privilege of hearing him for the first time when he came to address us, students of the Fifth High class in the D. A. V. High School, Lahore, at the invitation of Bakhshi Ram Rattan, on the eve of our University Examination in Mathematics, and his lecture did us a world of good,—for it contained useful and practical hints for the study of Mathematics. Later on, we had the honour of sitting at his feet and of reading Mathematics with him in the Intermediate classes. It was then that we realised that he was a born teacher, who could make interesting even a dry and difficult subject like Mathematics. More than this, he impressed us with the nobility of his character. He took a paternal interest in his students and was an example of the truth that duty should be placed above everything else. Thus he appeared to his students, in the class-room, as a stern task-master, who insisted on regularity in attendance, conscientious discharge of one's duties and punctuality to a minute. But he had a tenderness of heart also; and this he revealed very often when any person met him outside the class-room. At the time of meetings like these, he appeared to be a beloved friend, who could be capable of giving sympathy and help. It was, in fact, this side of his character that he revealed most often to his wards and colleagues, none of whom can ever forget him. In spite of the fact that his life was darkened by many a sorrow he never lost his capacity for fun. Humour came naturally to him and he enlivened the meetings of the College Council by frequent sallies of his refined humour. He was indeed the soul of the College Council and contributed to the liveliness of its meetings not only by his presence, but also by the welcome repasts that he arranged at the request of his friends. He is now



gone, but his memory will remain fresh in the minds of those, who knew him, and one might say without exaggeration that the number of such persons runs into thousands. He served the college for thirty years and one cannot think of a more loyal and devoted lover of the college than he. Though a Bengalee, he looked upon the Punjab as his home. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the Punjabees will cherish the memory of his noble life for many a year to come. To us his example of suffering borne courageously and his sense of duty will always be a source of inspiration.

### Ancient Indian Art Galleries

Mr. C. Sivaramamurthy has contributed an important paper on "Chitrasalas: Ancient Indian Art Galleries" to *Triveni*. Part of it is given below:

Now to go more into details, we have life histories—important incidents in one's life—painted to adorn the *Chitrasala* and we have an instance of it in the *Uttararamacharita* that bases itself in this particular instance on the *sloka* of the *Raghuvamsa* for this idea. Scenes from Damayanti's life are painted similarly in Kundinapura. Though not in the *Chitrasala*, we have a similar painting of life incidents in the pictures of Parasurama executed of the *Vimana* of Indra. In the *Gathasaptasati* of Hala we have a *sloka* telling us of incidents from Rama's life painted in private *Chitrasalas* (on the walls of private houses) serving a very useful purpose. We are told in the *Kathasatitsagara* that Vasavadatta consoles herself by looking at pictures of Rama's life painted on the walls.

Of ordinary group pictures—especially of the queens and princesses with their attendants—we have an instance in the *Malavikagnimitra* and also in the *Viddhasalabhanjika*. But these and similar ones are more frequently found in the *Chitrasala* of the harem.

General *Stringata* pictures that are to be found in any *Chitrasala*, be it public, private, or royal, are described at length in the *Naishadhiyacharita* wherein Sri Harsha states the love of sages and their amours with celestial damsels as the subjects of exquisite pictures adorning the *Chitrasala* of the imperial palace of Nala. This description of *Stringata Chitras* is, as we have noted already, in accordance with the dictum of the *Vishnudharmottara*. Pictures of Kamadeva were kept in bedrooms and were painted in other places too and there being no restriction and the theme being a popular one, it might have been a popular picture of the *Chitrasala*. At any rate, it

should have been the principal picture of the minor *Chitrasala* of the harem going by the name of *Saxanachitrasala*.

Bama gives us some idea of the pictures kept in public galleries. Demigods like Nagas, Suras, Asuras, Yakshas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas and so forth appear to have been prominently represented in picture. Designs of lovely creepers and such other decorative foliage in divers hues seem to have added to the collections of the picture house. Subjects of the three worlds as comprising picture themes are specifically stated by him.

Subjects of a general nature seem to have had their own place in the *Chitrasala*. Gay scenes like *jalakrida*, *panagosthi*, *rasalila* and the like cannot be considered too impossible as themes when we have Padmagupta specially talking of hunting scenes as adorning the walls of the picture gallery. In the *Safridayananda* too there is a mention made by Krishnananda to paintings of hunters.

Apart from these, animal and bird studies appear to have been a distinct feature in the art houses as is evidenced by the *Raghuvamsa* the *Vikramankadevacharita* and the *Kadambari*, and elephants were favourite subjects with the artists.

### Indian Official Statistical Publications

In a valuable paper in *Sankhya*, the Indian Journal of Statistics, Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta has given numerous instances of inaccuracies in Indian official publications. Space being limited, we make only the following extracts:

Thus [Vide the Table below] in the Panihati Municipality during the year 1931-32 there were 10 Chairmen. Under the Bengal Municipal Act, only one Chairman is possible. In cases of retirement, death, removal or resignation 2 Chairmen are possible; but here we have actually 10 Chairmen for a single Municipality. This is not a simple clerical error; for in the District Total, Divisional Total, and in the Provincial Total, the mistake is repeated.

Panihati being the writer's home-town, an explanation of the mistake may be attempted. At Panihati there are 10 Municipal Commissioners, of whom 3 are nominated by the Government, and 7 are elected. Of those nominated, 2 are non-officials, and 1 official (i.e. a Government Servant); of those who are elected 3 are non-officials and 4 officials (Government servants). Apparently somebody committed the mistake of giving the particulars of Commissioners for those of Chairmen, and this information has been incorporated in all documents from the Municipal returns to Provincial Reports without any scrutiny.

### NUMBER OF CHAIRMEN IN MUNICIPALITIES

From the *Resolution Reviewing the Reports on the Working of Municipalities in Bengal during the year 1931-32*, p. 13, we quote an extract giving particulars as to Chairman:

NAME OF MUNICIPALITY	PARTICULARS AS TO CHAIRMAN			
	Elected		Nominated	
	Non-official	Official	Non-official	Official
Panihati	3	4	2	1

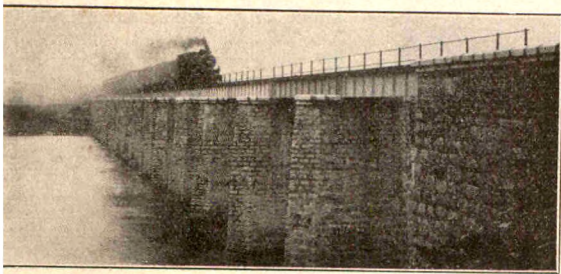


## THE SACRED RIVERS OF SOUTH INDIA

By ARTHUR R. SLATER

**I**T is no wonder that, to the devout Hindu, the rivers of this country are deemed worthy of the highest sacrifice and worship, for do they not bring to the parched land the life without which the people would die? They may not bear on the bosoms great ships as in other countries, but they do give to the thirsty land the much needed sustenance that enriches the land that it may bring rich harvests. Let the river fail and the people perish. With great anxiety they watch the steady rising of the rivers in the monsoon season knowing full well that unless the streams reach their cultivated fields, no crops will grow, and famine will bring its terrors to all classes. Rivers are in real truth the source of life and strength to India, and in a land where it is wondrously easy to deify the material things around, we cannot be surprised that practically every stream in the country has a measure of sanctity. It is true that some stand above their sisters, but on all the devout Hindu looks with awe and reverence, and will gladly offer

The great rivers take their turn to celebrate the great religious festival, and in connection with these festivals, lakhs of people make long journeys, believing that bathing in those sacred waters, especially at this particular period, will afford them complete cleansing from all sins. The Ganges stands pre-eminent among



A Bridge across the Kaveri



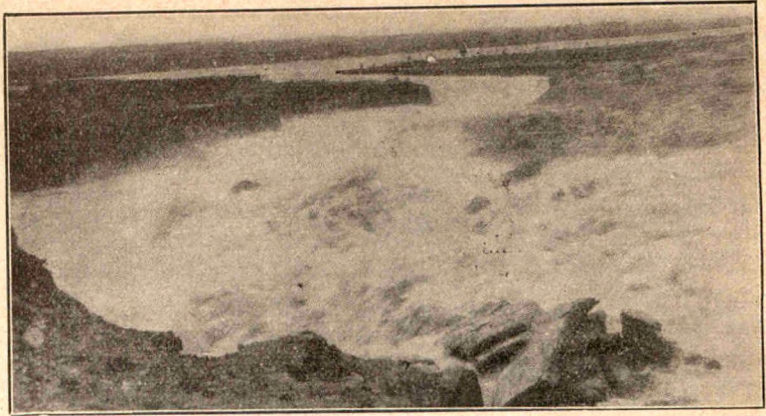
The Kaveri in Monsoon Flood

his worship at the sacred places on the river. In connection with all the rivers there are festivals, the large ones like the Ganges, the Godavery, Kistna, Kaveri, attracting large number of pilgrims. In many places along the banks, there are special temples devoted to the goddess of the river, and in these regular worship is conducted by the temple authorities.

the sacred rivers of India and none would dispute that claim. In fact, those that approach this river in sanctity, ascribe their virtues to some mystic connection with the Mother river Ganges. There are few more interesting sights than the bathing of pilgrims in the holy rivers. Men, borne down with physical and mental cares, seek relief in the holy



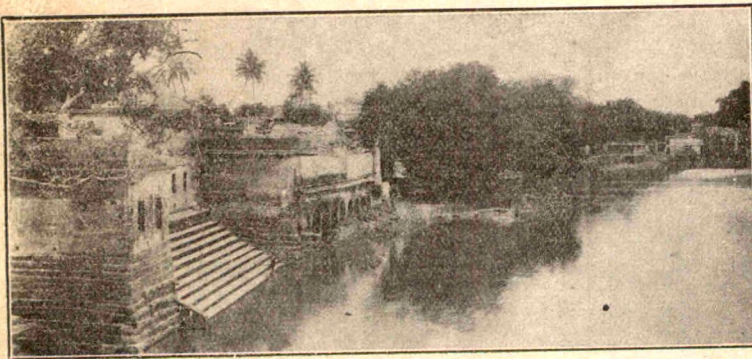
waters : women seeking the precious gifts of children rest their hopes on the beneficence of the goddess ; all classes, diseased in body, try to find in their religious ceremonies here the secret of health ; merchants desiring success in their business have confidence that an offering at this festive season will bring good luck, are to be found there ; those who have sought peace of mind from the consciousness of sin have dipped themselves in the sacred waters, uttering the needed prayers, or enlisting the assistance of the officiating priest. The Hindu reverences the river, and he has no more earnest wish than that he should rest by the banks of holiest of all the rivers, the Ganges, when his time comes to pass away from this world. It is no wonder then, that around most of the rivers of India there have been woven beautiful legends which set forth their sacred origin, and the secret of their healing powers.



The Kaveri in Flood—the torrent below the Kanambadi dam

has brought life to teeming millions in the Madras presidency. It would appear as if the people had determined that every drop of this great river should be turned to the use of man, and every effort has been made to so control the waters that come down from the hills that hundreds of thousand of acres that would otherwise be holly or partially barren, become wide spreading fields of glorious harvest. Not content with the vast irrigation

channel system, a vast engineering scheme has been carried out by the Government of Mysore whereby the great monsoon floods are stayed in their wild rush to the sea and impounded in a large lake. The dam across the Kaveri at Kanambadi will make this sacred river even more useful, and increase the great possibilities of the river. Millions depend on the Kaveri, and it is but seldom in her history she has failed those



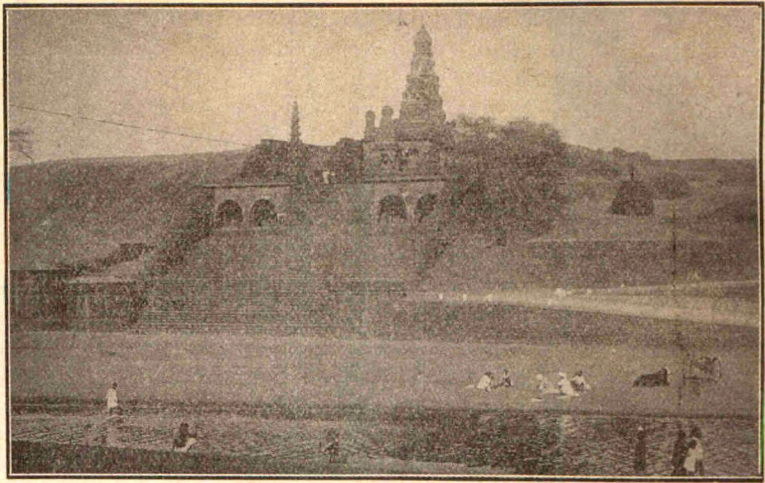
The Kaveri at Trichonopoly

South India possesses several rivers which hold a high place in the respect of the people. Of these, without doubt, the Kaveri holds the first place. It bounds down the great mountains of the Coorg district as a swift flowing current but it ends in the low alluvial delta in Tanjore as a slow moving rivulet. But from the time she leaves the Coorg hills to the time she reaches the Bay of Bengal, she has enriched the southern part of the Mysore State, and

who have faithfully trusted her. She has been erratic but the monsoon supplies have rarely failed completely. To this river all classes will offer their sincere adoration and worship. Its origin was divine. Very beautiful indeed is the long account told in the Agneya and Skanda puranas, but space will not permit anything but the barest outline of this story. She was originally Vishnu-maya, the daughter of Brahma, but, on



his instruction, she entered the world as Lopamudra, whose beauty was unsurpassable. She is said to have been created from the most graceful parts of the animals of the forest, and her beauty was altogether beyond the power of description. It was this lovely daughter who was granted to the Kaveri muni, a saint who had by his great austerities inspired Brahma to offer him the fulfilment of any request he should make. Lopamudra became his daughter, hence her name Kaveri. Her father desired one gift, the gift of peace and freedom from sin. In order to do this, Brahma decreed she should become a river and he cried to her, "Oh, happy girl, thou shalt be the daughter of this Yogi, thou shalt become a river and be called Kaveri, whereby thou shalt purify the world and lead men to heavenly bliss. Thy divine being shall be divided in twain as Lopamudra, thou shalt be wedded to Agastya : as Kaveri, thou shalt rule the world." Thus the mortal part of her became the wife of Agastya, a saint living in the Vindhya hills, and her celestial part, as the Kaveri, flowed forth as a river. After many details, the legend tells us that Brahma again appeared to her, and said, "Oh, Kaveri, thy day of happiness has come ; this is the holy season in which thou shalt run to the sea ; from henceforth thou shalt be known as the Ganges of the South. Thou shalt issue from the pot of Brahma, and flow over the feet of Vishnu and they who bathe in thy waters shall attain salvation." On reaching the sea she was married to Sumudrum, on which occasion flowers fell from the skies, and the angels danced in heaven. The river passes through some interesting country, and along the course there is much questions that will appeal to lovers of religious customs and historical incidents. The name of Srirangam, situated on the river, on the low lying parts of its course, is a word of magic, for this holy city is always thronged with pilgrims. Not



The Kistna at Mahuli

the least of its efficacy is derived from the sanctity of the waters that flow beside. Lesser known places are held in great reverence and visited by pilgrims. Historic places like Seringaptam and Trichinopoly are on the banks. There are several magnificent falls on the course, such as Sivisumudrum, where the water has now been harnessed for the generation of electricity. Though the tributaries are not so sacred as the Kaveri herself, even these are held in high reverence by devotees.

The Kistna river, though not so highly esteemed as the Kaveri, has many places on her banks of great sanctity, and when the great Pushkarum festival, which falls every twelve years, takes place, offerings are made all along the course. It rises in the Western Ghats near Mahabaleshwara, and flows southward, and then towards the East where it pours its waters in the Bay of Bengal. There are many important tributaries and there is a measure of sanctity attached to each of them, but probably the Tungabhadra is the most important from all points of view. It is to be noted that wherever a tributary joins the larger stream the place is deemed especially sacred. At Mahuli, where the Kistna joins the Yena, a temple has been built and on certain occasions thousands flock to ceremonies held there. The same may be said of other places where the Kistna is joined by some other stream. The Kistna has a varied



character, sometimes being a fast running stream, dashing through rough scenery, while at other places it flows placidly along, its waters being greatly diminished by the irrigation schemes intended to bring the waters to the barren lands. At one point the scenery is superbly fine. Colonel Meadows Taylor describes the falls at the point where the Kistna leaves the tableland of the Deccan. "In about three miles it descends 400 feet. The fall itself is not perpendicular, but becomes a roaring cataract, half a mile broad when the river is in flood. The scene then is indescribably grand, an enormous broken volume of water rushing down an incline of granite with a roar that can be easily heard



A Ferry across the Kaveri

at a distance of thirty miles, and a cloud of spray dashing up high into the air ; while the irregularity of the incline, its huge rocks, and the deep holes which the waters have excavated, increase the wonderful effect of the cataract, and brilliant rainbows flash through the spray, changing with every breath of wind. . . I have never seen such a sight in my life and perhaps few cataracts in the world can surpass it when in flood, for sublimity and beauty." Reference has been made to the Tungabhadra, which is the chief tributary of the Kistna. It is formed by the joining of two rivers, the Tunga and the Bhadra, both of which rise in the Western Ghats, and meet at Kudali near Shimoga. In the upper reaches these rivers are deemed very sacred and about them both there are many legends. The following is

given in one of the puranas. The son of a certain *rishi* seized the earth and went down into the lower world. This step seriously affected the Brahmins who were left without a place on which to perform their sacrifices. In turn this affected the demi-gods for they received none of the usual offerings. A complaint was sent to Vishnu who sympathized with the demi-gods and forthwith set about to counteract the evil done by Hiranyaksha. He assumed the form of a boar, plunged into the ocean, entered the lower world, and brought back the earth. This was a mighty task even for a god, and he perspired profusely. The perspiration flowed down his two tusks as he rested on the holy hills, thus forming the two sacred rivers, the Tunga flowing from his left tusk and the Bhadra from his right. The scenery on these two rivers is extremely picturesque. The holiest place in the Tunga is Sringeri which vie with Srirangam on the Kaveri for sanctity. The Tungabhadra passes through wild scenery as it passes along the north of the ancient Vijayanagar kingdom after which it soon joins the Kistna.

The Godaveri competes with the Kaveri for holiness and at certain points, especially at Nasik, the festivals are very popular. The legend in connection with its origin tells us that Rama himself made the revelation regarding its divine origin to the *rishi* Gautama. According to popular legend it proceeds from the same source as the Ganges by an underground passage. It is sometimes the Vridda-Ganga. Every part of it is sacred, and when the Pushkaram is held, so sacred are the waters that even the darkest sins are completely removed. The spots most frequently visited by the pilgrims are : the source, at Trimbak ; the town of Bhadrachalam on the left bank, about one hundred miles above Rajamundry where there is a fine temple ; Rajamundry itself, and the village of Kotipalli on the left bank of the eastern mouth. The legend regarding its origin may be briefly





Gessoppa Falls

given. Brahma poured water on the feet of Vaman and the water flowed in all directions till Siva checked it by placing his matted hair in the way. When Trimbak became the residence of Gautama, the Brahmins requested the sage to bring the Ganga to the earth, but he refused to hear their prayer. One day Parvati sent her cow to graze in the field where Gautama used to grow rice, and Gautama drove off the cow with a stick, the blow from which caused its death. This was a terrible sin and he commenced to perform ceremonies to keep off the anger of Mahadev. The god was pleased with the penance, and released the Ganga from his matted hair and gave her leave to go to the earth. This happened when the Sun was in the zodaical sign of Leo and every twelve years, when the Sun enters this sign, the great festival takes place. There are fine temples on the banks of the river, and these receive visits from large numbers of pilgrims. The Godaveri is a larger river

than the other two, and is navigable for a considerable distance for small boats. There are many irrigation canals which are navigable. The Godaveri, after passing through varied scenery, some of it very wild and rocky especially where it forces its way through the Eastern Ghats, reaches the sea by way of the delta which is famous as being the place where the earliest settlements of Europeans were made. The channels in the delta have been greatly silted up. These great rivers, the Kaveri the Kistna with its fine tributaries, and the Godaveri, bring to South India rich life and blessing to thousands



The Falls at Sivasumudrum on Kaveri

of people, and from them there rises a spirit of intense gratitude which is expressed in the deep reverence shown, and offerings made at the sacred places along their courses. There is much that is beautiful in this devotion to the life-giving streams of the South.



# NOTES

## *Attempt at Perpetuating India's Subjection*

The proposals or recommendations made by the Joint Parliamentary Committee in their Report are an attempt to perpetuate India's subjection and Britain's domination. The Governor-General and the Governors are to be, practically, autocrats. There are "safe-guards," "special responsibilities," power to issue ordinances and make laws, and, finally, the power to suspend the constitution, which will make the provincial governors virtually dictators. There is no indication in the Report that this state of things will ever come to an end; nor, if it ever does, when. In the Central Government, no Minister will have charge of Defence or External Affairs. These will be administered by the Governor-General. He will, besides, have "special responsibility" for the financial stability and credit of the Federation and will discharge that responsibility with the assistance of a Financial Adviser, who will of course not be under the Federal Ministry or their influence. So, the Governor-General will practically control Finance, and as a matter of fact the Central Legislature will be able to vote upon only about 20 per cent of the revenues. The Railways will be practically independent of the Legislature, being controlled by the Statutory Railway Board. The Governor-General will have the power to issue ordinances and make laws, to veto laws passed by the Legislature, and, finally, to suspend the constitution, whenever he thinks necessary. Normally, when the Federation comes into existence, if it ever does, the representatives of the States nominated by their rulers and the indirectly elected

members from the provinces representing the favoured communities will be generally at the beck and call of the Government to curb the Nationalist members. One fact will make this statement clearer. The Hindus constitute the majority of the population of India, and the majority of Nationalists are also Hindus. But the Hindus will return, not the majority, but the minority of members of the Central Legislature. There is no indication in the Report when, if ever, this state of things will come to an end.

This in brief is the *self* (!)-government proposed for India.

It will thus appear that the Joint Select Committee intend that in the ordinary course all real power should remain in British hands, and therefore they have taken every care to prevent *any* real power—not to speak of the *supreme* power—from ever passing into Indian hands.

Hence, so far as human ingenuity, or rather J. P. C. ingenuity, can devise, that Committee have formulated proposals for preventing Indians from winning freedom by their own constitutional and lawful endeavours. But that Committee must have anticipated and apprehended that, as they have closed all constitutional and lawful avenues to freedom, there may arise persons and parties who may try to win freedom through revolutionary methods. To prevent the birth and success of such parties, the Committee have proposed that the Governor-General and the Governors should have the power to suspend the constitution and govern the country and the provinces as absolute rulers, whenever they think necessary.



So the upshot, the long and short, the general effect of the Report may be summed up thus :

"We, the J. P. C., have seen to it that India may not become free either by constitutional or by unconstitutional means."

Therefore, nobody can foresee India's future.

### *Congress Responsibility for Important Change in J. P. C. Report*

In the original (Chairman's) draft of the J. P. C. Report in paragraph 121 the second sentence ran as follows :

"There was also criticism of the Award from other Provinces [than Bengal] in which the Hindus are in a minority; but elsewhere the Award appears to have met with acceptance, and we entertain no doubt that if any attempt were now made to alter or modify it, the consequences would be disastrous."

In the Report as finally adopted, the following passage was substituted for it on the motion of Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, at a meeting of the Joint Select Committee held on the 9th October, 1934, that is, after the Congress Working Committee had approved of and incorporated in its own resolution the very famous words telling the world that the Congress neither accepts nor rejects the Communal "Award" :

"There was also criticism of the Award from other provinces [than Bengal] in which the Hindus are in a minority; and we understand that recently there has been a growing tendency in some influential sections of the Hindu community to attack the foundation of the Award. Nevertheless, it is clear to us that *there is among almost all the communities in India (not excepting the Hindu) a very considerable degree of acquiescence in the Award* in the absence of any solution agreed between the communities; and in fact we entertain no doubt that, if any attempt were now made to alter or modify it, the consequences would be disastrous." (Italics ours. Ed., M. R.)

It is clear that it is the Congress phraseology of non-acceptance and non-rejection which emboldened Sir Samuel Hoare to say that even the Hindus acquiesced in the so-called Award to a very considerable degree. Congressmen may now bluster, but they are responsible for Sir Samuel Hoare's amendment.

### *Dutch Airliner Disaster*

We offer our heartfelt sympathy to the Royal Dutch Air Line for the sudden disaster

which befell one of their liners at Rutbah. The liner was struck by lightning while negotiating a patch of desert country in a thunderstorm. All the occupants were killed. The Dutch Air Line holds a splendid record of safe and swift air transport and this sad accident has come as a great shock to everybody concerned with their management. But not even sitting indoors is perfectly accident-proof, and people who have studied the record of the Dutch as commercial air navigators will readily see that the accident was entirely unavoidable. We may even say that what a Dutch pilot could not avoid was certainly an "Act of God." The preliminary enquiry into the causes of the accident also points this way.

### *Chinese Mission to Tibet*

A Press Report says that the mission, which the Republic of China sent to Tibet to express their goodwill to the latter country, as well as to offer prayers and sacrifices to the memory of the late Dalai Lama has now successfully performed its duties and returned to China. The Report says, "The mission entered Tibet by way of Sikiang and returned to India *via* Giangtse and Yatung." In India, the Report says, the Chinese were received very cordially by the British and continues to opine that "a cordial and friendly relationship exists between Great Britain and the Republic of China."

China is a great country with a great tradition and civilization. India has been giving cordial receptions to Chinese missions from time immemorial, centuries before the British occupied India. As the mission was a cultural one, it should have been given a cultural reception and not a military one, as was accorded to it. However, as the Chinese stand to gain more by friendship with a great power like Britain and not so much by a non-military cultural fellowship with the people of India, we believe that they acted to their best interests. But, just as a railway company should show its guests round all places of interest approached by their line and not entertain them with a mere view of their permanent way and signal boxes, the British should also follow the same principle while giving a hearty reception to foreign missions,



As a poor and dependent people, we, of course, can only hope for things, and not make demands.

### *Chinese Plans on Burma*

We have heard from time to time of alleged designs of China upon Burma. But in view of the Republic's weak position, the menace of Japan and Chinese love of British friendship and goodwill, we have all along accepted such tales with the proverbial pinch of salt. Recently the *Statesman* brought out in its columns a sensational discovery by its special representative. If the account, portions of which we reproduce below, is correct, the British need not necessarily be very sure of China's goodwill towards all things British. The account will clearly show that there are two claimants to, at least, portions of Burma, leaving out, of course, the Burmans themselves. If the Chinese, who constitute one of these claimants, are only awaiting the day when they "are strong enough" to "recover" territory which at present belong to Britain, it is surely to the advantage of the latter to see that the day does not dawn too soon. Let us now obtain glimpses of this document.

NEW DELHI, 20TH DEC.

An explanation of recent trouble on the Sino-Burma frontier is suggested in the discovery of a Chinese Yellow Book, issued by a publishing firm called The Multitudinous Glory of Yunnanfu. The book bears the seal and signature of General Lung Yun, Governor of Yunnan. It seems to have been written or edited early last year—at least six months before the Chinese inroad into Burma, . . . its purpose is to show that the Chinese can properly claim about a third of Burma as their own.

It was printed at the Security Press of the Yunnan Ministry of Finance, and it is obviously an official publication of the Provincial Government.

"FILCHED BY BRITISH"

Two well-known sections of the Sino-Burman border have never been determined by international agreement. It is the second and more southerly of these sections whose demarcation is now being negotiated at Nanking between His Majesty's Government and the Chinese Central Government. They comprise:—

(a) A tract of about 150 miles between the Tibetan frontier on the north and a southerly point known as Manangpum, some 50 miles east of the Myitkyina (Burma) rail-head. A mountain range with peaks of 12,000 or 15,000 feet forms a natural frontier along part of this sector. Some miles to the west of it there is first the Burman town of Pienma, or Hpimaw; and then a mass of sparsely inhabited jungle, known as The Triangle because it lies between the Nimai Kha and Mali Kha rivers just north of their confluence in the Irrawaddy.

(b) Approximately 100 miles of the Wa States' territory between the Hopang area in the North and the Menglien district in the South. The British hitherto have stood by what is called the Scott Lane, running roughly in an eastward loop or "salient" between these two points. The Chinese officially claim the territory within this salient and adhere to "the Liuchen Line," which at some points is 50 miles west of the Scott Line. The salient was therefore treated as a No Man's Land until Chinese forces overran it (into undisputed Burman territory) during last winter.

The Yunnan Government dreams much more boldly than Nanking. Burma is "really a feudatory State belonging to us (the Chinese);" and Annam is "really a feudatory State belonging to us."

This is made clear in the maps illustrating the Yellow Book, and particularly in a "Model Map of Yunnan-Burma and Yunnan-Annam." It is designed to ensure, *inter alia*, that school atlases throughout the Chinese Republic may be corrected so as to include Hpimaw and the Triangle—include them, that is, in the Republic as it is today. The normal course of the undelimited sector hereabouts is accordingly advanced "for the time being—now" some 100 miles to the west, over the mountain range, across The Triangle, and even further than the boundary claimed by the Yunnanfu Military Topographical Institute in 1918. A continuation southwards to the Siamese frontier is called "basis for treaty division—China-Burma boundary demarcated in 1769." It gives China the Burmese rail-heads of Myitkyina and Lashio; half the railway line between Lashio and Mandalay; the important frontier town of Bhamo, the Lufang silver mines; and a considerable slice of Annam.

So much, it seems, must be recovered immediately; but there is more territory to be gained "when we are strong enough." This is bounded in the "Model Map" by a third projected frontier called China-Burma Border when powerful as of old in the hey-day of China." It runs from a point of the Assam border about 90 miles S. E., of Dibrugarh to another only 50 miles east of Mandalay. Thus it embraces the railway station of Mogaung and Mohnyin, the rail-head at Katha on the way to Bhamo, and nearly all that remains to Burma of the Salween River basin.

### AGENT'S INSPECTION

A great part of the territory thus assigned in the map to China is described and discussed with a wealth of detail in the 500-odd pages of the Yellow Book's first volume. But the portion of greatest interest in the light of recent events is a contribution to Volume II by Li Ching-sen, an agent of the New Futien Bank of Yunnanfu, whose Chief Manager is Commissioner for Industry in the provincial Government. Li Ching-sen first describes the "Hu-lu Wang territory" and his own version of its history, and then gives an account of his tour of inspection last year to the mines of Pan-hung, *alias* Panghong, one of the Wa States. It is evident from the names that he gives to places and districts surrounding it that the "Upper Hu-lu Wang Territory" either contains or immediately adjoins the Lufang mining region; and it will be remembered that the frontier troubles of last winter arose from conflict between a British survey's escort at Lufang and an invading force of Chinese irregular troops who seized and held the Panglao ridge. This is west of the Liuchen Line, and therefore in



"undisputed British territory;" but Li Ching-sen claims it for China. He writes of "the last few tens of years of aggression on our territory." He complains for instance, that when the Frontier Commission met in 1899 the British contested the accuracy of the Chinese maps, insisting that K'ung-ming-Shan was not really K'ung-ming-Shan, but Kung-ming-Shan. "What most excites their appetite," he adds, "is the Mao-lung silver ore." This he places in Pang-hong, so that it seems reasonable to infer that Mao-lung is either a Chinese *alias* for Lurang, or another place within the same mining area.

But the Yellow Book is also remarkable for a confession of certain difficulties that the Chinese must face in their appropriation of Burmese territory. Perhaps for the first time an official Chinese document bluntly admits that the "barbarian savages" and other "inferior races" have good reason for preferring British to Chinese rule. The Chinese are afraid that the kindness of the Government of India's methods will react to their disadvantage in a country whose ownership they consider disputable; and various contributors to the book refer again and again to the possibility of a tribal rebellion and emigration to British territory if Chinese officials do not treat them better than they usually do. It is doubtful, however, whether this in fact is a fall from complacency. The book seems rather to suggest that the Chinese will have to treat the people reasonably, whatever they think of so ludicrous a practice, if they are to recover from Burmese encroachments. They support their claims, indeed, by insisting that The Triangle contains wholly imaginary Confucian temples of Chinese origin. But they are anxious even about the present position, for they see that the Burma Government's methods are more attractive to "the heathen" than their own; and they fear that they may some day lose the tame acquiescence of their "suppressed minorities"—even of the Shan, whom they had previously found quite charmingly amenable to stern misrule.

Leaving aside the eulogium on British treatment of subject races, the quotation clearly shows that the Chinese have not discarded imperialism along with their emperor. The presence of silver has no doubt added to their lust for territory. The whole thing may of course be a hoax or a misunderstanding. So, let us leave it at this.

### *Indian Art Exhibition in London*

At the opening ceremony of the Exhibition of Modern Indian Art at the New Burlington Galleries, the President, the Marquess of Zetland, said, in course of a speech requesting the Duchess of York to open the Exhibition.

Indian art had certainly been affected by contact with the art of Europe—more so in the West of India perhaps than in the East—and there had been occasions on which it had been in danger of becoming little more than imitative; but when

such a tendency had shown itself the movement had always languished.

Recent art in India remained true to what, broadly speaking, might be said to have been throughout the centuries the distinguishing characteristic of Hindu as compared with European art, namely this, that the artist had aimed at giving expression to mental concepts rather than at reproducing the objects of the external world around him. The main impulse behind the art movement set on foot at the beginning of the present century, particularly in Bengal, was the outcome of a growing realization that not politically only, but in the matter of culture also, the peoples of India had fallen under the domination of an alien ideal.

It was the same spirit of revolt against the Westernization of India which had been playing so large a part in the Nationalist movement that inspired the little circle of men, headed by two brothers (?) of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who brought into being the new school of painting in Bengal. The work shown in the exhibition was a thing of the spirit and was therefore of high significance. (Applause).

Sir William Llewellyn, President of the Royal Academy, welcomed the exhibition as something that will enable English artists to study Indian art. He also harped on the importance of sticking to tradition. For, he said,

The tendency today was to universalize everything and art had not escaped. They hoped that in India they would always find work entirely characteristic of that country and not what was characteristic of Western countries. Of course, it was possible that good could come to Indian art by the introduction of Western principles—Indian students might come here to learn technique—but they did not want to see Western influence carried too far.

The Maharaja of Burdwan said that an Exhibition had great educative value and that it was an honour to India that the Exhibition was being held in London. He also congratulated Mr. Gladstone Solomon, the Principal of the Bombay School of Art, on the vigorous development of Art in Western India under his able guidance.

The Exhibition has attracted much attention in England. The Press has received it rather well. *The Times* has attempted to point out to the public the differences that one finds in style from province to province. It says:

It would be extremely rash for anybody but a person thoroughly well acquainted with the whole history of Indian art to attempt a definition of local styles. The broad division is that between the work of the Bombay school and that from other parts of India. It is at Bombay that the application of Western methods of teaching has gone farthest. Speaking generally, it can be said that the results seem to show that such teaching can be digested without serious disturbance to the native



tradition. A fair statement of the case would be to say that, having regard to contemporary conditions, the work from Bombay strikes one as being more businesslike, but that many of the things of the highest artistic interest are to be found elsewhere.

The *Manchester Guardian's* comments are valuable and should be studied by all artists and art critics in India.

Indian art today is still conscious of its past and its rather muddled present. As a general criticism it may be justly said that those artists who have worked on traditional lines—whether of Buddhist or Hindu or Moslem inspiration—are in a fair way to laying the foundations of modern Indian art, which may well be no less than the great art of her past. Unfortunately in this renaissance, with few teachers and a subconscious feeling that Indian art was Indian rather than universal, many Indian painters turned to Europe or the Far East. Although Indian art in the past has shown that it is capable of assimilating foreign pictorial modes, up to the present the influence of the West and of Japan has been deplorable. This exhibition shows that if Indian artists are content to work on the basis of the great Buddhist, Hindu, and the Mógul schools they may succeed in creating an art at least equal to the great art of India's past.

### *The Sankhyā*

With the current number *Sankhyā*, the Indian Journal of Statistics, completes the first year of its existence. It is the only journal of its kind in India, and as such deserves financial aid from the various Local Governments and Universities. As it is published from the Indian Statistical Laboratory of Calcutta, the Bengal Government and the Calcutta Corporation would do well in endowing a few research scholarships to deal with purely local problems, such as the different increase in the annual valuation of the different wards in Calcutta and its correlation, if any, with the population growth and the activities of the Calcutta Improvement Trust. In the current issue Mr. K. B. Madhava of Mysore University has discussed the effect of variation in the virulence of malarial infection and host's susceptibility, which, we think, should be read and studied by every public health worker. In another paper Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta has pointed out the incomplete, defective and sometimes inconsistent nature of the official publications, which we think are sometimes manipulated for purely political reasons. Karl Pearson of the University of London, perhaps the greatest living authority on Statistics, writes thus: "I have seen recently two or three

papers from India for Government publications, which show a *lamentable ignorance* (italics ours) of statistical training, while indulging in quite a wide range of statistical mathematics."

### *The Indian Students in Germany*

A most impressive and solemn ceremony was witnessed on October 27th 1934 when the Indian students of the Deutsche Akademie placed a wreath at the war memorial in Munich for the German heroes who died in the late war, in presence of a distinguished gathering consisting of the representative of the Mayor of Munich, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, the British Vice-Consul Mr. Phillips, Dr. Thierfelder of the Deutsche Akademie and heads of several institutions in Munich. Mr. M. N. Ramaswamy, in the name of the Indian students in Munich, in his short speech referred to the cordiality with which the Indians were being received in Germany and which has prompted the Indian students to pay this humble yet effective homage to the dead heroes of this country. He was thankful to the Deutsche Akademie in particular for her splendid efforts to make the stay of the Indian students under her care as comfortable as possible. The representative of the Mayor spoke warmly thanking the Indian students on behalf of the people of Germany for their cordial sympathy and the honour they were doing to the dead heroes of the war; nothing—he said—would be better appreciated in this country. The Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr. Escherich, made a most impressive speech on the value of such kind gestures on the part of foreign students which prove the national friendliness and the will of promoting the necessary co-operation between students of different nations who live in this country. Dr. Thierfelder also thanked the students in the name of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie.

### *The Deutsche Akademie and the Indian Students*

In pursuance of their policy to bring together the Indian students with the best social life, the Deutsche Akademie was at home on two different occasions when the research-scholars, who have been selected by her, were entertained both at a tea and banquet, given in their honour. The Head of the Department of Culture in the Foreign Office, the British Vice-Consul and heads of several institutions and many distinguished professors from several German Universities came specially for the occasion. The Vice-President of the Akademie proposed the toast of the Indian students and paid a glowing tribute on the influence of Indian philosophy and thought on modern Germany. The toast was suitably replied to by one of the Indian students. The Secretary of



the Deutsche Akademie, Dr. Thierfelder, cordially welcomed the Indian students and assured them of the Akademie's best efforts to make their stay in Germany as happy and comfortable as possible. Mr. T. V. G. Menon from Bangalore, one of the newly arrived research-scholars, thanked the Akademie for "the international distinction" conferred on them by selecting them for the scholarships which they look upon "as the biggest prize of their life."

The following stipend-holders of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie successfully passed their doctorate during the last term and returned to India :

C. R. Barat, Calcutta: Dr. ing. (Technical University, Munich), S. K. Majumdar, Calcutta: Dr. phil. (University, Munich), J. N. Mukherji, Calcutta: Dr. ing. (Technical University, Stuttgart), R. K. N. Iyengar, Mysore: Dr. ing. (Technical University, Hannover), R. K. Dutta Roy, Mymensingh: Dr. ing. (Technical Univ., Hannover), J. Misra, Patna: Dr. phil. (University, Königsberg), B. Piplani, Lahore: Dr. oec. (Commercial University, Nürnberg).

### *The Dewali Festival in Vienna*

To celebrate the Dewali Festival the Indians

residing in Vienna organized a pleasant function on November 6th, 1934. A Dewali dinner was held on that day which was attended by all the Indians then in Vienna. More than forty Indians were present on that occasion and an "Indian dinner" was served. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose presided over the function. A most pleasant evening was enjoyed by the Indians who were reminded to some extent of the happy Dewali festivals they would spend at home. The proceedings of the evening were brought to a close with a short speech from Mr. Bose. He congratulated the organizers of the function and expressed the hope that the Dewali dinner would in future be a regular annual function which would be looked forward to eagerly by all Indians in Vienna. Since Vienna was becoming increasingly popular with Indians, it was necessary that there should be closer intercourse between Indians living there. To fulfil that purpose the Hindusthan Academical Association had been brought into existence. The Association maintained a club of its own in Hotel de France and Mr. Bose appealed to all the Indians present to devote a little more of their time and money to the work of the Association. The function came to a close with shouts of "Bande Mataram."



The Dewali Dinner in Vienna, November 6, 1934



Among those present, were Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. Durga Prasad Khaitan of Calcutta, Major Mishra, Dr. Sharma of Mozuffarnagar, Dr. Pal of Calcutta, Drs. Desai and Choksey of Ahmedabad, Mr. Hiralal, Dr. Miss Mahant of Ahmedabad and others.

### *Future Conditions and Time of India's Freedom*

We are going to speculate as to when and under what circumstances India may be free in some unknown and uncertain future. This is not the first time that we have speculated in this way. The reason why we are repeating our observations on the subject is that the J. P. C. Report and the introduction of a Bill in the British Parliament relating to the future constitution of India have led very many Indians to think on the subject.

Many Indians hope that India will be free. Many have even the firm faith that she will certainly be free. But perhaps no one can say when and how she will be free. There are, again, those who doubt if India will ever be free. There may be some others who think that she will never be free. And, lastly, there are the people who are too backward, too ignorant, too indifferent to politics, or too non-politically-minded to think of the country's dependence or freedom. It is not possible to estimate the numerical strength of these different sections or groups of our population. But there is no doubt that political consciousness has been growing very fast even among the illiterate masses, who form 92 per cent of the people of India.

Though it is not possible to say definitely when and how India will be free, it is not difficult to discover the obstacles standing in the way of her freedom. When these are removed or their obstructive power sufficiently diminished, India may be free.

Whatever stands in the way of Indian unity is an obstacle to India's freedom.

There are among Indians many divisions and sub-divisions of many kinds. They are so well known that it is unnecessary to mention all of them. Only some comparatively new kinds of divisions will be referred to here.

The people of India have been divided by their present rulers into martial and non-martial classes, and the country into martial

and non-martial provinces. But neither in India, nor in any other country, are whole classes of people martial or non-martial. Even among those who may be called non-martial, there have been individuals quite as brave and martial as the bravest among those who have been styled "warlike," and among the latter there have been individuals noted for their timidity and faint-heartedness. There is no province of India which has not produced warlike fighters and military leaders.

Those provinces and classes which are considered non-martial resent such discrimination for various reasons. It is based on untruth. It is a reflection on their character because of the implication that they do not possess courage. It deprives them of the right and frees them from the duty of defending their country and to that extent degrades them and makes them inferior to and dependent on those who are classed as martial. And, lastly, though they pay taxes just like, and perhaps more than, the warlike, they are deprived of the economic advantage of being connected with the army.

The resentment, referred to above, felt by those who have been classified as non-martial, is natural. But pan-Indian patriotism requires that the provinces and classes called martial should also condemn this sort of grouping and demand that the army should be recruited solely on the basis of physical fitness and other requisite qualifications, irrespective of provinces and classes. When the provinces and classes called martial have risen to this height of pan-Indian patriotism, overcoming economic selfishness and provincial and class vanity, then one obstacle to India's freedom will disappear. But up till now the provinces and classes receiving preferential treatment have not raised their voice against the division of the provinces and their inhabitants into martial and non-martial.

It is more probable than not that India's freedom will be won by non-violent means. If so, it will be won by persons possessed of courage of a non-martial character. Such courage is not necessarily inferior in all cases to martial valour.

The rulers of the Indian States, and some States' people also, want more seats in the Central Legislature than their population



would entitle them to. When they will see the injustice of such desire and will demand only equal treatment with the Provinces, then another obstacle to Indian freedom will disappear.

Some provinces are given preferential treatment in the matter of the allotment of seats in the Central Legislature, on the ground of their alleged exclusive importance, the implication being that the other provinces are unimportant. This sort of preferential treatment of some provinces and the consequent discrimination against some other provinces, are a feature of the present Montagu-Chelmsford constitution of India, and they were also a feature of the constitution proposed in the White Paper. In the proposals or recommendations made by the Joint Parliamentary Committee in their Report this kind of preferential treatment of some provinces and disfavour shown to others, is also to be found. When the provinces which have received this favour and most probably will receive it in the coming constitution, will themselves condemn this sort of discriminatory arrangement and scorn to receive such favours at the hands of imperialistic masters, valuing real equality and fraternity with Indians of all provinces more than any such favours, then, and not till then, will disappear yet another obstacle to India's freedom. But as yet, not even the most eminent patriots of the favoured provinces have advised their fellow-provincials to repudiate such favours.

In the present Montagu-Chelmsford constitution some classes and religious communities have received weightage at the expense of other classes and religious communities. It has been proposed to perpetuate and extend this kind of injustice. This sort of discriminatory treatment has been resented by those who have suffered. But it is not enough that only they should resent. Pan-Indian patriotism demands that those who have been the recipients of favours should scorn to receive them. When they not only cease to "demand" (which means pray for) favours but actually spurn them, then, but not till then, will disappear yet another obstacle to India's freedom.

When favours cease to be a temptation to States, provinces, communities and classes and

when they are rejected by those who have hitherto craved and received them, then India will surely be on the way to freedom.

### *Japanese Recalcitrance*

The denunciation by Japan of the Washington Naval Agreement has not come too soon, nor has it caused any surprise. On the contrary, it is curious that she should have omitted till now to do the one thing that so long she had been longing to do. From the point of view of disarmament her participation in the recent naval talks was a mere waste of time, money and energy. But for Japan the abortive talks served a purpose. The break-down was a handy excuse—though to others it must seem a pitifully lame excuse—for the abrogation of the treaty. It cannot be that, because the United States and Great Britain have rejected her claims to parity, therefore she is entitled to go her own way and build a navy, profoundly disturbing the present balance. No. Power which was not willing to abdicate its rights and "security" would acquiesce in her violation of the Washington ratio. That is to say, if Japan's notification of the abrogation of the Washington Agreement is her last word on the subject then we are certainly in for a period of feverish naval building far more spectacular than any post-war activity in this sphere.

At the present moment, however, there is no reason to suppose that Japan is prepared to embark on a project that she can on all reckonings ill-afford. The addition of an extraordinary burden to her tax-payers should prove a telling argument against the "big navy" policy of the jingoists. Former Premier Admiral Saito's statement, therefore, that the Emperor is against unrestricted naval building may have a basis in fact. Another effect of the tearing up of the Washington Agreement will have to be taken into account, and to Japan this consideration may prove more weighty than even budgetary limitations. As President Hoover's Secretary of State Stimson had pointed out in his letter to Senator Borah on February 24, 1932, the treaties signed at Washington on February 6, 1922 must stand, or fall together. Great Britain and the United States are, therefore, free now to notify their revocation of the Four-Power Pacific



Treaty and announce simultaneously their intention to fortify Hong Kong and Hawaii respectively. This would no doubt impose a heavy restriction on the freedom of Japan to pursue unchecked her policy in China and in the Pacific region generally. Further, it would open up possibilities of danger in any future contingency that Japan could not lightly ignore. One can assume, then, that her desire for a new naval agreement is as sincere as her desire for parity is ardent. The door to further discussion and compromise, therefore, should not yet be closed.

Resumed talks must take place more on the technical plane than hitherto. For that matter, the burden of proving her contention about her defensive needs and her novel distinction of certain categories suitable to her as "defensive" and the rest as "offensive" will lie with her. Much will depend on her ability to support her own position which everybody else considers untenable. But if she thinks that by reason of her denunciation of the Washington Agreement she has attained an unassailable bargaining position, then, she is only deluding herself. The United States still holds the whip hand, as Secretary Hughes had pointed out at the Washington Conference. Attempts on the part of any Power at competition with his country must prove futile because the United States has the financial ability to outstrip any rivals on the seas. The situation, therefore, is not altogether unredeemable.

In the meantime, it is important to remember that the Washington Agreement does not stand abrogated immediately and will not be so before the expiry of two years from the date of notification of withdrawal from agreement.

### *The Saar Plebiscite*

For a time it seemed as if the sensation attending the Japanese threat to naval peace and the Yugoslav-Hungarian dispute relating to the Marseilles murders would thrust into the background the Saar question as a first-rate international problem. But the worst of the storm in the former matters having now blown over, the Saar Plebiscite is coming into its own again as a tremendously important political atmospheric phenomenon.

The decision of the League Council to send an international force consisting of British, Italian, Dutch and Swedish contingents is a happy one. It has already assembled at Saarbrücken, and may be relied upon to keep peace during the anxious time before and after the Plebiscite. Though January 13 is near, barring a little incident nothing untoward has so far happened. As we go to Press considerable activity by the "German front" and parties supporting the *status quo* is reported. On the voting day a certain amount of ebullition is inevitable. To minimize the chances of rioting no political organizations will be allowed to work in the Saar at election time, and this includes pickets and canvassers.

Still one can never be sure of the Nazis. Unfair means to compel Saarlanders who oppose return to Germany to change their allegiance have been attempted. It will be unfortunate if some of these methods (more of which are to come) can successfully coerce a large number to the prejudice of the whole issue. In that case clearly a second plebiscite will be necessary.

But apart from the activities of the Nazi agents, any voting result that is not overwhelmingly on one side or another will give rise to serious problems. For the first time, a plebiscite is being held with *three* alternatives before the voters. Forecasts do not predict a decisive majority on any side. A second plebiscite will, therefore, appear necessary before a decision about the governance of the Saar Basin is taken. A peaceful settlement will entirely depend on Germany's willingness to abide by the final results. Up till now she had no occasion to complain of the arrangements made for holding the plebiscite.

### *Seats Allotted to Provinces in Federal Legislature*

In a previous note in this issue we have referred to the favour and disfavour shown in the J. P. C. Report to different provinces in the allocation of seats to them in the Federal Council of State and the Federal House of Assembly, which may be a means of sowing dissensions among the provinces. The following tables compiled from the Report, Vol. I, Part I, page 127 and page



346, give a definite idea of this unequal treatment :

#### FEDERAL COUNCIL OF STATE

Province	Population	Total Number of Seats
Madras	46,575,670	20
Bombay	17,916,296	16
Bengal	50,122,550	20
United Provinces	48,408,763	20
Panjab	23,580,852	16
Bihar	32,400,000	16
C. P. & Berar	15,507,723	8
Assam	8,662,251	5
N.-W. F. P.	2,425,076	5
Sind	3,887,067	5
Orissa	6,700,000	5

#### FEDERAL HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Province	Population	Total Number of Seats
Madras	46,575,670	37
Bombay	17,913,296	30
Bengal	50,122,550	37
United Provinces	48,408,763	37
Panjab	23,580,852	30
Bihar	32,400,000	30
C. P. & Berar	15,507,723	15
Assam	8,662,251	10
N.-W. F. P.	2,425,076	5
Sind	3,887,067	5
Orissa	6,700,000	5

#### *Rabindranath Tagore At Opening of Benares Montessori School*

The following speech was delivered by Rabindranath Tagore at the opening of the Montessori School, Rajghat, Benares on the 2nd December, 1934 :

My young friends,

Let me assure you that the child within me is still actively alive. I cannot prove it by addressing you from this higher platform and solemnly posing as a distinguished visitor, frightening you into proper behaviour. But take it from me that if I had the opportunity to find my place in your midst I could easily share your life and your dreams. Do not be deceived by my grey exterior but keep your judgment in suspense till you are able to read my writings which contain spontaneous records of my confessions. There you will find expressions of a mind which refuses to grow old and callous in its touch with the great world to which we have been born. No doubt I am compelled to perform serious duties that help me to maintain my prestige of a mature age among the community of the grown-ups, but the best part of my activity has the inconsequential character of a mere play, fashioning structure of phantasy with airy

nothings. It is in answer to the messages which come directly to my naked heart from the colourful playground of creation, where ever crowd fleeting images, the play things of the Eternal, in the blue of the sky and the green of the earth.

I have often received garlands from my fellow beings in recognition of some service or other which they consider as useful, but I have felt every day of my life, mother Nature crowning me with her morning light and kissing me with her fragrantly tender breeze, not because I have done anything valuable but because I have loved her. I have lived in this great world not only as a member of a society or of a group but as a light-hearted vagabond, free to roam or rest in the immense courtyard of this brown earth, chequered with lights and shadows. I have lived into the mystery of its being. You must not despise me because I may know less mathematics than you do, but I have come to the secret of existence not through any analytical mazes of exploration, but as a child approaching its mother's chamber. Because of this I stand close to you, the young hearts whom my heart recognises as its fellow voyagers in the open road of light and life. This is by way of my introduction to you as a poet in which capacity I may claim my entry into the pure-blooded aristocracy of the child. I know you do not fully understand my works, but you may safely ignore them for they do not in any way affect you in your examination result. Yet I feel certain that this much you have realized from my talk that I have tried to approach you as your friend and not as your instructor and this pure friendliness of mine may continue to offer you companionship in my literary works when you grow older. Other distinguished visitors will come to you in future in the guise of advisers relentlessly taking up a great deal more time than I have done and then you will remember me gratefully for the merciful manner in which I have treated you in this address of mine which is remarkably short considering the occasion that has claimed it.

#### *Christ's Continuous Crucifixion*

The following poem by Rabindranath Tagore in the *Visva-Bharati News* for December, 1934, should be perused by all who profess Christianity, particularly those in Europe, America, Africa and Asia who owe allegiance to imperialism and hold peoples in subjection and fight among themselves :

#### THE SON OF MAN

From His eternal seat

Christ comes down to this earth,  
where, ages ago, in the bitter cup of death

He poured his deathless life  
for those who came to the call  
and those who remained away.

He looks about him,  
and see the weapons of evil  
that wounded his own age,—  
the arrogant spikes and spears the slim  
sly knives,

the scimitar in diplomatic sheath,  
crooked, and cruel,  
are hissing and raining sparks  
as they are sharpened on monster wheels.



### *Burman Majority Against Separation*

(d) The safeguards are not in Burma's interests.

(f) The proposed constitution is based on distrust, and will perpetuate Britain's political and economic domination of Burma.

So far as executions *en masse* go, there is not much to choose between the dictatorship of one man as in Germany and the dictatorship of the proletariat as in Russia. Readers of newspapers may compare what took place in Germany some time ago with the following later executions in Russia:

Five other accused are under further examination.—*Reuter.*

Rabindra was in equal guilt with Bhawani in this attempt on the life of the Governor. The difference between Bhawani and Rabindra was this that Bhawani said that he was sorry that the Governor was living unhurt, while Rabindra was sorry for the attempt he made on the life of the Governor. So far as this court could judge, Rabindra's contrition was sincere, but that made no difference to his offence, while this court was sitting as a court of justice and administering the law. The offence was a serious one and this court saw no justification in interfering with the sentence. As the commissioners had



remarked that it might be a matter for prerogative of mercy but that was a matter for another authority and not this court.

### *A Terrorist Debauchee*

The following passages occur in the judgment of the Chief Justice :

Monoranjan was the main spring of the working out of this outrage. He ingratiated and influenced himself into the house of Suresh Majumdar (father of Ujjala) and during his absence, seduced and debauched his daughter. The court could think of no conduct more reprehensible than that of Monoranjan.

The Chief Justice observed that the position of the girl accused Ujjala was a sad one. In their opinion she was under the domination of Monoranjan who completely debased her not only for sexual purposes but for criminal purposes as well. At the same time their Lordships thought that she knew what she was doing and was a consenting party.

The sentence of transportation for life passed on her was set aside and the Court substituted the sentence of 14 years' R. I. both on the charge of conspiracy to murder the Governor and to obtain fire-arms, which sentence the Court thought proper, considering the circumstances of the case.

### *Towards Irish Independence*

DUBLIN, Dec. 19.

The Dail by 51 votes to 36 votes passed today the final stage of the Citizenship Bill.

Mr. Frank MacDermott (United Ireland Party) declared that the Bill was a bogus step towards the thirty-two Counties of the Republic, which was unattainable.

Mr. de Valera, replying, declared that the Bill aimed at removing from the Irish law any suggestion that the Irish were British subjects. They could not alter the British Act, but, if the British would remove from their statute the suggestion that Free State subjects were claimed as British subjects, the Free State would welcome such a step.

Continuing, Mr. de Valera said that the Bill removed a common status as far as the Irish law was concerned, but unfortunately they could not get the British to release the grip which they had always had upon the Irish people by regarding them as British subjects.—*Reuter*.

One has to see what the British Government does to prove practically that the Irish are British subjects.

### *A London "Times" Lie*

The London *Times* has kept up its reputation for lying when necessary by asserting in a leading article on December 20 last that "the recommendations of the Select Committee are based on the principle of giving justice to every community at the expense of none." (Italics ours.) The fact is, wherever any weightage has been

given to any community, it has been given at the expense of some other community or communities. The Prime Minister Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald made it quite clear in his speech in the House of Commons in 1931 in connection with the so-called Round Table Conference that weightage given to any community must be at the expense of some other community when he said :

"It is very difficult to convince these very delightful people (the advocates of communal representation with weightage) that if you give one community weightage, you cannot create weightage out of nothing. You have to take it from somebody else."

As regards "giving justice to every community, what justice has been given to the Hindus? Have the Hindus of British India as a whole received justice? They have not, as the following figures will show :

The total population of British India minus Burma is 256,672,138, of these 177,157,035 are Hindus. Deducting 40,254,567 Depressed Class Hindus, we get 136,902,459 as the number of the "Caste" Hindus. They form the biggest group by themselves. But they alone are not entitled to the "General" seats. Parsis, Buddhists, Jains, Jews, Animists, and others share these seats with them. These latter number 91742, 342161, 408622, 17625, 4666634 and 1538015 respectively in British India. So that for the "General" seats there are altogether 143,967,258 claimants.

It has been stated above that the total population of British India minus Burma is 256,627,138. The 143,967,258 claimants for the "General" seats are thus more than half the total population of British India, Burma excluded. The 136,902,459 "Caste" Hindus alone are also more than half the total population of British India, excluding Burma. Even if Burma were included, the total number of claimants (143,967,258) to the "General" seats, would be the majority in British India. Hence they ought to have got more than half the total number of seats provided for British India. In any case they ought to have got at least half the seats. But in the Federal Assembly, out of 250 British Indian seats only 105 have been allotted to them. Thus the majority has been converted into a minority !

This is giving justice with a vengeance !

As an example of the justice given to



the Hindus in the provinces, take the case of the Bengal Hindus. Whilst in every province where Muhammadans are in a minority they have got weightage, in Bengal the Hindus, who are a minority, have not been given even the number of representatives which they would be entitled to on the mere basis of population. And on any other consideration, they would be entitled to a larger number of seats than the Muhammadan majority, as the following extract from Lord Zetland's note explaining the reasons why he wanted the allotment of seats proposed by the J. P. C. for the different communities in Bengal to be amended :

"When the relative position of the two communities in Bengal in everything except actual numbers is taken into account, it will be seen that the reasons against placing the Hindu community in a position of permanent statutory inferiority in the legislature are particularly strong. Under British rule the Hindus have played an enormously predominant part in the intellectual, the cultural, the political, the professional and the commercial life of the province. More than 64 per cent. of those who are literate in Bengal are Hindus; nearly 80 per cent. of the students attending High Schools, nearly 83 per cent of those in Degree classes, and nearly 86 per cent of the postgraduate and research students are Hindus. A similar preponderance is found in the case of the profession, and in the case of Banking, Insurance and Exchange." Vol. I, Part II, p. 340, J. P. C. Report.

### *Breaking and Explaining Away British Pledges*

Major D. Graham Pole, who is vice-chairman and honorary secretary of the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs, sent a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* detailing the exact terms of some of the pledges that have been made to India by the British King and statesmen and pointing out how they have been sought to be explained away. Major Graham Pole starts with what even Mr. Winston Churchill himself said fourteen years ago.

(1) Mr. Churchill when he held high office in the Cabinet as Secretary of State for the Dominions and Colonies at the time of the Imperial Conference in 1921, said (as appears on p. 1792 of the minutes of evidence taken before the Joint Select Committee):

India was now coming into our affairs and councils as a partner, a powerful partner. We well knew how tremendous was the contribution which India made in the war in 1914, how when there was no other means of filling a portion of the front by men

from any other part of the whole world there came the two splendid Indian corps which were almost annihilated in the mud and the shell fire of that terrible winter in Flanders.

But the most important part of his speech from the point of view of India—and the speech was made to representatives of the Dominions and of India—was as follows :

We owed India that deep debt and we looked forward confidently to the days when the Indian Government and people would have assumed fully and completely their Dominion status.

Mr. Winston Churchill said ten years later that he used the words "Dominion status" on that occasion in a ceremonial sense—whatever that may mean,—and he told the Joint Select Committee that he was merely making "what politicians often have to do, an agreeable speech upon a festive occasion." So in Mr. Churchill's opinion on festive occasions one may tell what are practically lies ! He went on to say :

No member of the Cabinet meant, contemplated, or wished to suggest the establishment of a Dominion Constitution for India in any period which human beings ought to take into account.

(2) The instrument of instructions from H. M. the King Emperor to the Governor-General of India, dated March 15, 1921, contains these words :

For above all things it is our will and pleasure that the plans laid by our Parliament . . . may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain its due place among our Dominions.

(3) The present Prime Minister on July 2, 1928, used these words :

I hope that within a period of months rather than years there will be a new Dominion added to the commonwealth of our nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within this Commonwealth. I refer to India.

(4) Lord Irwin, when he was Viceroy, on October 31, 1929, speaking with the full authority of the British Cabinet, said that it was "implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion status."

(5) Mr. Baldwin, in the debate in the House of Commons on November 7, 1929, said :

Nobody knows what Dominion status will be when India has responsible government, whether that date be near or distant; but surely no one dreams of a self-governing India with an inferior status. No Indian would dream of an India with an inferior status, nor can we wish that India should be content



with an inferior status, because that would mean that we had failed in our work in India.

The Constitution that is now being discussed is said to confer "responsible government" on India, yet in it there is to be no mention of Dominion status.

5) The present Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, as recently as August 28, 1933, said :

This Government's policy has been completely consistent with two main facts—to push on with the reforms as hard as they could go so as to help India forward to Dominion status and absolute equality with the other Dominions; secondly, to insist on order and obedience to the law of the land.

And again, speaking at Madras, in December, 1933 :

Every action I have taken has been for one purpose only—to secure a satisfactory and peaceful atmosphere and to push forward constitutional reforms in order to help forward India to the goal of absolute equality with the other Dominions within the Empire—the goal for which I have worked ever since I was associated with India.

In the House of Commons on Monday, during the debate on the Joint Committee's report, Sir J. Wardlaw-Milne, the chairman of the Conservative M. P.s' India Committee, said :

No pledge given by any Secretary of State or any Viceroy has any real legal bearing on the matter at all. The only thing that Parliament is really bound by is the Act of 1919.

It is because of that attitude by responsible members of Parliament that the Indian "delegates," in their memorandum to the Joint Committee, said :

Indian public opinion has been profoundly disturbed by the attempts made during the last two or three years to qualify the repeated pledges given by responsible Ministers on behalf of his Majesty's Government. Since it is apparently contended that only a definite statement in an Act of Parliament would be binding on future Parliaments, and that even the solemn declaration made by his Majesty the King-Emperor on a formal occasion is not authoritative, we feel that a declaration in the preamble is essential in order to remove present grave misgivings and avoid future misunderstandings.

The late Lord Lytton as long ago as May 3, 1878, when he was Viceroy of India, wrote to the Secretary of State :

I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear.

Major Graham Pole concludes his letter by

asking : "Are these words not as applicable today as they were then ?"

In its issue of the 13th December, 1934, in which the letter appears, *The Guardian* writes, referring to the letter :

It is certainly difficult to know why all the half-promises on Dominion status we have given to India; promises recapitulated in a letter from Mr. Graham Pole on another page to-day, should not have some documentary recognition in the Bill. Such recognition would please India as a surety of our sincerity and would leave no British "interest" a penny the worse.

So in the opinion of *The Manchester Guardian* all the pledges were only "half-promises" !

### *Number of Commissioners in Bengal Municipalities*

In the Presidency of Bengal, excluding Calcutta, there are 117 municipalities. The number of Commissioners varies from 30 in one to 9 in another. What is the principle which determines this variation in number ? Is it population ? Howrah claims the biggest population of 224,873 and there the Municipal Committee is constituted with 30 commissioners or one for 7496. Dacca, which comes next with 138,518 persons, has 21 Commissioners, while several municipalities with much less population are favoured with bigger committees.

Municipality.	Population.	Commissioners
Darjeeling	.. 19,903	27
Berhampur	.. 27,403	25
Pabna	.. 21,904	24
Burdwan	.. 39,618	22
Bally	.. 30,347	22

Six municipalities enjoy the privilege of having 21 Commissioners each, and their population varies from 138,518 to 14,819 :

Municipalities	Population
Dacca	.. 138,518
Chittagong	.. 53,156
Barisal	.. 35,716
Rajshahi	.. 27,046
Dinajpore	.. 19,156
Bogra	.. 14,819

Here is a group with the population varying between 30 and 40 thousand persons :

Municipalities.	Population.	Commissioners.
Burdwan	.. 39,618	22
South-Suburban	.. 39,499	12
Serampore	.. 39,056	16
Baranagor	.. 37,050	13
Barisal	.. 35,716	21
Narainganj	.. 34,189	12
Hooghly-Chinsura	32,634	18



Municipality.	Population.	Commissioners.
Serajganj ..	32,467	18
Midnapore ..	32,021	18
Bankura ..	31,703	15
Comilla ..	31,365	18
Asansol ..	31,286	12
Naihati ..	30,908	18
Mymensingh ..	30,480	18
Bally ..	30,347	15
Kamarhatti ..	30,334	13

Be it noted here that two municipalities which have a higher population than any in the above group have to be satisfied with a comparatively poor number of Commissioners :

Municipalities.	Population.	Commissioners.
Bhatpara ..	85,975	19
Tittagarh ..	49,584	10

The Commissioners here are all nominated. Persons who can vote in Assembly and Council elections are denied the privilege of electing representatives in the municipalities!

Now, is the number of Commissioners fixed according to the incidence of taxation per head of population? The following table does not show that it is so.

Municipalities	Incidence of taxation Rs. A. P.	Commissioners
Darjeeling ..	12 14 10	27
Kurseong ..	8 11 11	12
Dum-Dum ..	8 3 9	9
Howrah ..	7 2 ½	30
Narayangunge ..	4 15 0	12
Hooghly-Chinsura	4 5 7	18
Chittagong ..	4 5 1	21
Burdwan ..	4 4 4	22
Berhampore ..	4 4 0	25
Uttarpara ..	4 0 0	12

Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Self-government take the public into his confidence and declare the principle on which the number of members in each municipal Committee is fixed?

### *The King-Emperor's Christmas Greetings to the Empire*

According to Reuter's cabled summary of His Majesty the King-Emperor's Christmas greetings to the empire,

The King referred to the international and national anxieties and said he was convinced that if we met them in the spirit of one family, we should overcome them, for then private and party interests would be controlled by care for the whole community.

In a special greeting to the dominions, the King said: 'Through them, the family has become a fellowship of free nations, and they have carried into their own homes the memories and traditions of the mother-country. With them I bear in my heart today the peoples of my far distant colonies.'

In earnest remarks to the peoples of India, the King said: 'Let my voice bring the assurance of my constant care for them and my desire that they too may ever more fully realize and value their own place in the unity of the one family. If I may be regarded as in some true sense the head of the great and widespread family, this would be full reward for the long, and, sometimes anxious labours of my reign of well-nigh 25 years.'

It is quite true that the dominions are members of one family, that through them that family has become a fellowship of free nations, and that Britain is their mother-country. If India also be said to have a place in the household of her mistress (not mother) Britain and her children the dominions, it is as a servant.

### *"Measure of Advance" Conceded by J. P. C. Proposals!*

According to a British Official Wireless, "a thorough study of the report is bringing home to Indian opinion the measure of advance conceded by the proposals" contained in the Joint Select Committee's Report. This is an astounding statement. It is not a discovery but an invention. The more Indians study the Report the greater becomes their dissatisfaction with every part of it. Not a single case can be cited of any Indian who had at first entertained an unfavourable opinion of the Report but who has afterwards come to change it. Lying has become habitual with some newsmongers who send out items for "home" and foreign consumption.

### *Janakinath Bose*

The late Mr. Janakinath Bose, father of Messrs. Sarat Chandra Bose, Subhas Chandra Bose and their brothers and sisters, breathed his last after a protracted illness on the 3rd December last. He lost his father in early boyhood but went on with his studies with industry and perseverance. The great religious reformer Keshub Chunder Sen appreciated his merits and gave him considerable help to enable him to go on with his studies.

After graduation, Janakinath joined the staff of the General Assembly's Institution (now known as the Scottish Church College), where he was a lecturer in history for some time. But law was his forte and he availed himself of the earliest opportunity of leaving the college for the Bar. He went to Cuttack

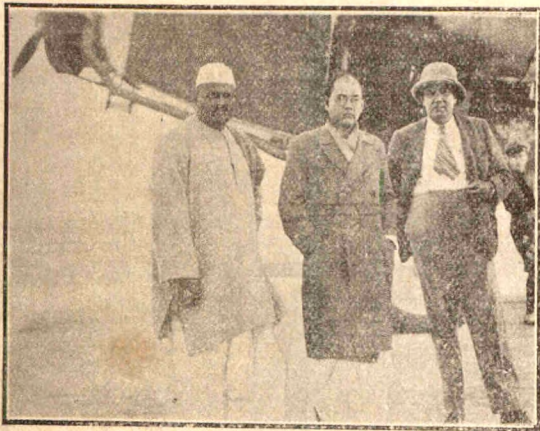


and began practising as a lawyer. He soon rose to prominence and had an extensive practice in the province of Bihar and Orissa. In recognition of his legal acumen Government made him the Government Pleader of Cuttack and conferred the title of 'Rai Bahadur' on him.

During the heyday of the Non-Co-Operation movement Mr. Bose renounced the title of 'Rai Bahadur' and took the vow of 'Swadeshi,' which he kept till the last moment of his life.

### *Government's Treatment of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose*

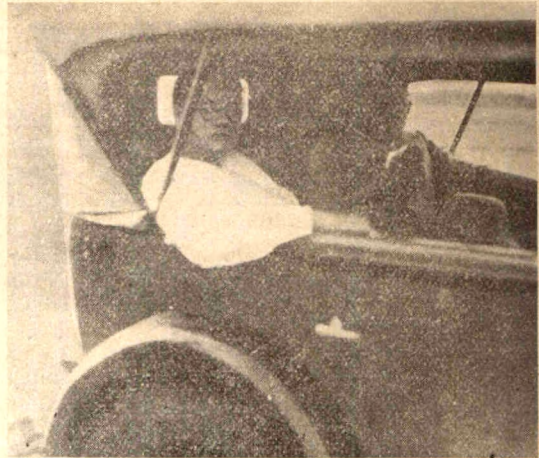
The caption of this note refers not to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's detention without trial before he left for Europe for medical treatment, but to more recent incidents.



Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose (middle) at Bamrauli Air Station, Allahabad.

When his father was on his death-bed his mother cabled to him at Vienna to return at once by aeroplane to Calcutta to see his father and requested the Government to make the necessary arrangements for visa for his return. The Government did not do the needful, but the British consul at Vienna on seeing Mr. Bose's mother's cable gave him the visa required, enabling him to start for Calcutta by air mail. On reaching Karachi he received the mournful news of the demise of his father, and his belongings were searched by the police and a copy of the typed MSS., of his latest work, on the Indian struggle for

freedom, was seized. Perhaps that is not the only copy. When he reached the Calcutta



Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose leaving Dum Dum Aerodrome under Police escort.

air station at Dum Dum, the police drove him under guard to his home and interned him there. As the law stands, the police can do all the things done to him. But the public would like to know the offence of which he had been guilty after leaving India for which he has been made a prisoner. For it is well known that "the Government was pleased to withdraw the order of detention under Regulation III of 1818 on him at the time of his departure" from Bombay to Europe. That was taken to imply "that he would be at perfect liberty to return to India whenever he liked."

After the order of home internment had been served on him he was informed later that he must leave India for Europe within a week of his arrival here. One would like to know what law or regulation gives Government the power to exile a man to Europe without or even after trial. Those who are sentenced to transportation are sent to the Andaman islands, which are not situated in Europe.

Mr. Bose is said to have sent a representation to Government in the course of which, among other things,

As to the present treatment meted out to him by the authorities immediately on his arrival in Bengal the other day Mr. Bose is stated to have



asked on what ground such an action was taken by the Government and what had he done since his release on February 23, 1933 to merit such a treatment at the hands of the Government.

In spite of the present shattered state of his health, Mr. Bose far prefers to fate of passing his days in a long term of imprisonment without trial to the prospect of enjoying freedom abroad as a permanent exile. Mr. Bose says that he is 'determined' not to be exiled from his motherland to whose services he has dedicated the whole of his life. Regardless, therefore, of the tragic consequences that may result from his long incarceration without trial Mr. Bose would accept this alternative with equanimity and resignation.

During the period of mourning of a Hindu, which in the case of all castes is longer than a week, he can take only vegetarian diet free from meat, fish or fat, cooked by himself or certain near relatives, he must go barefooted and must not wear sewn garments. As a Hindu Mr. Bose has been observing these injunctions strictly. This would not have been possible if he had to leave in a hurry. Before Government ordered him to leave India in or within a week, did they consult any Hindu advisers? If they did, what advice did they receive? If they did not consult any Hindu advisers, why not? Government had been well-advised in not enforcing the order.

There are some humane and human aspects of the incidents on which we have not dwelt, for the administrative *machinery* cannot take into account the feelings of a disconsolate mother at having to part with her son so soon after becoming a widow.

### *Rejuvenation Specialist's Visit to Bose Research Institute*

Professor Serge Voronoff, the eminent physiologist, famous as the specialist in rejuvenation, paid a visit to the Bose Research Institute on his arrival in Calcutta. He watched in detail the inner activities of life which have for the first time been revealed by Sir J. C. Bose by the introspective method, combined in a unique manner with the great sensitiveness of the various instruments invented and constructed at the Institute.

Sir J. C. Bose's work has, according to the distinguished visitor, created the most profound impression in the present biological outlook, opening out vast possibilities in various directions.

But, the professor said, the experimental methods were so fine that one could hardly believe in their possibility until one saw the workings with one's own eyes.

In describing his impressions of his visit to the Institute, Dr. Voronoff writes :

"One of the objects of my visit to the East was to see Sir J. C. Bose, the eminent biologist, and I may say that my visit to the Bose Research Institute gave me the greatest impression of my life.

"Though I have read all his works and was greatly impressed by them, yet that impression is nothing compared to what I felt when I critically followed step by step the different stages of the actual demonstrations, in some of which I actually took part.

"I saw by means of his marvellously delicate instruments the carbon assimilation of plants, the growth of the plants, the effects of drugs on automatic pulsations in plants, the exact measurement of the speed of excitation in plants analogous to nervous impulse in animals, the mechanism of ascent of sap and numerous other vital activities in plants recorded by some of his instruments, which magnify more than several million times.

"Sir J. C. Bose who is justly famous in the West, has found the real secrets of the inner life of plants, which I regard as one of the most marvellous discoveries in Biology."

### *Year-end Conferences*

Every year during its last week numerous conferences are held in this country. In former years the annual session of the Indian National Congress in this week threw every other conference into the background. The latter, some of them of great importance, continue to be held. It is not possible for us to comment in detail on their proceedings. As we have to go to press when some of them are still in session, we cannot even refer to them in this issue.

### *Prabasi Banga-Sahitya Sammelan*

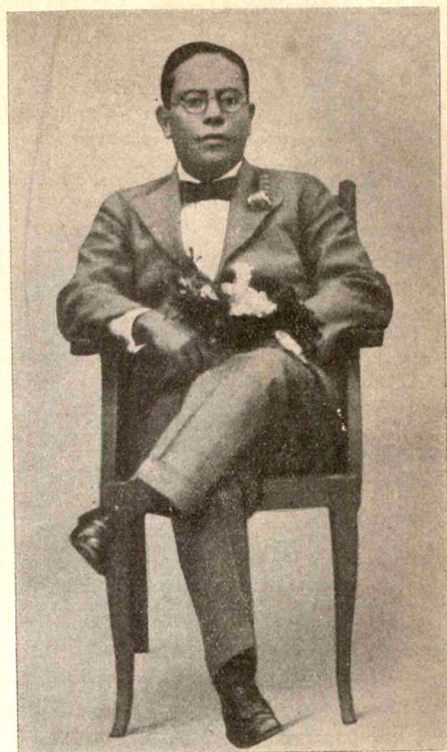
The annual Re-union and Conference of Bengalis in and outside Bengal, known as "Prabasi Banga-sahitya Sammelan," was briefly described in our last number, pp. 749-50. Calcutta was chosen as the place where its 12th session, in 1934, would be held, and so its first function was held at the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad hall on the 26th December last.

The delegates and members of the Reception Committee of the Sammelan were present at an Exhibition of books, manuscripts, paintings at the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad yesterday afternoon. Sir P. C. Roy opened the Exhibition with a speech welcoming the delegates and he was followed by





Sir Lal Gopal Mukherji,  
General President of the Session



Prof. Dr. Biman Behari De,  
President, Science Section



Mr. Kedarnath Banerji,  
President, Literature Section



Srimati Sailabala Devi,  
President, Ladies' Section





Prof. Nishi Kanta Sen,  
President, Philosophy Section



Prof. Dr. Bhanubhusan Das Gupta,  
President, Economics Section



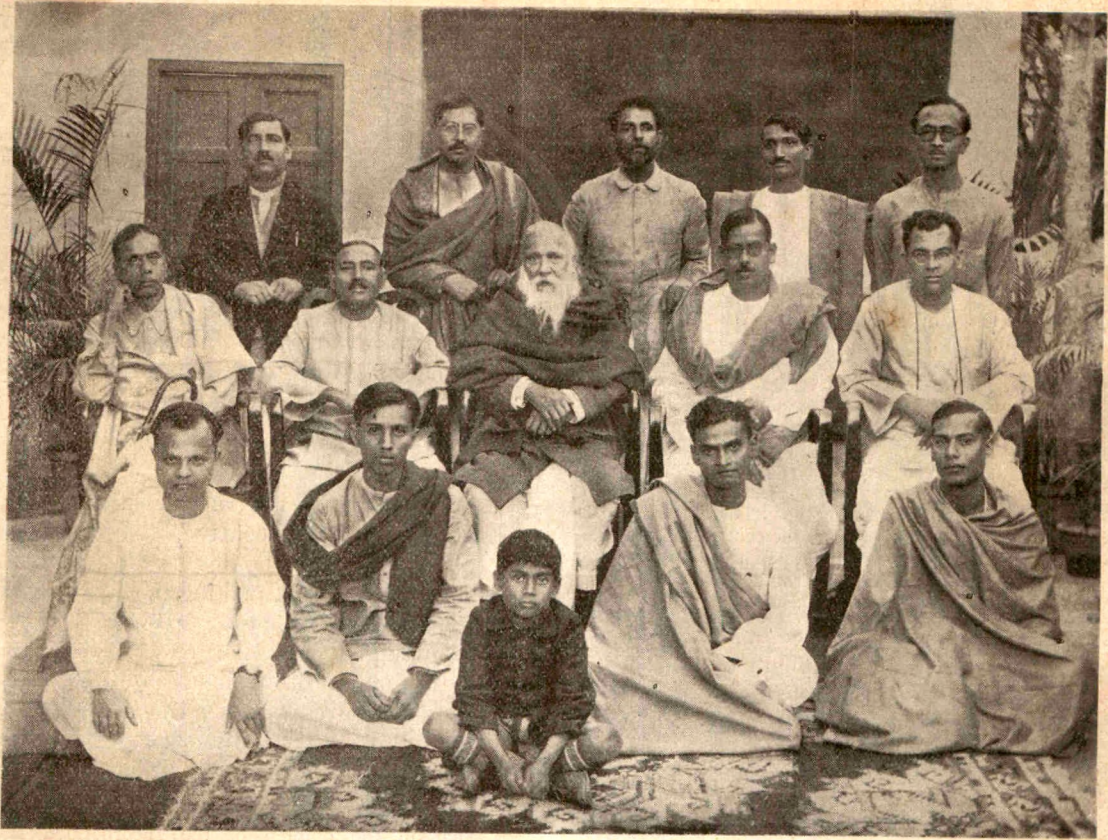
Prof. Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkar,  
President, Education Section



Principal Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury,  
President, Arts Section



## NOTES



Some members of the Reception Committee, 12th Prabasi Banga-Sahitya Sammelan.

*Standing* : Naresh Chandra Roy, Jyotis Chandra Ghosh, Akshay Kumar Nandi, Surendra Nath Niyogi, Diptendu Pramanik. *Sitting* : Prof. Jogesh Chandra Mitra, Dr. S. C. Roy, Ramananda Chatterjee, Prof. Priya Ranjan Sen, Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. *Squatting* : Brajendra Nath Sen, Jamini Kanta Bhattacharya, Sudhangsu Bikash Ray Chaudhuri, Suresh Chandra Chakravarti.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Rai Bahadur Khagendra Nath Mitra on behalf of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad invited the delegates to a reception to be held on the 30th December.

From the Sahitya Parishad the delegates were taken to the Vaidya Sastra Pith, Vivekananda Road, and here in the tastefully decorated premises of the Sastra Pith they were regaled with music and light refreshments. Kaviraj Bimalananda Tarkartha in a very able speech traced the history of the origin of the Vaidya Sastra Pith.

The main proceedings of the 12th session of the Sammelan were opened on the 27th December in the Calcutta Town Hall by the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, before a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen, many of whom had come from distant all parts of India. The hall was sparingly but very tastefully decorated for the occasion.

Alike in thought, diction and delivery the Poet's speech was magnificent.

### *Philosophical Congress*

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian Philosophical Congress, delivered an address at Waltair, which was characteristically forceful, pointed and practical. He demanded, at least it so appears from his speech, that more attention should be paid to the soul and spirit of man than to what we may call the commonplaces of Humanitarianism; such as, shall we say, general betterment of living conditions, freedom of individual preferences in matters that are not of political importance, etc. etc. In Sir Radhakrishnan's opinion

Mechanised Utopias of cheap food and easy virtue like the proletarian paradise of Lenin or the universe limited of H. G. Wells, if achieved, will be perfect like Orlando's mare: only they will have the one defect of being not alive. They will not contribute to the building up of human personality.



Our human personality, as dissociated from the rest of ourselves, is a difficult thing to handle, when it comes to stimulating its growth. It is a less ambitious and, perhaps, more necessary programme to stimulate improvement in our body and general material environment. That is why, we believe, the more numerous and lesser reformers, like Lenin, always leave the personality of the Masses more or less alone, and try to provide cheaper food for them. Sir Radhakrishnan, of course, ascribes this to our blindness. He says :

If we could see minds and souls as vividly as we see bodies, we would be appalled at their condition in men and women belonging to civilized humanity. Many of the minds are of stunted growth, a good number distorted and crippled and quite a few definitely monstrous. When the leaders of thought and practice attempt to reconstruct society, they should be careful to eliminate this process of mangling and dwarfing of souls and help the development of the spirit in man.

So that, although the price of food is fairly high and virtue rather difficult in most communities, this has not led to any improvement in man's spirit and soul. There is also no evidence that cheaper food and easier virtue have accentuated this famine of personality.

### *Tea Cess Committee's Propaganda*

We learn from a press report :

The Indian Tea Cess Committee will shortly start an intensive campaign to popularize tea drinking in different parts of India with the help of a mobile talkie outfit.

Installed on a closed motor van, the outfit provides a compact unit comprising an up-to-date sound-recording apparatus, a cinema projector, a gramophone, an amplifier and other paraphernalia for the showing of synchronized films of popular interest about tea. A trailer is attached to the van fitted with a generating motor plant.

We have no opinion to offer on the usefulness of such propaganda so far as it may or may not bring profit to Tea planters. Generally speaking, of course, the drinking of tea is neither a great virtue nor is it a vice. It does not improve a man's physique, nor does it injure it when taken moderately. It has also certain good points, in so far as it helps to make men more sociable and to keep them off harmful habits. However, our point in commenting on the Tea Cess Committee's business programme, is not to discuss the merits and demerits of tea drinking, but to suggest

that such a nationwide propaganda, when undertaken, may also be used for purposes which will benefit the nation greatly. If along with teaching the people to drink tea, the same mechanism can also be used to teach them hygiene, sanitation, social virtues, popular science, cottage industries, etc. etc., their loss from learning a new luxury may be fully counter-balanced. This will also help the Tea Cess Committee in a business way ; for by introducing into their programme items of public benefit, they will gain the sympathy of the nation. It will remove from propaganda its purely selfish colouring.

### *The High Court Under the New Constitution*

In any useful and true constitution the separation of the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislative bodies is an essential thing. Any attempt at making the Legislature subservient to the executive creates a tyranny and any attempt by the Executive to apportion to itself too much of Judicial power leads to out and out bureaucracy. In the light of this the following resolution passed by the Incorporated Law Society of Calcutta should be interesting :

"That in the opinion of the Incorporated Law Society of Calcutta the changes proposed in the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian constitutional Reform affecting the constitution, powers and status of the Calcutta High Court would be highly prejudicial to the administration of law and justice unless they are exercised by the Government of India. In particular, the Society is of opinion that the proposal for throwing open the post of Chief Justice to the members of the Indian Civil Service, the proposal for abolishing the ratio of Barristers, Advocates and members of the Indian Civil Service regarding the constitution of the Bench of the High Courts would be highly derogatory to the prestige, status and powers of the High Courts and are bound to undermine the faith of the people of India in the position of the High Court as a bulwark of popular liberty and would be fraught with grave danger to the future Government of the country."

### *Jute Restriction*

The question of restricting the cultivation of jute with a view to relieve the present distress of the trade has long been occupying the mind of the Government. Accordingly a scheme of restriction is under consideration, under which an effort will be made to stimulate voluntary restriction by means of propaganda carried out by the combined



effort of various governmental departments. A special officer to co-ordinate all such activities is suggested. The Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, however, do not think the scheme of much value. We reproduce below a letter that they have written to the Department of Agriculture and Industry, Bengal. It is important in view of the fact that the majority of Jute cultivators are Muslims, and, any opposition by that community to the Government scheme, would nullify expectations. The letter reads as follows :

In September last the Department of Agriculture and Industry, Government of Bengal, issued a *communiqué* on the jute restriction scheme based on the recommendation of the Jute Inquiry Committee.

The Government propose to appoint a special officer whose duty it would be to co-ordinate propaganda work in the districts. He is expected to go to the jute-growing districts where under his guidance the work will be conducted through district officers and local bodies. His duty would, however, be merely to encourage and supervise the scheme and to see that it is being worked out smoothly.

It is intended to organize voluntary associations which would induce jute-growers to restrict their crops. Additional officers are to be appointed to the heavy jute-growing districts so that the work may be carried out efficiently. It is expected that executive officers as well as those belonging to the Revenue, Registration, Co-operative, Agriculture, Veterinary and Public Health Departments will co-operate.

The Committee of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, after giving their full consideration to the scheme, agree with the Rural Development Commissioner that for the year 1935 any compulsory scheme to be based on and enforced purely by legislation must be ruled out of consideration and that the necessary data, on the accuracy of which would to a large extent depend its success, cannot be collected in such a short time.

Nor would a scheme of compensation be practicable in the present state of the finances of the province. The Committee also think that, apart from the question of finances, it would not be advisable for the Government in the present state of the world trade to operate in the open market to purchase surplus stocks or to fix a minimum price or to raise it. But they feel that the scheme is open to criticism on other grounds.

The Government have not given any assurance that they are determined to see the scheme succeed and that they would not hesitate to take powers by enacting suitable measures should they find that in any particular district or area the voluntary agreement was not being carried out faithfully nor were any methods devised by which the experience and the data gathered now may serve as a basis of suitable legislation in future should this be feasible without having to resort to any expensive machinery for the purpose.

The Committee, while not doubting that the Government would make every possible effort to make the scheme a success, feel that the possibility

of unwillingness and slackness of voluntary organizations cannot be ignored. A mere assurance that if necessary the scheme will be enforced by legislation would have the desired effect and prevent particular sections of jute-growers from getting advantage over others. In a matter like this too much reliance cannot be placed on any passing enthusiasm created by propaganda. A trade or price movement, however temporary, may shake the confidence of jute-growers and a stampede may follow and the scheme fail.

Bengal with some adjoining provinces enjoys a practical monopoly of the production of jute. Any scheme should, therefore, be capable of being made permanent if experience shows that it is practicable and in the interest of the cultivators. To do this it would be necessary to gather data. Instruction should be issued to the district authorities requiring the local bodies and voluntary organizations to keep proper records as far as possible, of the areas which have been excluded from the jute crop and the persons concerned.

Voluntary bodies and associations should be organized on business lines and should have an idea about the area they want to restrict and its distribution among the jute-growers. Such records would serve as a basis for any subsequent revision that may be necessary to remove the injustice that is bound to occur in a scheme like this in which the details of restriction have not been worked out. If this is not done jute-growers in areas in which voluntary associations have worked more intensively and successfully would be placed at a great disadvantage as compared to those who have not responded or agreed to restriction to the same extent.

Lastly, the Government have not fully appreciated the difficulties farmers are likely to meet in growing substitute crops. It is true that in 1931-32 such crops were grown in parts of the province, but as it was the result of the interplay of economic forces the question of comparative costs and proportionate profits was not relevant, as it would certainly be in the case of artificial restriction. What makes the problem more difficult is that the Government propose to grow crops like cotton, sugarcane, etc., the cultivation of which require experience and technical knowledge not easily acquired.

The Committee wish to make it perfectly clear that they are by no means opposed to the scheme of restriction and that they greatly appreciate the effect the Government are making for the amelioration of the conditions of cultivators. They, however, feel that even making allowances for the financial stringency and other difficulties the proposals do not go far enough and have not been worked out in sufficient detail.

It is evident that if the scheme of voluntary restriction works, the average price of the crop would tend to rise. This will tempt cultivators to avoid restriction and, as the Government will not enforce what they will advise, the scheme may end in a fiasco. Had there been any question of enforcement, either by means of controlling transportation or through financing bodies, the scheme would have had a better chance of success. Substitute crops yielding at least an equal return



in price to jute as it is priced now, are also rare. Moreover, ignorant peasants are usually not keen on crops beyond their experience.

A long time ago we pointed out in our Bengali journal, the *Prabasi*, that the only way to relieve the jute situation was to carry on propaganda inducing people to use jute for more varied purposes than they do at present. Jute can be used for turning out numerous articles of general use which are at present made of cotton and silk. A little patience and a few experiments might go a long way to increase the demand for jute. Unfortunately, little has been done in this line. We believe that if this idea is followed up energetically we shall soon have a large increase in the local consumption of jute.

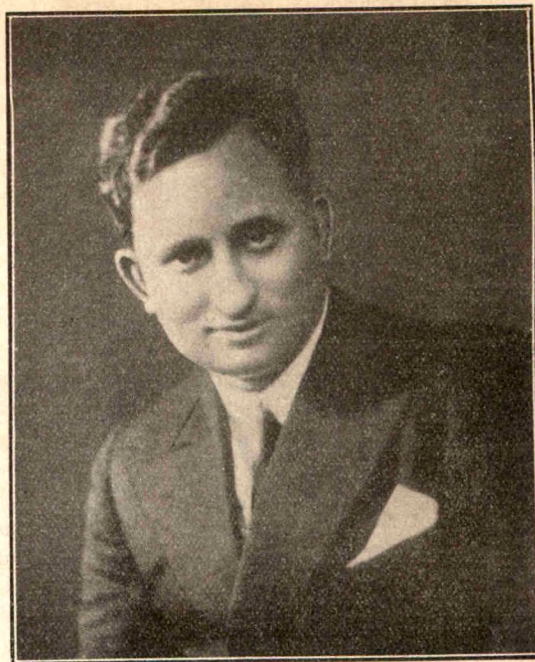
Jute can be used, we believe, in hundreds of ways if only we put our mind to it. The following few items will serve as illustrations. Others can be added.

1. Mattresses.
2. Upholstery (some Railways are using it for this purpose) material.
3. Waterproofs.
4. Footwear.
5. Curtains, awnings, shamianas, tents.
6. Partitions.
7. Durries, carpets, floor rags.
8. Cheap suitcases, attache cases, portfolios.
9. Experiment for paper pulp.
10. " " Toy making
11. " " Compressed fibre.
12. " " Book binding cloth.
13. " " Putties, caps, umbrellas.
14. To be used for clothes (at least for overalls)

We believe if a Committee is appointed to find out more uses for jute, the list will increase manifold. Once certain articles are made out of jute, other substitutes may be kept out by means of protective duties or even prohibition of import or manufacture.

#### Mr. K. D. Guha

Mr. K. D. Guha has been appointed Industrial Adviser to the Government of Ceylon. Mr. Guha received his training in Calcutta, Mysore, Glasgow and Germany. He leaves a record of strenuous and ardent work in the Industries Department of Bengal. His



Mr. K. D. Guha

experience and capacity for work should be of great value in his new post.

#### *The Joint Parliamentary Committee on Defence*

Almost every aspect of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report is examined in this issue of the *Modern Review* in specially written articles. The question of defence does not form part of this critical survey for two reasons. In the first place, our objection against this part of the Report is not against this or that detail, the modification or deletion of which might make the proposals more acceptable, but against the fundamental principle. Secondly, the question is taken beyond the plane of argument by the attitude of the Committee. The position taken up by the British-India Delegation in this matter was extremely moderate. Whilst nationalist opinion has always been insistent in its demand for the immediate transfer of the Department of Defence to Indian control the British-India Delegation admitted the necessity for the reservation of the department in British hands. What it



suggested in addition was that there should be some qualifications to the "irresponsibility" of the Governor-General. Even these proposals, put forward with moderation and ability and supported by acknowledged loyalists like the Aga Khan, have been turned down by the Joint Committee. After this point-blank refusal to come to an understanding with Indian opinion, arguments have all the appearance of impertinent futility.

One thing should, however, be said in fairness to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. And that is—its conclusions disappoint no hopes because so far as defence is concerned no hopes have ever been held out. There are indeed some individuals who look upon the declaration accepted at the Round Table Conference and incorporated in the White Paper that "the defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people, and not of the United Kingdom alone," as a pledge for a concrete plan for Indianization. These individuals would be hard to disillusion in any circumstance. But to all others the position with regard to the defence of India should be clear after the unambiguous declaration of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, if it has not been so already.

The principle enunciated in the Committee's Report is that "in the sphere of defence the Governor-General's responsibility will remain undivided and unimpaired and that the Department of Defence will be under his exclusive direction and control." His responsibility with respect to this Department "will be to the Secretary of State and thus ultimately to Parliament." This principle will find practical expression through the following arrangements. First, the Department of Defence will be administered directly by a Counsellor under the supervision and control of the Governor-General. Secondly, in order to avoid responsibility in any form to the popular legislature and popular ministers in respect of defence expenditure, Military Finance and the Military Accounts Department, which are now subordinate to the Finance Department of the Government of India and not to the Army Department, will under the future constitution be transferred to the Defence Department. As a necessary consequence of this arrangement the pay and pensions of the

defence personnel would not be submitted to the vote of the legislature. As the Report itself puts it: "There should be no room for misunderstanding on this point." Thirdly, the Governor-General will have powers to coerce any Department on the ministerial, *i. e.*, popular and responsible side if anything done by it should conflict with the policy of the Defence Department. Fourthly, the Governor-General will also possess the same powers in regard to provincial Governments. Should anything done in the provincial sphere conflict with the policy of the Defence Department, the views of the Governor-General must prevail and he will be given adequate means of giving effect to them.

It should be observed here that the arrangements proposed with regard to defence are in perfect keeping with the general constitutional principle underlying the coming change. What is intended by it is not only to introduce dyarchy at the centre, but, by introducing a qualified form of responsibility in certain spheres, to make the reserved departments still more irresponsible than they are at present. In this respect the provisions of the new constitution will be a definite retrogression on the existing state of affairs. Henceforth India will have two Governments instead of one. One of them will be absolutely autocratic so far as the people of India are concerned, and will into the bargain have the power to coerce the other Government which will be under popular control. The latter will not have the means even feebly to protest, and the only bond which will unite the two unequal sides will be the person of the Governor-General.

### *Suggestions of the British-Indian Delegation*

It cannot be said that the delegates from India with whom the Joint Committee discussed the constitutional proposals were blind to the implications of the new arrangements in the sphere of defence. They accordingly suggested that (1) the Governor-General's Counsellor in charge of the Department of Defence should always be a non-official Indian and preferably an elected member of the legislature or a representative of one of the States; (2) that the control now exercised by the Finance Member and



the Finance Department should be continued ; and that (3) all questions relating to army policy and the annual army budget should be considered by the entire ministry, including both Ministers and Counsellors, in the case of difference between whom the views of the Governor-General will prevail. In addition, it was also suggested that there should be an Indian Committee of Defence on the lines of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

These were admittedly moderate proposals which acknowledged the necessity of keeping the Defence Department for the time being in the more expert British hands, at the same time providing for the machinery which would allow Indians to familiarize themselves with the problems of defence and facilitate the ultimate transfer of the department to Indian control. This, however, does not seem to be the intention of the framers of India's new constitution. They reject the suggestions in each case on the following grounds :

(1) "As to the first point, we do not think that the Governor-General's choice ought to be fettered in any way and he must be free to select the man best fitted in his opinion for the post."

(2) "As to the second, . . . it seems to us a necessary corollary of the reservation of Defence that both of them [the Military Accounts Dept. and Military Finance] should be brought under the Department of Defence, since the responsibility for the expenditure which they supervise can only be that of the Governor-General."

(3) "As to the third point, we observe a proposal in the White Paper that the Governor-General's Instrument of Instructions should direct him to consult the Federal Ministers before the army budget is laid before the Legislature; and so long as nothing is done to blur the responsibility of the Governor-General it seems to us not only desirable in principle but inevitable in practice that the Federal Ministry and, in particular, the Finance Minister, should be brought into consultation before the proposals for Defence expenditure are finally settled."

With regard to the proposal for an Indian Committee of Defence, the Joint Committee observes :

"We are disposed to think that a body with statutory powers and duties might embarrass the Governor-General and even be tempted to encroach upon his functions. An advisory body . . . constituted at the Governor-General's discretion, would not be open to that criticism and might we think have many advantages . . . and, provided that the extent and methods of consultation are clearly understood to rest in the discretion of the Governor-General, we see no objection to the formation of any committee or committees that the Federal Government and Legislature may consider useful.

We feel, however, that this is essentially a question to be settled by them and not by the Constitution Act."

What is interesting in the Joint Committee's reasoning is that it should utterly fail to find any principle to pit against the proposals of the British-Indian Delegation except that of the Governor-General's responsibility or, better still, his irresponsibility. In every case the argument is that such and such a provision will interfere with, blur, or impinge on the responsibility of the Governor-General, and the Committee is incapable of perceiving that the responsibility of the Governor-General can only be the means to an end and not an end in itself and that it cannot be erected into a principle. Now, from the Indian point of view, the special responsibility of the Governor-General in regard to defence or any other matter can only be admitted if it is in India's interest, if it is exercised only because Indians are not just at the present moment properly qualified to undertake the task, and, above all, if there is provided at the same time the necessary machinery for the natural transfer of the responsibility at the end of the transitional or probationary period. The proposals of the Joint Committee in respect of defence satisfy none of these essential requirements. They provide for an autocracy on the reserved side at the centre which will be untempered even by the limited degree of influence over policy at present exercised by the Indian members of the Governor-General's Council.

We are unable to believe that the future Governor-General of India is going to be invested with these unlimited powers simply because the Joint Committee respects and wants to keep intact his responsibility. What is really meant by 'responsibility,' though it is not expressly said, is the responsibility of the British Government, whose local agent the Governor-General will be. It may be foretold with confidence that in future the military government of India will be more rigidly under the control of the imperial authorities than it is even today.

### *On a Certain Condescension in British Politicians*

While the Joint Parliamentary Committee is itself unable to make out an effective case



of its military recommendations, it is a pity it should indulge in a certain amount of condescension and patronage towards the suggestions of the British Indian delegation. Referring to the latter's plea for an Indian Committee of Defence on the lines of the Committee of Imperial Defence, the Committee observes: "We are not sure that its authors fully appreciate the position and functions of the latter, since it is not a statutory body and its value is perhaps increased by the elasticity of its constitution." But is its own ideas on the matter perfectly clear? In so far as it supports the idea of a committee—"an advisory body, similar to the Committee of Imperial Defence"—it seems to imply that such a committee will exist for the sake of securing willing co-operation of the ministerial and reserved departments. This is certainly not the function of the Committee of Imperial Defence, nor of the Defence Committees in the Dominions, and in suggesting the formation of an Indian committee we do not think Indian statesmen had a committee of this nature in mind. What we want in India is a greater knowledge of defence problems and the formation of the habit of handling and solving them. Such an object can only be realized by setting up a committee with functions exactly similar to that of the Committee of Imperial Defence, that is to say, a committee which will pass in review the strategical problems affecting India from day to day and co-ordinate the defensive schemes of the other parts of the British Empire and of India. It is not necessary that such a committee should be composed of non-official Indians alone. As a matter of fact, its educative purpose would be far better served if it is composed of military experts and civilians, both British and Indian, with a sprinkling of non-official members of the Central Legislature.

In putting forward this suggestion we are not overlooking the real difficulty in the way of its acceptance. Such a committee could not work unless and until the military authorities were prepared to repose some amount of confidence in Indians and for a frank discussion of the military stakes involved. There has never been any such discussion. Ignorance and inexperience for which Indians cannot be held responsible have prevented a thorough examination of the concrete problem

of defence on the Indian side. On the Government's side there has never been any disposition to take Indians into confidence or invite their co-operation even when they were willing and eager to serve their apprenticeship. 'Take everything on trust and no admittance' has been the notice over the military portal. To all appearance, things will remain so. This will not be so very surprising considering the circumstances. It is time we recognized the fact that, in the sphere of defence, British and Indian interests are too divergent to permit of a really frank interchange of views.

### *The J. P. C. Report & the Simon Report*

Evasion of real issues and speciousness are so characteristic of both the Joint Committee's Report and the Simon Commission's Report that it is not surprising to find the former paying a tribute to the sobriety and impressiveness of the military chapter in the latter. The Joint Committee takes care, however, to explain that its recommendations in regard to defence differ in their constitutional aspects from those of the Simon Commission, that is to say, while the Simon Commission suggested the total transfer of defence to Imperial authorities, India paying a fixed contribution towards the expenditure, the Joint Committee proposes that defence and defensive expenditure should be a reserved subject under the control of the Governor-General who will be responsible in this matter only to the Secretary of State and Parliament. We are inclined to call this the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee, but more cynical persons will probably be tempted to call it the difference between the wolf unabashed and the wolf disguised in sheep's clothing.

### *The Joint Committee Endorses the Theory of Martial Races*

As was to be expected from the confession of the Joint Committee that it was in complete agreement with the Statutory Commission "on the facts of the matter," it also endorses the theory of the martial classes. As a matter of fact, it permits itself a certain amount of eloquence on the subject. It writes:

"We are well aware that this difference is alleged to have no existence in fact or at least to have been exaggerated for political purposes; but no unprejudiced person can deny that it is there, and that it is beyond the power of Parliament to alter it. There are some things which even an Act of



works in, and spiritual values are beyond its scope; and something more than a section in a statute is required to eliminate racial differences or to breathe life into the elements which go to the making of a national army. Parliament can provide the conditions in which the creation of a homogeneous Indian nation may become possible; but the act of creation must be the work of Indian hands."

"That is exactly the question. No intelligent Indian denies that military inequalities exist today. But the question which he is entitled to ask and is asking is what is Parliament or the British people doing to remove these difference.

Unevenness of military quality and fitness is not a peculiarly Indian phenomenon. It exists within the body of every nation, though in India, owing to political and historical reasons both inherent and imposed from outside, the inequality has reached extreme proportions. But every nation tries to remove these inequalities and foster and husband its human resources. One may point to what is happening in Great Britain in support of this contention.

For the last ten years or so the army authorities in England have been meeting with the greatest difficulty in getting recruits even for their small standing army. Not only is the supply of recruits short of the requirements but most of those presenting themselves are undesirable in character, intelligence and physique. The disinclination of the able-bodied and eligible population of Great Britain to shoulder the burden of national defence is such that the "General Annual Report on the British Army" for the year ending September 30, 1924, was compelled to state:

"It is a matter of regret that the civil population in some parts of the country, especially in industrial areas, appear to adopt an attitude of apathy towards the Army and military affairs."

This chorus of regret is daily gaining in volume, and it seems that the military vocation by itself has no longer the lure it formerly possessed. In the recruiting posters of today it is the opportunities of sport and travel in a soldier's life rather than national service which are emphatically stressed.

Coupled with this paucity of recruits there is to be found in England a progressive physical deterioration of the classes from which the army is recruited. This deterioration is so marked that even before the war a committee was appointed to enquire into

its causes, and the "Report on the Health of the Army" for 1911 stated:

"As in former years, the greater majority of recruits raised were growing youths, and a large proportion of them were out of work, so that, as a consequence, many were in poor condition and exhibited the general want of maturity which has always been a characteristic of our young soldiers. There is no evidence of a prospective improvement in this respect."

The inferiority of the physique and intelligence of the British recruit became particularly conspicuous when it was compared to the superior development of the Dominion soldier. This was brought to the notice of the authorities as far back as the Boer war, and became particularly noticeable during the Great War, when the Australians and the Canadians came to be regarded almost as the storm troops of the British Army. One only wonders why no one has fastened upon these facts to enunciate a theory of British martial classes.

The disabilities so far referred to are those of the British private. It cannot also be said that the quality of leadership in war, as displayed by the British officer class, has been particularly high. Very recently Mr. Lloyd George and General Grove have given us, in connection with the Passchendaele campaign, two of the most terrible indictments of British generalship. And this is not the only instance of professional incompetence in British military annals. Giving evidence before the committee of enquiry set up after the Boer War, Lord Roberts said that he had been compelled to remove five generals of division, six brigadiers of cavalry, one brigadier of infantry, five commanders of cavalry regiments and four commanders of infantry regiments for incompetence. In course of the same investigation Lord Roberts further said:

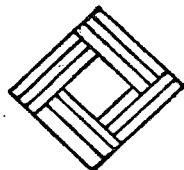
"Whether it is inherent in the British character, or whether it is owing to something faulty in the training of our officers, I cannot say, but the fact remains that surprisingly few of them are capable of acting on their own initiative. . . . Many of them do very well if you can tell them exactly what to do and how to do it, but left to themselves they fail."

There is not the slightest doubt that a judgment like this would have been sufficient to bring in its train the mass exclusion of any class of Indians. This did not happen in England because there the Government feels it has a duty to the manhood of the country while in India this sense of obligation is totally absent.



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## THE EVOLUTION OF THE WORLD

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

As to the manner in which the world came into existence, there are two theories which are very much more prominent, very much more widely held, than any others. One is the theory, ancient in origin, found in Genesis, the opening book of the Bible,—a theory which until recent time, because it is in the Bible, has been accepted without question by the Christians and Jews of all lands, that is to say, by essentially the entire population of Europe and America, and by millions in Asia.

The other theory is a relatively new-comer, one that has reached wide acceptance only within the last three-quarters of a century, although suggestions of it, anticipations and foregleams of it, crude and imperfect forms of it, have been in the minds of eminent thinkers of many countries from almost as far back as we have written records. It is the theory known as Evolution.

In the light of the best knowledge of to-day, which of the two gives evidence of being true? and therefore which demands the acceptance of all intelligent and honest persons? It is easy to see that these questions are among the most serious and important known to modern thought.

One of the most interesting revelations of modern scholarship is the fact that nearly all races and peoples have their theories of creation.

As soon as men rise above a very low grade of civilization, they begin inevitably to ask themselves questions about the origin and meaning of their own existence and that of the world around them. Where did I come from? Where did the world come from? How did things come to be as they are? And as children asking questions about the cause of strange phenomena, and not getting satisfactory answers, are very likely to make up answers of their own, so men in all parts of the world are found to have made up answers to these questions of theirs about the origin of the world and of human life.

These answers are their cosmogonies. This explains the fact that, somewhere in the more ancient portions of the literature of most peoples that have a literature at all (usually in their sacred books, if they have such books) there are found recorded more or less extensive cosmogonies, or accounts of the creation of the world and of man, according to the theories which they have thought out for themselves on these subjects; and even among peoples who have no literature and no written language, it is common to find legends and tales of the same character, which pass from person to person and are handed down from father to son orally.

Let me give examples.

Sir John Lubbock tells us that when a



missionary asked the Queen of Singa, in Western Africa, who made the world, she replied without hesitation, "My ancestors." This is one form of the creation theory.

Some rude tribes believe that all things made themselves. This is another form.

The idea that all things originated in some way from water, has been very widely entertained, particularly among primitive peoples. The Chippewa Indians of America held the conception of the world as originally existing in the form of a vast body of water, out of which the Great Spirit raised the land. The Mingoos and Ottawas represent a rat as bringing a grain of sand from the bottom of the primitive ocean, and out of that sand-grain the dry land grew. Unfortunately, they do not tell us the origin of the rat. In Polynesian mythology the earth and heaven always existed; but the earth was at first covered with water. At length the Supreme Being drew up New Zealand by means of an enchanted fish-hook.

The conception of the world as originating in an egg is the one which perhaps has been most widely held. This conception, under one form or another, is found in Finland, Polynesia, China, Phœnicia, Egypt and India. The notion of the Finns was that the yolk of the primal egg became the earth, and the white the all-surrounding ocean.

This reminds one of the idea of the Brahmans, found in the Laws of Manu, one of the Sacred Books of India, which opens with a cosmogony, as does our Old Testament. In that cosmogony we are told of the Self-existent Lord, who with a thought created the waters, and deposited in them a seed, which became a golden egg, in which egg he himself was born as Brahma, the progenitor of all the worlds.

The Scandinavian legend of creation gives us first of all a yawning gulf of chaos or nothingness. On the north of it was a region of boundless ice, and on the south another of boundless flame. From the contact of the ice and the fire arose the giant

Ymir, from whose body, after he had been slain, were formed the earth and the heavens.

According to the Greek cosmogony, in the beginning was a vast and formless chaos, from which the earth and heaven separated themselves as independent divinities. These married, and from them sprung demigods and men.

The Zend-Avesta, the sacred book of the ancient Persians, carries the beginning of creation back to the Eternal Being. The Eternal Being produced two gods; Ormuzd the God of Light, and Ahriman the God of Darkness. The God of Light created the heavens and the earth, in six periods of time, man being made last.

It is not strange that many of these creation theories, coming from so early periods as they do in the history of races, should be crude and even childish. Some of them, however, manifest much reflection and insight. For example, some of the thoughts expressed in the Hindu Vedas regarding God as the Creator and upholder of all things, are very lofty. I will quote a few lines of a hymn from the Rig-Veda, which is probably older than any portion of the Bible, and many centuries older than the book of Genesis. Sings the ancient Hindu poet:

"In the beginning there arose the Source of golden light;  
He was the only born Lord of all that is: He  
established the earth and the sky;  
"He who through his power is the only King of the  
breathing and awakening world,  
He who governs all, man and beast;  
"He whose power these snowy mountains, whose power  
the sea proclaims, with the distant river;  
He whose these regions are, as it were his two arms;  
"He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm,  
He through whom the heaven was established, he who  
measured out the light in the air;  
"He who by his might looked even over the water-clouds,  
He who is the one God above the gods;  
"O Prajapati, no other than thou is Lord over all these  
created things."\*

Though this Vedic hymn does not lay down any complete order of creation, yet its general conception of creation, and of God as the Creator, is very high, and is worthy, as Max Müller so well urges, to stand beside

\* Rig-Veda, x. 121 (abridged).



the highest utterances of the Old Testament on this subject.

What are these creation stories? Are they history? Are they records of real events? Are they not rather legends, myths, dreams, creations of the imaginative faculty of men asking themselves these questions, which all men must ask, of how the world and the things that it contains came to be? And finally, coming to the Bible story of the creation, in the book of Genesis, is it different in kind? Or does it fall into the same class with those which we have found among other peoples? Is there any more reason for believing that the Hebrew cosmogony is actual history than there is for believing that the cosmogonies of Greece and India are history? Does the Genesis story bear any marks of history? Does it stand the tests of modern science? Or does a critical examination show at every point its legendary character? Let us see.

As preliminary to such an examination, let me quote the words of Dean Stanley, spoken in Westminster Abbey, at the funeral of Sir Charles Lyell, the great geologist. Said Stanley:

"It is well known that when the study of geology first arose it was involved in interminable schemes of reconciliation with the letter of the Scripture. There were and are two modes of reconciliation, which have each totally and deservedly failed. The one attempts to wrest the words of the Bible from their real meaning, and force them to speak the language of science; and the other attempts to falsify science to meet the supposed requirements of the Bible. It is now clear to all students of the Bible that the first and second chapters of Genesis contain two narratives of the creation, side by side, differing from each other in almost every particular of time, place, and order. It is now known that the vast epochs demanded by scientific observation are incompatible both with the 6,000 years of the Mosaic chronology and the six days of the Mosaic creation."

It should be borne in mind that this is the utterance, not of an iconoclast, but of one of the most conscientious and devout of modern Christian scholars. I wish especially to call attention to his statement that there are two narratives, and that they are contradictory,—though both involve the theory of special creations, and are equally hostile

to the theory of Evolution. Where are these two narratives to be found? The first begins with Genesis i. 1, and ends with Genesis ii. 4 (middle of verse); the second begins where the first leaves off, and ends with Genesis ii 25. Let us inquire with some care as to the contents of the first, leaving the other for examination in the following chapter, with which it is more closely related.

The first Genesis story of creation opens with the words: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." As it proceeds it states the time occupied in the creative work to have been six days—each with its evening and morning; and it informs us what objects were made each day.

On the first day light was created, and divided from the darkness, thus causing day and night. On the second day a firmament, that is, a roof or dome (what we call the sky, believed by the Hebrews to be solid like glass) was made, to separate the waters above it (stored there as reservoirs for rain) from the waters below it. We learn elsewhere that this firmament or crystal dome was believed to have in it windows, which could be opened when it was necessary to pour down rain upon the earth. On the third day, the remainder of the waters (those that were beneath the sky-roof) were collected together to form the seas; and the land which was thus brought to view was made to bring forth grass, herbs, and trees. On the fourth day God created the sun, moon, and stars. On the fifth day he made the fish of the sea and birds of the air. On the sixth day he caused the earth to bring forth four-footed beasts and creeping things; and, finally, he created man in his own image. This completes the six days of the working week which the Creator is represented as observing. On the following day, the Sabbath, he rested.

Such is the first of the Genesis stories of the creation of the world and the things which it contains.



What are we to say concerning this story? First, who wrote it? We do not know. Did not Moses? No biblical scholar of any standing now holds to the Mosaic authorship of Genesis. Could the writer, whoever he was, have been an eye-witness? Certainly not, for most of the events described occurred before the creation of man. The only way the writer could know about the facts was by being told by the Creator himself. Does the writer of Genesis claim that the Creator gave him information? Certainly not.

Do we know when and where this story arose? Approximately, yes. It seems to have arisen not in Palestine, but in Babylonia. The Genesis creation-narratives, as also those of the Fall and the Flood, appear to have been originally Babylonian or Chaldean legends or myths. They seem to have been obtained by the Jews from Babylon, perhaps at the time of their captivity there, about five and a half centuries before Christ, or perhaps much earlier, and to have been revised and changed by them, and finally adopted and given a place in their Book of Genesis.

But if we find the Genesis record without value as history, we also find it containing statements which invalidate it as science.

First of all, its time is too short—almost infinitely so—to be a true account of the creation of the world. To be sure, there is a system of interpretation which claims that the “days” mentioned in Genesis mean, not days, but indefinite periods which may be prolonged to enormous lengths. But there is nothing in the record which warrants any such interpretation. The narrative is plain, simple, straightforward. The days are spoken of as real days, each having its evening and its morning. Every thing shows that the writer meant exactly what he said, namely, literal “days.” Any system of interpretation which makes him mean anything else is one which turns the whole Bible into a book of riddles.

An equal difficulty is the lateness of the creation, or its nearness to our own time. If we turn to the Bible, in the common or King James version, we find printed in the margin opposite the creation story, the date, 4004 B.C.\* By any fair interpretation of the Old Testament records, it is impossible to carry back the date of the creation as given in Genesis much beyond that time. According to this reckoning the earth is a little less than six thousand years old. The sun and the stars are of the same age.

But science teaches us that to find the beginning of the earth we must go back not six thousand, but millions, probably hundreds of millions of years; and the earth is young compared with the sun and stars. Huxley reckons that the production of the carboniferous or coal formation required six million years. It is estimated that the production of the cretaceous, or chalk, occupied a period as long. But the deposit of these two formations were but brief steps in the geologic history of the globe. Sir Archibald Geikie claims one hundred million years as the minimum time during which there has been life on the earth. This agrees with the estimate of Sir William Thompson (Lord Kelvin). Sir Charles Lyell thinks two hundred and forty million years are necessary for the deposit of all the stratified rocks. Helmholtz calculates that the solar system has been in existence five hundred million years. The last (14th) edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* claims that the age of the Earth is at least a thousand million years. Thus we see that science and the Genesis record lack much of agreeing as to the date of the creation both of the earth and of the heavenly bodies.

But these are not all of our scientific difficulties. We find in the Genesis account light created before the sun; as if there could be light without the source of light. Day and night are divided from each other

\* In copies of the Bible printed recently and in the Revised Version this date is omitted.



before there is any sun; as if that were possible. The sky is represented (according to the belief of the ancient time) as a solid firmament or dome, separating the waters above it from the waters below. Every child to-day knows how mistaken is this conception. Plants are represented as created before the sun; as if vegetation or any form of life could exist a moment without the sun's light and heat. The sun is said to have been created later than the earth; when science teaches us that the sun came into being long before the earth, and that the earth is its babe. The stars, too, are represented by the Genesis writer as made after the earth; when we know that the earth is a creature of yesterday compared with most of the stars,—many of the stars, indeed, being vastly older than the sun itself. Plants are represented as created long before animals,—one on the third day and the other not until the fifth. Here again science says, No, the evidence is very strong that plants and animals came into existence practically together.

Thus it appears that the Genesis story breaks down at every point when we attempt to regard it as either history or science, that is to say, as a record of actual facts.

What, then, is it? The only answer possible to be given in the light of modern knowledge is the one suggested by the similar creation stories found among many peoples, a few of which have already been noted. It is legend, it is myth,—as clearly so as are the cosmogonies of Greece and India. It is an attempt made in an early age by some gifted mind, or rather by many minds, to answer out of their own thoughts the question which man has been forever asking, How did things come to be? This is the position now taken by nearly all the leading biblical scholars of the world. This is the position taken by practically all scientists. Regarded as a work of the devout imagination, the Genesis narrative is interesting and valuable. It has been well

called "A Poem of Creation." As such it is striking, impressive, in parts sublime. But as something to be regarded as fact, it no more stands the critical tests of our time than would Milton's "Paradise Lost," if that great work of the creative imagination were set up as history or science. It is not the story of how God *did* create the earth and the heavens. It is a picture of how some gifted soul or souls of the ancient world *dreamed* that the creative process went on.

So much, then, for the theory, which has so long been almost universally accepted, that the world was created in a limited and fixed time, as set forth in the first chapter of Genesis.

There is one other theory, only one, that claims our attention. It is the modern scientific theory of Evolution. Let us now turn to that, to see what are the evidences of its truth.

Of course, in the limited space of a single chapter, I cannot undertake to detail all or a tithe of the evidence which believers in Evolution claim for the doctrine. Nor is this necessary. All I can do—and it is enough—will be to indicate something of the *character* of the proofs relied on, in order to show how direct and constant is their appeal to fact, and therefore how unequivocal and inescapable are the conclusions to which they lead.

Let me begin with suns and planets. Why is it believed that the origin of these is by evolution? Because we have only to look into the heavens above us to see the evolutionary process going on. The astronomer by means of his telescope and his trained powers of observation is able to discover world-making in every stage of progress.

Here is a nebula—a vast fiery cloud. What is that? Clearly it is world-stuff, or material out of which worlds are made. Here is another nebula. Condensation has begun at one or more points, and perhaps evidence of a whirling motion is apparent. What does that mean? It means that world-



evolution is in process. Here is a nebula that has condensed into a great central sun, and from it a ring has separated. What is that ring? It is the first step toward a planet. Thus it is that the telescope, if not the naked eye, reveals to us sun-making and planet-making in all stages. Could proof be stronger that Evolution is the law of the heavens above our heads? And if other worlds are formed by the process of Evolution, is not the presumption strong that ours was formed in the same way?

Turn now from the heavens to the earth—from astronomy to geology. Here again the evolutionist appeals not to hearsay, or dream, or guess, but to observed and verified fact.

How did the solid crust of the earth come to be? He examines the crust to see if there be not written upon it a record. A wonderful record he finds,—a record inscribed by nature herself, by the hand of her elements and forces,—fire, and water and wind and ice. And so he sets himself to reading the record. He studies volcanoes, and the effect of heat on rocks. He studies stratification, as it is going on to-day, and as it reveals its laws to him in a thousand ways. He studies the rise and subsidence of lands, and the consequent changing of sea lines, as these phenomena are seen now and are traceable in past ages. He studies the laws of erosion, by which mountains are cut down and carried into the sea, and vast river beds are scooped out. He studies the action of wind and rain and frost and heat in disintegrating rocks and changing them into soil. He studies the laws of glaciers, and observes how they plane down hills and fill up valleys, and carry their enormous loads of rock and earth half across continents.

He knows that the laws and forces whose effects he is studying are constant, and therefore that he holds in his hand the key to the past history of the surface of the planet, and how it has come to be what he sees it now. Change has been ever going on. It

has left its record everywhere upon the rocks; and what is that record? It is Evolution.

Of course, it took a long time to fit the earth for life, even for life in its lowest forms. But the evolution began, and in due time life appeared. As to how, or by what method, or from what sources life originated, scientists freely confess that they are in ignorance. The tendency is to believe that the evolutionary process has suffered no break, and therefore that life developed somehow from the not-living. But this belief is based rather upon faith in the uniformity of nature's methods than upon any direct proofs. If life did come by an evolutionary process from the not-living, it was at a time and under circumstances such as we know nothing of and probably can know nothing of.

How far back was the beginning of the evolution? In other words, how old is the world? Lord Kelvin, Humboldt and other eminent investigators of the nineteenth century estimated it at from 20 to 27 millions of years. But later investigators have greatly extended the time. According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th edition, article Earth), the age of the coal measures is approximately 250 million years, and that of the oldest known metal 1,500 million. The earth's age derived from cosmogony is estimated at 4,000 million years.

Even if we grant that life at its beginning was a special creation, everything indicates that that beginning was so very low down and so simple as to form only the merest starting-point for a life-history of the globe. From that simple beginning (in an organic substance probably differing only in the slightest possible degree from the inorganic) it has developed on and up, from the lower to the higher, from the simpler to the more complex, dividing early into two great main streams, vegetable and animal life, then dividing and sub-dividing again and again, and ever multiplying and unfolding, until



at last we have the earth covered with all the rich and varied and manifold forms of life which appear on its surface and in its waters to-day. How do we know that all this wonderful evolution of life has gone on? We know it by reading the story in nature's stone book, where it is all written down in characters that cannot possibly be misunderstood.

Strong arguments in support of evolutions are drawn from many sources. Says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, latest edition (14th):

"The evidence for Evolution is now overwhelming. It is more complete than it was in Darwin's day, and every year brings fresh evidence. Some of the more important sources of evidence are (1) fossils (which are now regarded as complete proof); (2) vestigial (rudimentary) organs; (3) embryology; (4) the common plan found to underlie whole groups of animals; (5) the geographical distribution of animals; (6) the facts concerning variation in animals and especially the impossibility of drawing any sharp lines between individual variations, local races, sub-species and species." "Finally, there is the pragmatic value of the evolution theory in all biological investigation. Without it, biology falls into utter confusion. It is as important a biological tool as, for instance, a microscope."

Sir Arthur Keith, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, said of Darwin and evolution in 1927:

"There are some who say that Darwinism, Evolution as Darwin conceived it, is a thing of the past. There could be no greater mistake. Darwin had to leave some of the pages of his evolution a blank. Some of these have been filled by his successors, and some of the things he wrote have had to be rewritten in the light of discoveries made since the *Descent of Man* was published. But the fundamentals of Darwin's outline of man's history remains unshaken. Darwin's main position is impregnable."

Probably there is in America to-day no higher individual authority on Evolution than Professor Edwin G. Conklin. Says that eminent scientist:

"The whole scientific world has long been convinced of the truth of Evolution, and every year since the publication of Darwin's '*Origin of Species*' in 1859, has added to the mountain of evidence which has been piled up in its support. Probably there is not one single biological investigator in the world today who is not convinced of the truth of Evolution."

One more testimony. At their annual Sessions in New York, in January, 1929, the two great scientific bodies of America, namely, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the Association of University Professors, issued the following joint declarations:

"Evolution in some form is accepted by practically all competent men of science the world over. The idea of evolution has so profoundly influenced the thinking of mankind in biology, psychology, ethics, social science and philosophy, that no one can pretend to have a liberal education who is ignorant of its grounds and its import."

It is easy to see that for the men who are best qualified to judge of a scientific doctrine to have given in their adhesion to Evolution with such unanimity, is significant in the highest degree. When the new doctrine first came on the scene it was virtually without a friend. The leaders of scientific opinion to whom it made its appeal had all been trained in other schools of thought, and came to the investigation of the claims of Evolution with their prepossessions against it. They had believed and taught, and not a few of them written books, in support of a different theory, which must be relinquished if the claims of Darwin were true. Under such circumstances it was in the nature of things that only proofs which were seen to be of the weightiest character could convert them to the new doctrine. Yet, however reluctantly, they were converted; and as we have seen, there is not a scientist of any note living to-day who does not accept the evolution theory.

We have now before us, in brief, the two theories of the origin of the world, which present themselves to modern men asking for acceptance. Is there any question which one we must receive, if we are truth-loving, and care at all to have our beliefs based on realities?

And now we come to the important question of the relative religious influence and value of the two theories.

I know the fact that one is ancient and venerable, while the other is new, and



especially the fact that one is contained in the Bible, while the other is not, may seem to give the greater religious claim to the theory of creation found in Genesis.

And yet is the claim necessarily valid? Has God no truth besides that which the Bible contains? Rather, if we are not atheists, must we say that all truth is of God, whether found on parchment or on stone; whether inscribed by pen held by human hand, or by wind and rain and ice and fire on mountain sides; whether written two thousand years ago in palestine, or to-day on the face of the starry sky above our heads, or of the earth beneath our feet.

Men who have never learned to see God anywhere except in the past, are always afraid of any new truth that bears upon religion. But how faithless and God-dishonoring is such a fear! Is God a God of the past only? Are his revelations ended? Is there to be progress in everything else connected with man's life except that which is highest of all, the moral and spiritual? Without the opening of eyes to new truth in religion, where would have been any of the great forward movements which have quickened and enlarged the world's religious thought and life?

The foundations of religion are not in a book. They are rather in the soul of man. And if they are in the soul of man, the acceptance of the belief that God's creation is perennial, continuous, eternal, cannot disturb them, or do anything except deepen and strengthen them.

It is asserted by some that Evolution is atheistic; that it puts God out of the universe, and leaves us only law instead. True, there are possible forms of the evolution theory which are atheistic, which push God one side, and give us only law. But there are other forms of it which are profoundly theistic—which fill the universe full of God, as no other theory known to man does, certainly far more than the Genesis theory itself does. That makes him a creator

from without. This makes him a creator within—his creative power operates in all things from atom to sun. That makes him a creator of the world, once; then he withdraws, and so far as creative function is concerned, is forever thereafter an absentee God. This makes him a creative intelligence and power that never sleeps and never withdraws from any atom of his universe.

"The world is the ring of his spells,  
The play of his miracles.  
Ever fresh the broad creation,  
A divine improvisation,  
From the heart of God proceeds,  
A single will, a million deeds.

"He is the axis of each star,  
He is the sparkle of each spar,  
He is the heart of every creature,  
He is the meaning of each feature,  
And his mind is in the sky  
Than all it holds more deep, more high."

Thus it is that the doctrine of Evolution ought to fill, and rightly understood, does fill, all the universe with God, as the meaning, and the ever-living, never-sleeping creative power of it all.

"A fire-mist and a planet,  
A crystal and a cell;  
A jelly-fish and a saurian,  
And caves where the cave-men dwell;  
Then a sense of law and beauty,  
And a face turned from the clod,—  
Some call it Evolution,  
Its deeper name is God."

Writes the great American scientist Professor Robert A. Millikan:

"No more sublime conception of God has ever been presented to the mind of man, than that which is furnished by Evolution, when it represents him as revealing himself through countless ages in the development of the earth as an abode for man, and in the age-long inbreathing of life into its constituent matter, culminating in man with his spiritual nature and all his God-like powers."

As to the fear that Evolution will dethrone God because it enthrones *law*,—what is law? What *can* it be but the sign and manifestation of One without whom law could not exist? Is law a Power? Rather is it the path along which a power—the Eternal Power—marches to the attainment of its great ends.

"God is law, say the wise, O soul, and let us rejoice;  
For if he thunder by law, the thunder is yet his voice."

Men who cling to the old and are afraid



of the new talk eloquently about the Genesis story of the creation of the world being a "revelation" of God. And because it is a revelation we are told it must be true. But how is it a revelation? The claim is quite incorrect. In truth, it is in *Evolution* that we have a *revelation* of God; in all previous theories of creation we have had only *assertions* of God. What does the Genesis story do? It asserts; it asserts that God at a certain time did so and so. It shows us nothing. It uncovers nothing. It reveals nothing. (To reveal is to show or to uncover.) What does *Evolution* do? It uncovers facts of nature. It shows us God actually doing. It exhibits the divine creative work going on before our eyes, in the past and in the present. Thus God is not simply asserted as a creator, but he is *revealed* as a creator. Which, then, brings God nearer to us and makes him more real and certain, the old or the new?

Tell me the story of Michael Angelo and his great art creations, and you do much. But take me into Michael Angelo's studio, and let me see the great master's tools, his plans, his unfinished sketches, his work actually going forward, and you do vastly more. Is it not clear how this applies to the two creation theories? The old creation theory talks to me about the supreme World-Artist,—tells me a story as to what he did once on a time in a far distant past. The new thought of creation by *Evolution* takes me by the hand and leads me into the great Artist's world-studio, universe-studio, amidst his tools of nature-forces and laws, his

designs of plants and animals and worlds, his work done and being done, of life building and universe-building and man-building, and thus *reveals* him, and brings him nearer to me, and lets me see him, feel him, touch him, know him, as the other never did and never can.

Men talk about the doctrine of *Evolution* being irreligious. What a strange use of words! Is it irreligious to enlarge the sphere of God's power and work from a narrow and circumscribed earth to a boundless universe? Is it irreligious to extend the time of his creative activity from six days to ages without beginning and without end? Is it irreligious to transform our thought of a creator from that of an almighty mechanic, or potter, operating in one limited place, to that of a Divine Spirit quickening and giving life to his children and his worlds everywhere?

No, it will be seen some day that the thought of *Evolution*, fully comprehended in its meanings and its bearings, is a mighty enlarger and exalter of religion, a mighty dignifier and ennobler of man, a mighty revealer and glorifier of God.

When will men learn that God is the God of the living, not of the dead? When will they learn that the eternal ages are in his hand? When will they discover that the mighty laws and forces by which the world moves on to its great destiny, are his? When will they be wise enough to cease fighting or fearing the great new revelations of his truth in nature and in man, by which he is rolling the world on into the light?





## FREEDOM VERSUS VESTED INTERESTS

By WILFRED WELLOCK

**T**HE making of the new India Constitution will rank in posterity as one of the great tragi-comedies of history, although the sufferings of India well-nigh obscure the comedy. Seven long years have been spent over the business already, and the Bill embodying the new Constitution has yet to appear. First, the Simon Commission, wending its laborious way through India, unwelcome, and almost universally boycotted. Then two Round Table Conferences, followed by a White Paper. After that the Joint Committee and its Reports, and finally the Bill.

During all those seven years Imperialism has been trying to hide its head and to make believe that it did not exist. In place of the monster Imperialism, there has been set up a sort of fairy god-father who has been represented as exercising great concern for the future welfare of India, and ready to make great sacrifices to secure that welfare. On p. 27 of the Report we read :

By general admission, the time has come for Parliament to share its power with those whom for generations it has sought to train in the arts of government ; and, whatever may be the measure of power thus to be transferred, we are confident that Parliament, in consonance with its own dignity and with the traditions of the British people, will make the transfer generously and in no grudging spirit.

After that one's heart swells with expectation. But as one reads in the Joint Committee's Report one sees the flag of liberty receding further and further into the distance, until it becomes a mere speck. Imperialism has triumphed. The generosity which at the beginning of the enquiry was felt to be necessary, gradually dies away in the teeth of hard fact, that is, before the demands of the vested interests, with the result that at the end of the long journey through the Report, one seeks the aid of a microscope to discover the measure of liberty that has been granted.

The situation regarding the India Constitution issue has been greatly obscured to the British public by the squabble that has been going on for the last few years within the

Conservative Party on the India question. That squabble has occupied the front of the political stage so far as Indian affairs are concerned. It has caused the British public to conclude that the issue is whether or not this country shall grant to India a Constitution on the lines of the White Paper. If so, well and good : India would thus get all she wanted. If not, there might be trouble. So it was largely a question of settling the account with Churchill and his fellow die-hards, and all would be plain sailing. Large sections of the British public have still to be disillusioned on that point ; but as those sections read only the capitalist press, they are not easy to reach.

The settling of that account has been a difficult and delicate task, for what was balsam to the Churchillites was gall to India. And the Die-hards were at hand, sitting in the House of Commons, within a few yards of the Secretary of State, ready to spring upon him should he wander from the beaten track of Imperialist domination. Whereas India was 5,000 miles away, and her eager, discerning eyes could not be seen from the minister's box in the House of Commons. And the more completely the backers of the Report assured the Die-hards, the more they damned their handiwork in the eyes of India.

The Report is a triumph for Imperialism. Who gains or loses in India, Imperialism wins all along the line. What Imperialism has won in India by the power of the sword, is firmly secured under the proposed regime. Defence and Foreign Affairs remain in the control of the Governor-General, who also has special powers to protect the financial interests of this country, and even to prevent any discrimination against British trade. How discrimination is to be defined remains to be seen.

It is always difficult to imagine how a new constitution will work, but before one even attempts to make any constitution work one must feel satisfied that the ends one has in view can be attained by means of it. Quite frankly, the question which has to be faced in



regard to the proposed new Constitution for India, and the only question of importance to India at this juncture, is whether it can be whipped into a shape which will satisfy her demands, within a reasonably short period. If the answer is in the negative, then I have no hesitation in saying that India will reject the new Constitution out of hand. That India will regard it as wholly inadequate I have not the least doubt. That she will also regard it as not being sufficiently amenable to modification to warrant her in accepting it as a starting point towards a satisfactory Constitution, is, I think, probable. And certainly, if the proposed Constitution is accepted with the clear and definite intention of holding things up in order to force the issue for further powers, irreparable damage would be done to the Constitution.

In examining India's chances of attaining real political freedom under the proposed Constitution, let us start at its threshold, *viz.*, the franchise. India is given an advance of 11% that is, from 3% of the total population, or 7,000,000 voters, to 14% of the total population or 35,000,000 voters, of whom 6,000,000 are women. That is certainly a big jump, but it does not meet the needs and demands of modern democracy. It might have been acceptable if at the end of five years, say, during which time the machinery for conducting elections on the basis of adult suffrage, could have been set up, adult suffrage should come into being. As it is, Parliament has to be appealed to, although in precisely what manner, and with what hope of success is not yet clear. Something approaching 50% of the population, the great propertyless class who live in privation year in year out, are unrepresented in the Provincial Assemblies, except in so far as the general seats reserved for the depressed classes, and the seats reserved for Labour, may be said to represent them. These consist of 152 seats for the former and 38 for the latter, in a total of 1,585 seats. Against these, however, are 131 seats reserved as follows: for Anglo-Indians (12), Europeans (26), Commerce and industry (56), and Landowners (37). Any improvement in the lot of India's poverty-stricken masses is thus made to depend upon an appeal to India's bondholders, the Imperialist hierarchy in London.

Since the two sets of figures above quoted,

of reserved seats for the well-to-do on the one hand, and for the poverty-stricken masses on the other hand, are fairly even, it may perhaps be concluded that the Indian people will have a real chance of carrying through legislation which accords with the needs of the country, and with national aspirations. But two other factors remain to be considered before such a conclusion can be reached. The first is the fact and powers of a Second Chamber, and the second, the powers of the Governor.

In regard to Second Chambers, or Legislative Councils, they are to have equal power with the Legislative Assemblies. Moreover, and this is of the greatest importance, membership of the Legislative Council is to depend upon high property qualifications, with perhaps a few exceptions, while the franchise upon which the Legislative Council is to be elected is also to be based on high property qualifications, or on a qualification based on service in certain distinguished public offices. It is also significant that whereas the White Paper recommended bi-cameral Government for three Provinces only—Bihar, Bengal and the United Provinces, the Report recommends its extension to Bombay and Madras.

Unquestionably that provision modifies the position very considerably, and seriously reduces, if it does not quite blot out, all hope of securing any fundamental change in the economic and social conditions, let alone structure, of the country.

Then comes another blow at hope and liberty in the wide powers invested in the Provincial Governors. Whether or not these powers are intended to be real is indicated in the first sentence of the Section of the Report which deals with that issue. After having conceded ministerial responsibility, the Report continues: "It follows from these considerations that the only way of strengthening the Provincial Executives in India is to confer adequate discretionary powers on the Governor." In pursuance of the fulfilment of their special responsibilities especially that of safeguarding the peace and tranquillity of their Provinces, the Provincial Governors may ignore the advice of their Ministers and pass Acts and Ordinances without seeking the approval of the Legislatures. The Governors may also, in the event



of a breakdown or terrorist outrage, take over and administer the departments of the Provincial Government.

Obviously those are extremely wide powers, and could unquestionably be used to destroy what bit of reality there is left in the Constitution, were it desired or "necessary" to do so. When, for instance, will government be deemed to have broken down? What sort of condition will warrant a Governor in declaring a state of emergency? If, for example, one State more democratically and socially advanced than the rest should pass legislation which hits the landowners, or the wealthy classes generally, would that be deemed to have created a state of emergency? And who, in fact, will make the decision—the Governor-General or the Powers that be at Westminster?

Then comes the Central or Federal Legislature. As we approach nearer and nearer to the strong room of power, the bolts, bars and other fortifications which hem it in and protect it from the touch of the hand of democracy, become increasingly apparent. In the first place, Defence, Foreign and Ecclesiastical Affairs, and to some extent Finance are completely ruled out of the sphere of so-called democratic control, and placed within the control of the Governor-General. The Legislature, which is bi-cameral, (the Second Chamber having equal powers with the first or Lower Chamber), will control Finance, Post Office, Railway and some Board of Trade subjects. Control by the Ministers, however, will be lessened by the creation of a Central Bank on the lines of the Bank of England, and a Railway Board, both controlled by Capitalists. Moreover the Governor-General has special responsibilities and powers, which include powers to "safeguard" Federal Finance. This restricted field of legislation is to be controlled by two Chambers, a Lower Chamber with 375 members, and a Higher Chamber with 260 members, of whom the Rulers of the Indian States will provide 125 and 100 members respectively. The Governor-General will also nominate 10 members to the Higher Chamber, while no fewer than 30 seats are reserved in the Lower Chamber to those who can be relied upon under almost any circumstances,

to vote in the interests of property and privilege. The 30 seats are allocated as follows: Anglo-Indian 4, European, 8, Commerce 11, Landowners 7.

How the Indian masses are to get even a glance at political power under those conditions baffles me. Yet it is against such a Constitution that Winston Churchill and his fellow Die-hards are waging fierce battle. So far from the Heavens falling by virtue of these powers being handed over to India, it is difficult to imagine the dropping of the tiniest speck of star dust upon the heads of India's propertied classes or the beneficiaries of British Imperialism in India.

To sum up. It is clear to me that in attempting to work such a Constitution as is proposed in the Joint Committee's Report, the tendency will be to concentrate on finding ways of escape from the prison-house in which the voice of India is incarcerated by it, and if that happens, permanent injury will be done to the Constitution, since the evil effects would be felt even after it had been whipped into reasonable shape. If that is the general feeling in India, I certainly think it would be the best, all things considered, to reject the scheme outright, and to demand a Constitution worthy of the country, and in keeping with the times and the demands of the general situation in India. In that case India, it seems to me, would be safe in placing her demands upon the basis laid down in the Labour Report, *viz* :

We have come to the conclusion that the principle on which the new Constitution for India should be founded is the right of the Indian peoples to full self-government and self-determination, and should have as its aim the establishing of India at the earliest possible moment as an equal partner with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

We hold that the new Constitution should contain within itself provisions for its own development, and that such safeguards as are necessary should be in the interests of India and that the reserved powers should not be such as to prejudice the advance of India, through the new Constitution, to full responsibility for her own Government. . . .

In our view the problem before us is two-fold. We have, on the one hand, to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of India for self-government. . . . Secondly, we have to ensure that self-government shall be given to India in such a way as to ensure that the new Constitution shall place in the hands of the



mass of rural cultivators and urban wage-earners the possibility of attaining to political power, and that as far as possible ample protection shall be given to racial, religious and cultural minorities.

I am personally in favour of India having complete independence, if she desires it. But that issue could, I think, best be decided when

India's mind was calm, and when she had tested the new relations with this country which real political freedom would bring. The conditions would then in fact exist for India constitutionally to become independent if she so desired.

December 20, 1934

## EDUCATIONAL REORGANIZATION IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

BY PROF. N. K. SIDHANTA,

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**E**DUCATIONAL problems in the United Provinces are not very different from those in the Panjab and in Bengal, though they may not have as yet presented difficulties of the same magnitude as those which led to the establishment of Commissions or Committees of Enquiry. One reason why the difficulties have not here assumed the same proportions is that the authorities have not been averse to undertaking experiments to tackle changing conditions before these latter got out of hand. Such experiments in so far as they imply disturbance of vested interests are bound to excite criticism, often violent and pointed, but political and economic conditions in India have changed so rapidly within the last twenty years that a let-well-alone policy in the sphere of education is bound to end in hopeless disruption and a confused tangle which half a dozen Commissions may not be able to set right.

If we try to analyse the main difficulties facing the authorities in charge of higher education in India we find that they can be traced to the announcement of Lord Hardinge in 1844 that in making Government appointments preference would be given to those who had received western education. This close association of University work and material prospects of Government service gave a wrong bias to educational ideals and Indian Universities over-emphasized the value of examinations which tested the student's fitness for Govern-

ment appointments rather than his cultural and scientific equipment. For fifty years the system seems to have worked satisfactorily, as the conservatism of certain sections of the people prevented overcrowding at the centres of western education and the expanding needs of the Government and commercial concerns could utilize most of the products of the Universities. But conditions appear to have changed rapidly after 1907 and the problems of increasing numbers, deterioration of standards and unemployment of graduates first troubled the authorities of the Calcutta University, where the number of students shot up from about 8000 in 1907 to about 28000 in 1917. There was an increase in numbers in the other Universities,—from 5000 to 10000 in Madras, from 4000 to 8000 in Bombay, from 3500 to 7800 in U. P.,—but matters had not come to a head as they had done in Bengal. The examination of the University affairs by a Commission did not provide a solution for the material problems while its academic decisions which had aimed at the separation of High School and Intermediate Colleges from the University in order to ensure higher standards for the latter have not yet been accepted in Bengal. The authorities in the United Provinces however found in the pronouncements of the Calcutta University Commission valuable material to be utilized and the transfer of the control of education to provincial authorities was marked by the inauguration of several far-reaching



changes. By the establishment of a Board of High School and Intermediate Education in 1921 the Allahabad University was saved the trouble of regulating and supervising education up to a certain stage and it could therefore concentrate all its activities on the improvement of proper University training. Local patriotism and generosity leading to the establishment of a residential University at Lucknow in 1921 was of further help and the affiliating activities of the Universities having been removed to Agra in 1927, Allahabad was left free to develop into a splendid centre of learning as a unitary residential University. The Hindu University established in 1916 and the Muslim University in 1920 cater to the needs of students from all parts of India and are primarily helped by the central Government but they have afforded considerable relief to the purely provincial centres of higher education.

Taking stock of reconstruction fourteen years after its beginnings one cannot confidently applaud its success and has to assign reasons for its partial failure. The scheme of reconstruction entailed the recognition of distinctive stages of education and the reorganization of institutions to tackle one or other of these stages. These latter would therefore have to be classified under the following heads: (1) Primary, dealing with the first five classes; (2) Middle, for classes VI to VIII; (3) Secondary, for classes IX to XII (classes XI and XII might be described as Higher Secondary) and (4) Collegiate. The success of the scheme entirely depended on the specialization of institutions and their concentration on one stage to the exclusion of the others. The failure of the institutions to comply with this and of the authorities to enforce it has really been responsible for the shortcomings evident today. It is evident at every stage: (1) The colleges affiliated to the Agra University have, in most cases, expanded their higher work and started teaching for the M. A., but have at the same time continued the Intermediate classes (XI & XII) which are usually described as the Cinderellas of these institutions, neglected by the senior teachers and entrusted to a poorly paid staff; (2) the Intermediate colleges even though maintained by generous benefactions

as at Khurja and Chandausi or by the Government as at Almorah, Moradabad, Fyzabad etc., have not always been able to concentrate only on Secondary work. Of the 41 Intermediate Colleges recognized by the Board not more than two or three are of the type envisaged by the authorities in 1920, all the others having activities extending upwards or downwards beyond their proper sphere. (3) The 235 High Schools naturally embrace part of the Secondary stage in addition to the Middle and even some Primary classes. Thus institutions have been prevented from having a distinctive character and distinctive ideals as was hoped for fourteen years ago. The Intermediate College is very often the old High School with two classes added at the top, manned by practically the same staff and working along the same lines. In consequence the student coming to the Degree or University classes may be two years older than before but is not necessarily better equipped and the work in Universities cannot be materially different from what it was.

But these are not the only difficulties facing the U. P. educationists today. When the Intermediate Examination was made a definite land-mark it was hoped that a good many students would be diverted to the Commerce and Agriculture courses which were offered side by side with the usual Arts and Science studies while even many of those taking up the latter who were not qualified intellectually or financially for University education would think of earning their livelihood after this stage. To ensure the diversion of students along utilitarian channels not only Commerce and Agriculture but Manual Training, Metal-Work, Book-Binding, Spinning and Weaving etc., were recognized as optional subjects for the High School examination. Experience has unfortunately falsified expectations and the utilitarian subjects have not attracted students as they should have done, while the cultural courses are being taken up by ever-increasing numbers whose aim is always to proceed to the University after the Intermediate stage, to drift from one degree to another, finally perhaps to wander about as M. A., LL. B's. An institution like the S. D. College of Commerce, Cawnpore, which was started purely for Commerce studies, has



found it necessary not only to undertake B. A. work but even M. A. classes in most subjects. The students who have taken the Intermediate Examination in Commerce or in Agriculture are agitating to be admitted to the B. A. classes to fall into the usual rut. How much of this unpopularity of vocational courses is due to the present economic depression and the consequent failure of society to employ trained men we can never be sure about. The facts being what they are we find that the system devised in 1920 has failed to relieve congestion in Universities and prevent the overcrowding of the learned professions, while the number of the educated unemployed is multiplying if not as rapidly as in other provinces, at least in a sufficiently alarming fashion.

In the present article it will not be possible to examine in detail the unfortunate effects of this state of things so far as Universities are concerned. One can only point out that the three-year Honours courses which were started in the new Universities and which were ultimately intended to replace not only the present M. A. but become what they have done at Oxford and Cambridge, the only courses to be taken up by the intelligent young man, have definitely failed to attain the objective. The general standard of University teaching, even if it has not gone down, has not advanced in the way it should have done with greater facilities of properly equipped Libraries and Laboratories and under the guidance of a well-paid and adequately trained staff. While marked improvements are not evident even in the purely academic sphere, in certain respects the present system compares unfavourably with the older one. For one thing the evils of biennial examinations are far more evident today than they were before: formerly the prospective graduate, after passing his High School Examination, went to a college where he spent four years, taking another public examination before proceeding to his B. A. which, with the majority, marked the completion of education. Now the B. A. has almost ceased to be regarded as a Degree and the student takes a public examination every two years (or every year) for the six years preceding the completion of his education and what is worse,

he has to change his institution periodically,—from the High School to the Intermediate college for two years, from the Intermediate to the Degree College for two years and then perhaps to a residential University for two years and in all these the two years are only nominally so being nearer a year and a half. In each new institution he takes some time to acclimatize himself and cannot make the best use of its advantages, for examinations always loom large on the horizon. Thus the benefits of a corporate undergraduate life which were expected to mould the character of the student and fit him for the struggles of life are in most cases not assimilated and are practically non-existent.

This migration from one institution to another has been a most serious handicap at the higher stages. The original scheme contemplated such a migration only with the ablest and most gifted individuals who could easily have adapted themselves to new methods of instruction in the more advanced institutions. In actual practice, the most mediocre students, many of whom have no chances of getting a degree, have flocked to the Universities and find it practically impossible to follow proper University Lectures. From the Secondary to the Collegiate stage is a big step forward and there was intended to be a gap between these two stages not only in methods of instruction and curricula but in the general attitude of the teachers to the taught. There was to be a difference in the media of instruction, difference in discipline, difference in atmosphere as also in the matter of spoon-feeding. The differences are still nominally there, but as all instructional systems have to be adapted to the needs of the majority, every standard had to come down to suit the requirements of the numerous ill-equipped undergraduates who had drifted to the Universities in an aimless fashion. With the acceptance of the vernacular medium at the Middle and Secondary stage it was expected that much more of work could be done within the time at the disposal of the teacher, while the standards of English were to be kept up by the devotion of greater attention to the language on the part of those who intended proceeding to the Universities. While the former expectation may have been partially



fulfilled, the latter is nowhere near being realized and the command of English shown by the average University man today would justify the complaints of the most pessimistic teachers, the most depressing point about it being that many of these in the University classes cannot in their first year follow a lecture in decent English.

The feeling of dissatisfaction with the present state of education has been expressed by people actually engaged in the work of teaching as also by the intellectual leaders of the province who have had occasion to come into intimate touch with educational work. The complaint of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his Benares Convocation Address of 1929 that the Universities are hampered in their work by admitting students who are unfit for higher liberal education and who would be more likely to succeed in other careers and his suggestion that the remedy lies in devising a sound system of secondary education with attractive vocational courses have been echoed by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer in his Lucknow Convocation Address of 1933, by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru addressing the Allahabad Convocation the same year and by Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman at the Aligarh Convocation this year. When the representatives of various Indian Universities met at the Quinquennial Conference held early this year two of the main problems they set out to discuss were those of unemployment among the educated young men and a more satisfactory reorganization of Secondary and Higher education. With regard to the former the following resolution was unanimously accepted: "A practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education either to professions or to separate vocational institutions. This will enable the Universities to improve their standards of admission". When however the practical question of readjustment was taken up the experience of the United Provinces with a similar experiment was placed before the Conference and the conclusion finally reached aimed specially at the removal of

these difficulties. The resolution reaffirmed the four distinctive stages of education but found that the time given to each stage had to be apportioned in a manner different from what had been done so far. While the Primary and Middle stages might occupy the same number of years it was thought possible to do more work during this period through the acceptance of the vernaculars as the medium of instruction. There was to be a formal examination at the end of this stage and it might correspond to the High School examination though it might not have the same standards. The diversion of students to professional and vocational courses might take place at this point and only a portion of the students who completed the Middle stage was expected to follow the Higher Secondary stage of liberal education for three years to be rounded off with a University course of three years before proceeding to the Pass Degree.

Usually such resolutions accepted by academic conferences have little of practical effect for when they are referred to the educational bodies concerned the pressure of vested interests leads to the same cryptic note on each,—that it be recorded. Here however the authorities of at least one province have taken up the matter seriously and have proposed the acceptance of the Universities Conference resolutions in a somewhat modified,—perhaps a more practicable form. The suggestions of the U. P. Government have been summarized as follows:

(a) The length of the High School course should be reduced by one year (not two, as the Conference suggested, as it would lead to a number of teachers being thrown out of employment and a four year course in Commerce, etc., would be very difficult to manage at the beginning when we might make the experiment with three year courses).

(b) The length of the Intermediate Course should be increased by one year. In order to emphasize that this course is self-contained and complete in itself, it may be designated the Higher Certificate Course.

(c) The course for the Higher Certificate shall be along four parallel lines: (i) Commerce, (ii) Industries, (iii) Agriculture, (iv) Arts and Science.

(d) The High School Certificate should be



of two kinds : (1) certifying completion of a secondary school course and admitting to commercial, industrial and agriculture courses, and (2) certifying fitness to proceed to the Higher Certificate course in Arts and Science.

(e) Manual training or handicraft in some form should be compulsory in the lower classes and optional in the higher classes of secondary schools in order to discover boys with practical aptitudes and predispose them towards industrial pursuits.

Most people will admit that so far as cultural education is concerned this scheme is certainly better than the present system of biennial examinations with an inordinately long period spent in the High School. If we encourage only the better class of students to take the second certificate under (d), it will be possible to expect from them almost the same standard of proficiency in the different subjects as we now do for the High School examination even though they will put in one year less. The extra year for the Higher Certificate, if properly utilized, should certainly equip the student for University work in a much better fashion than has hitherto been done. For this however it will be necessary to insist that institutions which take up this work should concentrate on it and have nothing to do with University or High School teaching. At present there are two or three colleges which have only classes IX to XII but their main work is done in the two Intermediate classes (XI and XII). It will be quite easy for them to take up only Intermediate work for it is a three year course and some more institutions of the same type have to be established either out of weak Degree colleges or strong Intermediate ones. If the Universities have these better equipped students from efficient colleges the Honours courses may become more of a reality, especially when there is concerted effort among the several Universities in the province.

When however we take up the matter of parallel vocational courses we cannot be equally confident, for a similar effort has been made and proved practically unsuccessful in this that it has attracted very few students. The demand was so small that very few high

schools even applied for recognition in the utilitarian subjects like Metal-Work, Book-binding etc. Here it may be pointed out that the present attempt is radically different from what has so far been done : Manual Training or Book-binding or Metal-Work has so far been recognized as one optional subject which the student may take up along with his four compulsory subjects, two languages, Mathematics and History or Geography. The study of this subject is expected to begin in class IX and the student has to equip himself for taking the High School examination in it within two years. If the students have not shown any inclination for such a combination of four cultural with one utilitarian subject to be offered for a formal examination they cannot very well be blamed. Moreover this meagre study of one subject cannot now be followed up by more advanced work in it for none of these subjects is recognized for the present Intermediate examination. Both of these defects are now sought to be remedied for (i) manual training becomes a compulsory subject in the lower school classes and optional in the higher ones intended to attract those who have shown an aptitude for it ; and (ii) the Industrial Higher Certificate will provide opportunities for higher work. This of course implies some additional expenditure on High Schools in providing them with opportunities for industrial training as also the establishment of Industrial colleges to prepare students for the Higher Certificate.

Finally there is the question as to how far we may expect the products of these Industrial institutions to be absorbed in suitable professions. On this point one cannot be dogmatic, but we are told by heads of technical schools which are doing work similar to what might be done in the proposed Industrial colleges that there is practically no question of unemployment so far as their students go. There may be a slight exaggeration in such statements and institutions in a city like Lucknow are naturally more fortunate than those in smaller towns ; but we have no reasons to feel despondent about the future of the products of Industrial schools, at least not for some years to come as here the saturation point has not yet been reached. Those trained in Commerce and



Agriculture have not been fortunate in the last few years but here too we may hope for better things with a change in the economic

and agricultural conditions of the country consequent on the removal of the present world-wide depression.

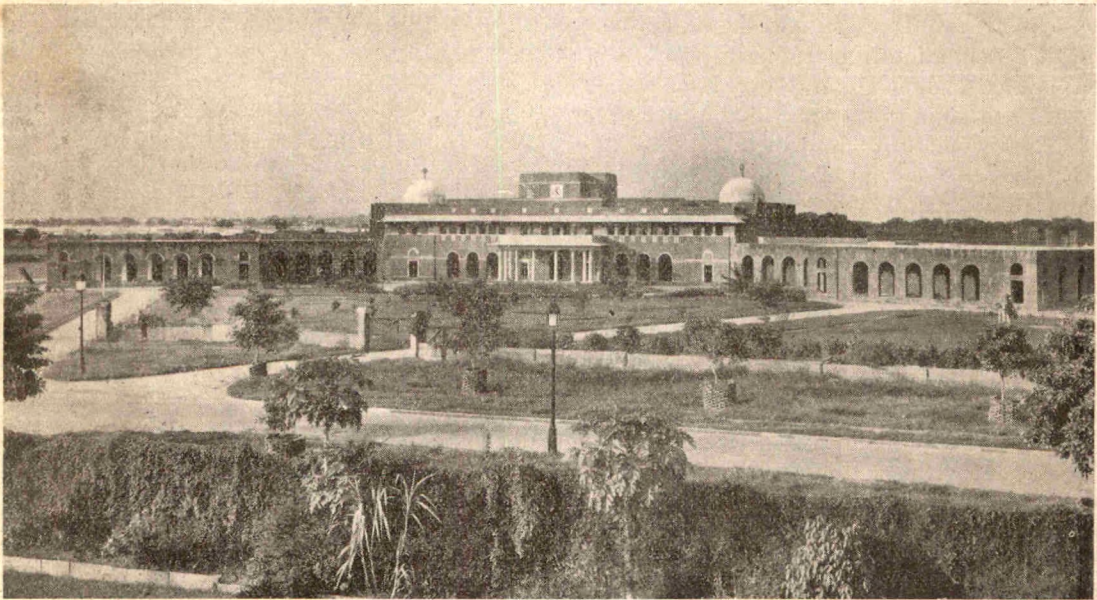
## THE MODERN SCHOOL, NEW DELHI

By C. F. ANDREWS

**M**ORE than thirty years ago R. B. Lala Sultan Singh was in London with Principal Susil Kumar Rudra and myself. He asked me if it would be possible to find some one who could come out and undertake tutorial work with his son Raghubir Singh and also help in the college. My friend, Willie Pearson, had been sent home ill with rheumatism and lumbago

immediate return to Calcutta. The experiment was tried and was quite successful. The cold weather in Delhi and the hot weather in Kashmir restored Willie to perfect health. It seemed to me also, as I watched his recovery, that the joy of being able to return to India was the best medicine of all. He seemed to get well from the first day that we started back for the East.

This incident in London marked the



School Building. Front view

from Bhowanipore, Calcutta. His health was still far from good, but it seemed to all of us that the light tutorial work in a dry and sunny climate, during the cold weather at Delhi, might be more invigorating for him than any

beginning of a deep friendship between tutor and pupil. Raghubir was too young in 1913 to realize all that it meant to have Willie Pearson as a friend and a tutor, during that one short year from November 1912 to



November 1913. But at a later time (after the War) in England, in 1922, he came again under the spell of Willie's magnetic personality. Thoughts that were beginning to shape themselves in his mind then came to their birth.

Thus Bengal gave Willie Pearson to Delhi for a short season, and out of that visit many important events happened. One of these was the fact that in November 1913, Willie Pearson was set free from his tutorial work and was able to accompany me to South Africa. But the event about which I am writing in this present article was quite different. It was this. He had a unique influence on Raghbir at the most impressionable time of his life. He did not check but on the other hand actively encouraged the boy's ideas of serving humanity. Thus, when he grew up, the needs of his country awakened in him the love of service. He became unwilling to throw all his time into the banking profession, which each generation of his family had followed hitherto. He sought a wider outlet for public service.



Physical jerks

to break through the orthodox barriers when the opportunity came. His grandmother remained strictly orthodox throughout her long life and her religious duties were her one great consolation in her old age. Her son and grandson held her in deep reverence and she passed away in peace.

How great a wrench it was to her when the younger generations of her family departed from orthodoxy few are able to realize today. For such acts have become far more common and less noticeable than they were in those earlier days. But the step having once been taken, there was no turning back.

At the same time, neither Raghbir nor his father were among those who changed everything they had, such as food, dress, language, for the sake of being regarded as 'up-to-date' and 'modern' in the wrong sense of the word. In all essential respects they remained Indian both in manners and customs. The conservative element, which was always very strong in their family, kept the balance and prevented the pendulum from swinging too far in the direction of change. In every essential respect they remained true to their own country's history and requirements.

## II

Raghbir, in his revolt from orthodoxy, had determined that his own children should be brought up from the very first in a modern



Babies working in the open air

His father, Sultan Singh, had an idealist side to his nature; and this was shared also by Raghbir's mother, who was at one with her husband in his wider purposes at the time when he broke through many old restrictions. Thus it became easier for Raghbir himself



atmosphere without the trammels which had hindered his own earliest progress. His own father was still living. With his parents' cordial consent and co-operation he determined to start the Modern School. From its foundation onwards he has had the support of Miss K. M. Bose who has been the head mistress of the school, and has given her whole life to its successful development. Without her personality and genius the work could never have been carried forward to its present remarkable stage of rapid progress.

The Modern School was founded in 1920. Its first home was at Daryaganj, Delhi,

with simple daily prayers addressed to the One Father of all mankind. During all these years, the religious difficulty has never been apparent. The children grow up without a trace of the old narrowness that used to keep them so much apart.

### III

The Modern School was founded in this manner. Certain wealthy citizens of Delhi had approached Lala Sultan Singh with regard to the formation of a Modern School for their children. Raghbir undertook to create this school if support was offered in full measure. On the whole the city of Delhi has given its strong approval to the new venture.

In the earliest days the school buildings were hardly sufficient to contain the children.

But in 1933 a glorious opportunity of expansion arose and a new site was provided in Barakhamba Road, New Delhi, covering 25 acres of land for a completely new school with playing grounds and hostels attached. Ten acres has already been set apart for school sports and a great portion of the buildings has

already been erected. The school is quite close to the quarters where the permanent government officials of New Delhi are in residence and many of their children already attend the school. But the greater proportion come from older Delhi and the citizens of the ancient city give the school enthusiastic support.

One of the parents has already promised to build a gymnasium and other parents have made similar offers. The teachers have the interest of the school at heart and are all devoted to their work. The ideal represented in the school is similar to that known as the 'Ecole Nouvelle' on the Continent of Europe, and the "New Education Fellowship" in England. By far the larger proportion of the children are infants because the whole principle of education represented depends



Montessori children at work

not far from the house of Dr. Ansari. It aimed at creating a new type of education at the centre of Indian administration. The idea of education which it embodied might almost be summed up in the words so often quoted from the New Testament, 'I am come that they may have life and may have it more abundantly.' From the very first the School was to be open to children of all religious denominations. It was to be entirely unsectarian in character. Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, Christians—all were welcome.

It has been a great joy to me from the very first to see in this school the religious barriers entirely broken down among the children who are taught to respect and understand the faiths of other people. There is no attempt whatever to proselytize. At the same time there is a distinct religious atmosphere,



upon early training. Unless the creative habit of thought and action is produced in the children at a very early age, they cannot gain the benefit of freedom which the New Education System offers. The whole method is made to depend upon this freedom.

#### IV

When I visited the school quite recently, what struck me immediately was the happiness of the children whom I met, especially the youngest infants. They flocked around me at once without any shyness at all and held up their hands with the little toys and clay models which they had made. These were wonderfully constructed and it was a great delight to see such complete happiness in their faces. They were evidently proud of their own master-work and the joy of shaking these models had turned the school-work into a glorious game. It was clear to me that they would not miss their school lessons for anything else in the world.

#### V

The greatest care is taken with the youngest children. It is realized that they need far more continuous attention than the older boys and girls. With their abundant energy they occupy every moment of the teacher's time and their eagerness to accomplish the tasks which they are given to do is apparent. Some of these infants are brought each day to the school in the lorry which collects them each morning and takes them back each evening. Others who are older come on bicycles. In addition, a large number of children are boarders. When all the buildings are finished, it is proposed to have

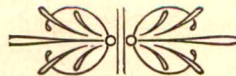
a series of hostels for boys and girls. The school is co-educational throughout.

It is impossible in one article to explain the methods of study and the care that is taken of the physical fitness of the children. Nothing is done to make the life of the child either comfort-loving or lacking in hard discipline. At the same time the children are encouraged to get all the fun out of life,



Science laboratory

which it is possible to obtain. Those who would wish to learn more, should write to the school secretary at Barakhamba Road, New Delhi. The photographs included in this article, will give some idea of the school buildings and the school work. It is impossible to congratulate too highly Miss K. M. Bose and Lala Raghbir Singh on their splendid achievement. It is my great hope that they both may be able by years of self-sacrificing work to see the school firmly established. No greater benefit than this could come to the citizens of Old Delhi who have to face with their families the modern conditions of life.





## PRESIDENT MASARYK : THE STORY OF A LONG STRUGGLE AND A GREAT SUCCESS

By N.

**M**ASARYK, the President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, counts among the foremost of statesmen and philosophers in the world. There is probably no other man at the helm of a State with a life so rich in experiences, varied, striking and significant. The story of the rise of the



President Masaryk

poor half Slovak peasant boy from singularly severe and oppressively obscure circumstances to the Presidentship of an important and progressive State is one of the greatest political epics of the age. Karel Capek, the well-known Czech writer, in his recent book\* unrolls this great epic. The title indicates the way in which this is done. The book is the result of many conversations that Capek has had with Masaryk extending to a long period. Capek gives to the form selected for expression life

and realism, by able arrangement, lucid presentation and rapid changes leading to covering wide range of topics without failing to hit at essential notes. The general impression reading the book is as though, one is himself listening to President Masaryk discoursing on his life, giving a clear and connected account of the Czech revivalist movement and establishment of the Czechoslovak State, commenting on religion and socialism (Masaryk's views on religion, greatly subjective, dogmatic and teleological, one is led to note, for a thinker like him, are somewhat of a dilemma, with basic effect on his approach to socialism) and expounding on various topics like position of women, morals, marriage, war, pacifism, temperance, diet, study of languages, physical training, and education, on all of which he has to state much of great value.

Masaryk was born in 1850 at Hodonin in Moravia of very poor parentage. His father was a coachman and his mother a cook in a squire's house. Childhood is not for those born in poor families the pleasant idyll that poets so often make of it. Masaryk grew in hard and difficult conditions. Life meant the pangs of economic misery and social oppression. Masaryk narrates the story of the wealthy coming out for hunting to the place where his parents lived. "When the 'lords and masters' came for the hunting, they would leave their fur coats at our house, and you have no idea how much I longed to vent my childish rage on those fur coats. After the hunt they usually had a meal at the gamekeeper's cottage, and the servants threw out the remains to the villagers, who would fight over them. Once they threw out something, macaroni I think it must have been, and the villagers did not know what it was, and called it worms, but all the same they fought over it like beasts. Things like that remain fixed in my mind." There are many such incidents relating to his childhood and school days.

Masaryk speaks of his parents with critical understanding and affection. His father was a simple man absorbed in his profession and at ease in the society that his work and conditions determined. The dominant influence on Masaryk was that of the mother. She is described as a woman of great determination and courage bent on getting her son educated, so that he might to an extent escape the drab and drudgery that were the lot of the parents. Even to send the son to a secondary school, the father had to obtain the permission of the Emperor—the Austrian Emperor. With much difficulty, after preliminary training, his mother managed to send young Masaryk to a modern school at Hustopeč. Masaryk recalls a suit out of his father's old coachman's livery being made for him when sent to this school. "At Hustopeč the boys did laugh at me." He left this school to take up work as apprentice of a blacksmith. He might well have continued at this work and settled down to become a blacksmith. A somewhat unexpected circumstances

\* *President Masaryk Tells His Story.* Recounted by Karel Capek. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd: London. 7sh 6d.)



enabled him to enter a Gymnasium at Brno. From Brno, after various experiences, he moved to Vienna, where in 1872 he matriculated and joined the University. He lived in Vienna till 1882 as a student (greatly supporting himself by private tutitions), then reader and latterly as lecturer, excepting for the one year 1876-77 spent in Leipzig, where he came across Miss Garrigue from America, whom he latterly married. Masaryk talks of his wife with deep feeling and touching attachment and frankly admits her exerting profound influence on him. "She was beautiful to look at, she had a magnificent intellect, better than mine". In 1882 Masaryk moved to Prague as professor-in-extraordinary on a salary of 1,800 florins (a florin is about a shilling and six pence). As the story of his academic career is unfolded, one gets a peep into the wide range of his studies and interests. Masaryk devoted great attention to the mastery of languages. He had from school days a sound knowledge of German. He studied keenly the classics, Latin and Greek. Both in Vienna and subsequently in Prague, he devoted special attention to perfect his knowledge of Czech. He mastered French, English, Polish and Russian. He gained familiarity with most Slav languages. Masaryk tells us that though he reads Italian usually in translations, he can if necessary carry on conversation in Italian. He had the intention of learning some Eastern languages and at one time commenced with studying Arabic, but circumstances did not permit the following up of this intention. Here, in passing, it may be stated, that Masaryk is a strong advocate of developing closer relations with Eastern countries and the Oriental Institute in Prague (under whose auspices an Indian section has been newly opened) owes its existence greatly to the support given by him. It is astonishing that one should have found time to learn deeply the languages that Masaryk did, while pursuing an active professional career and various other interests. In Prague, Masaryk hoped to be appointed soon, within three years, as an ordinary professor, but this was delayed for long, owing as he regretfully records, to the intrigues of some Czech colleagues. In this connection, he makes some very instructive observations about the baneful influence that foreign domination brings about on the character of the oppressed people. Masaryk had to wait thirteen years before he became an ordinary professor. As professor in Prague he devoted all available time to the Czech revivalist movement. This meant laying the ground deep for a broad struggle of national assertion. This was a great work, though silent and unostentatious. Masaryk came to the political arena in the generally accepted sense of the term in 1891 when he was elected to Parliament as member of Young Czech Party. He latterly took the lead in forming the Realist Party. In the following years Masaryk devoted great attention to following the structure of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy from various points. He studied constitutional questions and military matters. He watched and followed the currents at play against Austrian domination. He formed useful contacts with Slovaks and Serbs. He observed the European situation leading to a crisis. He estimated the factors that spoke for Austria's dismemberment. Masaryk dreamt the great dream of his life—the gaining of Czech independence. He visualized concretely this dream.

When the War broke out, Masaryk was in Dresden,

He realized immediately the significance and implications of the event. He saw the opportunity that it offered for Czech independence. Masaryk did not under-estimate the difficulties. From the moment the War broke out till his return to Prague as President of the new Republic, Masaryk's life is a continuous string of stirring and thrilling incidents. Masaryk did not concentrate on bargaining with Vienna or on pleading for concessions. He aimed high and planned well. Returning from Dresden to Prague, he quickly again left Prague. Delay might have defeated his departure and plans. Masaryk moved about Holland, Belgium, Paris, Genoa, Geneva and London. He drew up the memorandum for the dismemberment of the the Austrian Empire. He expounded how this was essential for a satisfactory settlement in Central Europe. He explored all possible avenues to popularize this and to gain opinion for Czech independence involved in this. Masaryk strengthened contacts with other countrymen of his working in the same direction. He led conversations with Slovaks and Ruthenians to secure popular demand and support for the future Czechoslovak State. Along with Benes, latterly to become the first Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, and Stefanik who subsequently came to be the first Minister of Defence in the new State, he elaborated the machinery of propaganda and agitation both at home and abroad for enabling the evolution of the independent State of Czechoslovakia. He kept an active campaign in America. Austria and Germany harrassed his activities and movements in all possible ways. He was followed and watched. His daughter was arrested. He lost his son at this time. But Masaryk allowed neither personal sufferings nor private sorrows to interfere with working for the idea that now consumed him completely. He lived and moved like a crusader. In 1917, Masaryk then in 67th year, moved to Russia with a Danish passport under the name George Marsden, a name suggested by Sir Basil Thompson. Masaryk's aim in visiting Russia was to raise a Czech corps against Germany and Austria out of prisoners taken and other Czechs who had crossed over to Russia. When he arrived in Petrograd (now Leningrad) the Bolshevik Revolution had broken out. In Moscow when he reached the Hotel Metropol it was the scene of a fight between Cadets (supporters of Kerensky) and the Bolsheviks. Masaryk says that though the extremely dangerous nature of the position here and elsewhere in Russia often told on him, he was determined not to indicate any signs of fear or getting tired, realizing the unfavourable impression it would have on and for his fellow workers. He carried out under great difficulties his negotiations. When he arrived in Kiev, the town was in the thick of civil war. Under the greatest difficulties Masaryk collected his men. They developed into an armed force 50,000 strong. Finally he negotiated for their transfer to Czechoslovakia. The longer route *via* Japan had to be decided. Masaryk left then for Japan, negotiated for Japan recognizing Czechoslovakian claims, and then moved to America. While in America he learnt about the final end of the War, the realization of the idea of the independent State of Czechoslovakia, and of his being unanimously elected President. Masaryk returned to Prague as President of the new Republic, a position that he has occupied without break since. The tenure of the President's office in Czechoslovakia is for seven years. A rule also states that no one can be re-elected without a break or interval. Against this, there is an exception in favour of the first President, Masaryk.



Masaryk's story ends with his work in the new position he was called to occupy. He states that he himself had hoped to return to his own old fields, pedagogy and journalism. Personal inclinations, however, were yielded to the demand from the country, at once wide and deep. The task in the new field was not an easy one. It involved the setting up of a whole apparatus of stable government. There were forces of dissension to be met within the geographical area of the new political unit as well. Men with experience were limited. Czechoslovakia's overcoming these hindrances and settling down soon as a State with a greatly sound and stable Government owes not a little to the direction of Masaryk. Today he can claim to be presiding over a State in Europe from the point of stability and of progress much in advance of many older States and keen on not lagging behind any. Masaryk is now in his 85th year. Towards the middle of this year his health took an unsatisfactory turn somewhat suddenly and much anxiety was felt. But latest reports record triumph of the resisting power of his strong and well-preserved constitution and state good recovery. He retains at the same time fully mental fitness, to occupy his responsible post. About his remarkable bodily fitness, Bruce Lockhart, the British diplomat and writer, in his new book *Retreat from Glory* (Putnam: London 10sh. 6d.), gives a good account in mentioning an interesting incident. "The man's bodily fitness is astounding. I have one very vivid memory of that

same library in the Hradcany.\* Its floor is covered with a valuable Eastern carpet. An Indian Maharajah is present. With his foot he points to some hidden beauty of the texture. With the agility of a boy the octogenarian President bends down and examines the wefts so closely and so intently that the Maharajah begins to wonder if the old gentleman has had a stroke and cannot raise himself again. The President sets the Indian's fears at rest by springing lightly to his feet. For years a system of gymnastics invented by Dr. Tyrst† and practised by the whole nation has fostered the national spirit of the Czechs. President Masaryk still does the Tyrst exercises every morning, can still at eighty-five touch his toes without bending his knees". Persons, states Masaryk, should keep check of their physical and mental alertness to decide whether they are to continue at particular positions or make way for others. In his own case, there is wide agreement that time for retirement, despite advanced age, has not come. The value of having his able and authoritative direction at this period of tension is greatly recognized. It is hoped that Masaryk will have many more years of active life. Many outside his own State will be found to share this hope.

Prague, December 10, 1934.

\* Hradcany, the Prague Castle, official residence of the President.

† Dr. Tyrst is the well-known builder of the Sokol Movement.

## PROPERTY AND TAXATION

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

**B**EFORE proceeding to deal with the problem of wealth distribution, it is well, in this as in other problems, to begin with an agreed set of principles. By so doing we avoid what might otherwise be confusion, for it is characteristic of almost all the writings of modern economists that they accept the present unstable condition of society as something which is inevitable and natural. They then proceed to build up theories and advance political propositions, expressed in terms involved and obscure, which invariably lead the student into a bewildered condition of mind. This we must avoid. There is nothing abstruse or highly complicated in the problem.

### NATURAL RIGHTS

Man has certain rights and they may be stated as follows. To begin with, all men have equal rights to live. (I need hardly say that I am speaking of *normal* human

beings; abnormal men might have to be put under control so as to safeguard the normal man in the enjoyment of his rights.) What does this right to life imply? Simply that all human beings have an equal right to the free enjoyment of those elements freely provided by nature and necessary to their existence on this earth. Man is a land animal. Land has been freely provided by nature, therefore man, if he is to enjoy his right to live, must not be impeded in the free use and enjoyment of this basic element. Air, sunshine and water are other elements essential to his existence, freely provided by nature, and the enjoyment of these also must not be hindered by any man-made laws. To refuse to some men the right to use freely any of these natural elements is to endanger their lives. The Judaic law says: "Thou shalt not kill." This implies the right of all men to live. Therefore any law made by man, though it may be a law enforced by Government authority, which denies to any human beings



the right to use freely and fully nature's gifts, thereby endangering their lives, is breaking a basic moral law, and is indeed designated by many of the most profound religious and philosophic thinkers as "the original sin which gave rise to social injustice."

This basic law of justice must never be lost sight of ; it must be the guiding principle throughout in any enquiry into the whole problem of the distribution of wealth. To overlook this first principle will only mean that instead of challenging unjust privileges, we will compromise with them, and therefore arrive at no solution of the problem.

#### PROPERTY

It will now be evident that on the very threshold of this discussion we are challenging a vested interest. This is inevitable. It is because of this challenging attitude towards vested interests that the true science of Political Economy has been obscured. Lord Macaulay, his mind running on this same point, said : "If the law of gravitation had challenged a vested interest, it would never have been known in England." Karl Marx puts it another way : "The Bishops of the Church of England," he says, "will passively allow you to attack thirty of the thirty-nine Articles, but the moment you raise the issue over one-thirty-ninth part of their salaries, then the situation becomes dangerous."

We have to combat not merely vested interests, but also to be on guard against the confused thought which results.

We will be told that all this must inevitably lead to the destruction of "property" and this, in the eyes of many, is an unforgivable sin. It is touching the Ark of the Covenant. But we cannot allow this to prevent us from pursuing our analysis of the problem. In truth nothing that I have said so far challenges "property" in the true and just meaning of that word. *Proprietas*, or property, strange though it may seem, does not mean anything, any tangible object ; it means the "right" to some thing or service. Let us clear the ground as to what gives rise to this right or property.

Before I can have a right or property in any thing, I must first of all have produced that thing, or created the right by my own

labour exertion. Or I may acquire a right or property claim to some thing as the result of exchanging for that right some goods I have produced or some services I may have rendered, thus acquiring a property right from some other person who justly holds a similar property claim. Again, I may acquire property at the hands of some one who has freely handed over his right to me. By no other process can property claims or rights come into existence and; be it observed, the very origin of property rights or claims springs from a labour effort exerted. If I claim as mine something which I have never produced or receive in exchange some rights of privilege which has no labour origin, then I have no just property claim, and I am open to be challenged if I assert control over that which has never at any time been property in the real sense. I invest another person with a right which I never created.

#### LAND

Having once grasped the origin of property it is no difficult step to take in our reasoning to apply our principles to anything which to-day is designated as property. It is essential that this should be done, otherwise a clear line will not be drawn between those things which can become property and those things which never can become property.

#### "REAL PROPERTY"

When we apply these principles to property in land, the whole facade of modern property claims in land falls to the ground. It is interesting to notice that there must have lurked in the minds of lawyers in past ages a suspicion that there was something not quite correct in claiming land as something which could be subject to a property claim, for they invented the almost comical title "Real Property" to distinguish land from anything else, and such is the force of habit that we still use the term "real property" without smiling.

No man made land, therefore no property claim to land ever came into being. Religion tells us "God made the land", but we have noticed as late as 1931 that reiteration of this religious concept was a source of amusement in the House of Commons. It is well to



remember that Herbert Spencer, who was no Socialist, put it very bluntly in the ninth chapter of *Social Statics* when he said that "the first conveyance was written in blood, carried by fraud and deceit, and signed by the sword." He further stated that if we assent to private property in one inch of land, we cannot in logic stop a section of the human community from claiming the whole earth as theirs and declaring the others to be trespassers.

The history of the origin of private land-owning in England, always conveniently excluded from history lessons in schools, colleges and universities, is one of the most tragic pages in human history.

In primitive society it is considered blasphemous for any man to claim the land as his. As an example of how primitive men hold to the belief that the land is the common property of all men, let me recall what happened in New Zealand when the British set out to appropriate the land of the Maoris. The Chiefs agreed to the British taking over certain of their common lands on condition that certain sums were paid to the Maori communities. The settlers looked upon this as a final agreement, but they were astonished when the native women arrived at their block houses with new-born babes in their arms, claiming from the British Government a payment for the child in respect of the right which it had forfeited under the agreement. I only mention this to show the latent instinct in primitive men which makes them hold to the belief that land can never be private property, nor can one generation barter away or sell the rights of succeeding generations. It has always seemed to me strange that the clergy can read the commandment found in the 25th Chapter of Leviticus, "Thou shalt not sell the land for the land is mine and ye are but sojourners on this earth with me," without feeling that in this commandment there is a challenge to the Churches and to the defenders of our present day system of property holding. To me it seems to strike at the very basis of our whole conception of property rights.

I have said enough here to show that in the economy of natural law private ownership of land has no place, but still in our time we speak of "real property." Indeed there are

greater legal defence works surrounding this thing called "real property" than there are to be found defending any other forms of property.

Before leaving this point, there is another important point we should note, namely, that by law the land belongs by right to the King. This law has never been challenged, nor has Parliament at any time attempted to pass any statute which would change that law. It is worth while remembering this fact when we hear people advocate a policy of compensation to landowners.

What has happened is that after the open theft of the people's land by certain individuals in the State, the Law Courts set to work to build up what they term "fictions" to circumvent statute law and to give legal sanction to this plunder of the community's rights. In the latest edition of Lord Halsbury's work on British Law it is very significant that he makes the following statement when he comes to deal with the recent Law of Property Acts passed by Parliament in 1922-24-26. "The land is not absolute private property, but in law we deal with it as if to all intents and purposes it was private property."

There is no landowner living today who dare come upon any public platform and defend his claim to property in land on any of those principles stated earlier in this article. He neither made the land, nor did he exchange anything he did make with the creator of it in order to establish a property claim in it, nor is it to be found on record that the Original Creator of it freely handed it over to those who now claim it as their property.

Despite all this, historic monopoly of land persists, and, as was shown in dealing with the distribution of wealth, the so-called owners of this land draw to themselves out of the pool of wealth production the lion's share.

To recapitulate: the land increases in value with the growth of population and the development of the sciences and the arts, thus creating vast tributes in rent payments to landowners, at the same time the return to labour in wages tends to fall. So that by condoning ownership in the land, the maldistribution of wealth which we have indicated follows as a consequence.



## PUBLIC REVENUE

We will return to rent appropriation later. At this point we must consider the question of taxation.

Economists of the nineteenth century laid it down as a principle that taxation should be so levied that it would cause the least possible amount of economic friction, that the cost of its collection should be kept low, and that it should not be levied in such a way as would hinder economic progress.

All of these canons are broken in modern practice. Every form of tax and rate now levied causes irritation, costly officialdom, retards economic development and entrenches monopoly.

## NATURAL TAXATION

There are only two bases upon which taxes can be levied: (1) the value of land, and (2) the value of things produced by labour.

I will not go into the question as to the economic effects of taxing people's food and rating their houses. The facts are well known to all of us. The question to be answered is this: Is there any natural fund which is created by the whole community, which grows and expands with the development of the community, which could be appropriated by the community for its revenue purposes.

It is clear that there is such a fund, and that fund is rent or land value. To remove taxes and rates from the necessities of the people and levy these imports upon the market or selling value of land would be nothing short of conforming to natural law. It would be fulfilling a moral principle. It would be taking for the community that which belongs to the community, leaving in the hands of the individual that which belongs to the individual.

Today every country is distracted with the question of its budget and taxation. We have seen even here how successfully the vested interests used a Budget's stringency to unseat a Labour Government. On the eve of local elections also the Conservative powers will always try to defeat the encroachment of working class representatives on the ground of rates.

Adam Smith and those who followed him in England insisted that there is no force

more potent for the destruction of civilized government than that of unjust taxation. They also pointed out that there is no greater influence for raising the standard of the community than a just form of taxation. History has shown us examples of how taxation has led to revolution in Greece and Rome. Coming nearer to our own times, Louis XVI in France paid the penalty of overtaxing the community although warned by his advisers. Charles I in England tampered with taxation to his own cost, and in the reign of George III America broke away from the British connection over the question of taxation. The Bolshevik revolution was the reaction of the people against exorbitant exactions imposed upon them and today almost every country is apprehensive as to the effects of high taxation upon their political development.

This state of affairs cannot be otherwise where statesmen persist in ignoring economic law. They will continue to throw an ever-increasing burden of taxation upon industry, generating more economic discontent, and then we enter the vicious circle where more taxes are imposed in a vain endeavour to ward off the consequences which their taxation policies give rise to.

If this deadweight burden of taxation were taken off the back of labour, and the publicly created fund of land value were taken instead, the economic consequences would be the reverse to those we are now witnessing. To relieve the worker of all that he now pays in indirect taxes and local rates would be tantamount to increasing his income by a similar amount. But side by side with this relief, there would require to be an equal imposition of taxation levied upon the value of the land, otherwise rent would rise and absorb the advantage.

As evidence of this, note what happens whenever vast sums of money are spent either on health services, housing or other forms of public betterment. The advantage which it had been hoped would come to the community records itself immediately in high values of land, i.e., high rentals.

## WAGES

We have already noticed that the wage of an employed worker is determined by



what an unemployed worker is prepared to accept. This point, taken in conjunction with the law which we observed—that wages rise or fall according to the opportunities open for labour to employ itself—it must be clear that whatever tends to open up natural opportunities to labour, thus removing the pressure of unemployment against those in employment, must be of prime importance to the working classes. The economic result of imposing taxation upon the market value of land is to compel the so-called owners to open up land to human use. The result here is obvious.

Now we have arrived at this conclusion that land cannot be property. But it has attained in the eyes of the law to a status of "real property", giving the owners the power to appropriate ever-increasing quantities of wealth production to the detriment of the community as a whole. Governments under these circumstances then have recourse to imposing heavy taxation upon industry, leading to economic disruption.

By reversing this whole process and restoring to the community their natural

right to the land, abolishing all taxation of industry and appropriating the community-created values for public uses, we would remove unemployment and set in motion the proper circulation and distribution of wealth in conformity with natural law and in harmony with the teaching of the science of political economy.

My sole objective in stating these elementary though fundamental economic principles is to make clear, as far as I possibly can, the direct and most efficient road towards social emancipation.

It is the duty of those who clearly perceive the economic results of our present unjust system to use their voting power to appoint those representatives who shall on all occasions challenge any man-made law which is a contravention of the laws of social justice. Indeed it has been truly said that a wise statesman might spend his life-time not in making new laws, but in destroying the iniquitous laws which privilege and monopoly have imposed upon the people.

"That which is morally right must be economically possible."

## IS INDIA OVER-POPULATED ?

By H. SINHA, Ph. D.

*Lecturer, Calcutta University*

THE normal decennial rate of increase of population in India was estimated to vary between 7 and 8 per cent by Mr. J. T. Marten, the Census Commissioner for the 1921 census. It was believed at the time that on account of the influenza epidemic causing heavy mortality, specially among persons of reproductive age, the increase of population during the years 1921-31 would be less than normal. The present census, however, reveals an actual increase of 10.6 per cent. The vexed question whether India is over-populated or not has therefore once again come into prominence.

One can speak of over-population and under-population in a country only with reference to some optimum, for non-human organisms, "when a certain density is reached,

fertility begins to diminish, although there is not yet any lack of food, nor any difficulty in getting at it."\* Any extension of this principle to human populations so as to set up a "biological optimum" does not, however, seem to be valid.

Rather we should speak in terms of an economic optimum, which ensures the maximum economic welfare for the population such that any deviation from that population, whether an increase or a decrease, results in less economic welfare. This concept also is not free from difficulties. It cannot furnish a stable basis for reference. It must vary from country to country. Even within the same

\* Raymond Pearl's "Biology of Population Growth" referred to in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 162, July, 1932.



country it must vary from year to year. A more fundamental objection is that economic welfare is a composite of many items in varying proportions. Its definition is far more debatable than, say, that of the index number of prices. In a vast heterogeneous country like India it is difficult to visualize what exactly would amount to maximum economic welfare for the country as a whole in a given situation.

In any case, even if we have a compact and homogeneous group of people with a standard of living which is not subject to wide fluctuations *inter se*, the difficulty still remains *viz.*, whether we think in terms of individual welfare or in terms of social welfare. In other words, do we desire to have a small number of very happy people? Or do we think it desirable "for everyone to have the chance of living for whom life could be in any sense worthwhile"?\* There are other similar difficulties. In fact, this concept is probably another "empty hat box."

We should, therefore, think of some practical devices for testing whether economic welfare has in fact been impaired along with the undoubted increase in population, revealing want of balance between the output of goods and services and the number of persons enjoying them. These devices may be direct or indirect. To take up the latter category first, we may, following Dr. Drysdale, argue that if we find the average expectation of life at different ages steadily declining in a country, we may infer pressure of population there. The Actuarial Report attached to the present census in India (on pages 165-6) shows that the average † expectation of male lives has improved during the last decade for all ages. Female lives also show some improvement. Can we safely infer from this that India is not over-populated? Should we forget the fact that influenza exacted a heavy toll in 1921, from which there must be a

natural recovery, apart from any other cause? In any case, so much leeway has to be made up in matters of sanitation, public health, etc., in India that any improvement in the expectation of life (supposed to be equally distributed in different economic strata among different communities—a large, perhaps a gratuitous assumption) does not necessarily mean greater economic welfare as in western countries.

Other indirect tests such as those suggested in a recent article in the *Economic Journal* need not detain us long. The fact that the increase of population during the period 1871-1931 was least in India among all the countries of the world, except France, cannot prove that India is not over-populated. For it may be argued with equal force that the pressure of population here was already so intense that further growth was necessarily slow. Nor can the fact that the average density of population in India is lower than in other countries disprove over-population, for economic pressure may exist in any degree of density, as shown by Dr. Harold Mann in his *Village Studies*. Any inference based on the available food supply has been rightly condemned by Mr. Shirras in his article in the *Economic Journal*.\* But, strangely enough, he himself quotes statistics of the acreage and out-turn of crops in support of his contention. He goes further and points out that "there are in India no limits to agricultural improvement with the advance of science," as if the population of today will live on the goods and services to be produced at some distant future date. Possibly the figures for unculturable wastes other than fallows should show a steady decline if there is really some pressure of agricultural population. They do not, however, throw any light on the matter on account of the nature of such data.†

A direct and a more satisfactory test for over-population is to find out whether population is outstripping the output of goods and services. If it is, the real income per head should decline. In the table appended to this paper will be found various estimates of nominal income per head made from time to

\* For a critical discussion of the optimum concept of population, see Lindly M. Fraser's article in *Population*, February, 1934. He comes to the conclusion that this concept should find no place in a discussion on theoretical economics.

† In common with other all-India averages, it suffers from the defect that the constituent items are widely dissimilar. The Actuarial Report for the 1921 census stressed this point. The present report does not give expectation of life figures separately according to incomes or any other economic attributes.

\* "The Population Problem in India" by Mr. G. Findlay Shirras in *Economic Journal*, March, 1933.

† See "Indian Agricultural Statistics" by the present writer in J. R. S. S., Vol. XCVII, Part I, 1934, p. 156.



time by officials and non-officials. As no satisfactory index for the purchasing power of the rupee is available, nominal incomes have had to be reduced into real incomes by the Department of Statistics General Index Number, which has at least the merit of continuity. In his *Science of Public Finance* Mr. Shirras explained why the method hitherto adopted for estimating national income had been discarded by him. But his new method is also seriously in error. Thus in calculating agricultural incomes he has taken average wholesale prices and not harvest prices actually obtained by cultivators, which are sometimes less by nearly 25% as estimated by the Agricultural Commission. He has included transport and other charges separately in connection with non-agricultural incomes. Such double counting has inflated the income per head according to his much vaunted new method, whereas his "old method" figure for 1921, of Rs. 72 is substantially in agreement with Messrs. Shah & Khambata's independent estimate for 1921-22 of Rs. 74. Unfortunately Mr. Shirras does not state the method of compilation of his table of the income per head in his article in the *Economic Journal*. Presuming that he has followed his new method, and further assuming that the corresponding figure of Rs. 80 for 1911 in his *Science of Public Finance* has not been revised, the real income for 1929-30 should be Rs. 63 ( $=62 \times 273 \div 270$ ). On the other hand, if the 1921 figure of Rs. 107 stands as before in the present table, the income for 1929-30 should be Rs. 53 ( $=45 \times 273 \div 230$ ). In either case, we arrive at the curious conclusion that real incomes rose rapidly during a period of depression in India, whereas in England and practically every other country there were substantial declines.\* In any case, leaving out the last figure, *viz.*, that for 1929-30, as being highly suspicious, and using the old method of compiling national income throughout, so as to eliminate the error due to the defect in the method as far as possible, we find that the real income has risen steadily from 1871 to 1911 with a slight set back in 1901 due to famine. This does not suggest any over-population. The drop in the figure for 1921 is partly due to the rapid

rise in prices at the time just as the figure for 1930-31 must have been inflated due to the rapid fall in prices. For as is well known arithmetic averages are not so suitable as geometric averages where the individual prices are much dispersed as they must be during a period of severe fluctuations.\* To sum up: the data now available cannot give definite answer to the question whether India is now over-populated or not; although it may be stated that India was not probably over-populated during the period 1871 to 1911.

Another difficulty is that a mere increase in real income per head may not indicate economic prosperity for the country. Even if the real income per head remains the same but there is better distribution, there is greater economic welfare. We, therefore, require not only fuller census of production statistics for estimating national income but detailed family budgets for different communities in different parts of India to have some knowledge of the distribution of income and of the standard of living. And these for a number of years to enable us to eliminate the effect of temporary trade cycles and to get at the underlying trend with which we have to correlate the population trend.

Lavoisier, better known as a chemist than as an economist, made an important contribution along with the famous mathematician Lagrange to a remarkable pamphlet† on "Political Arithmetic." He made a characteristic remark reminding all physiocrats that if full data were available, the whole science of political economy (as then understood) would be contained in a few pages, or rather the science would cease to exist, the problems being solved so easily that no disagreement could be possible.

In conclusion, the writer desires to place on record the valuable assistance received by him from Prof. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph. D., in writing this paper, although he alone is responsible for the opinions expressed here.§

\* *Economic Journal*, June, 1928, p. 220. The test is whether price relatives or their logarithms fit a normal curve better.

† Collection de divers ouvrages d'arithmétique politique par Lavoisier, Delagrange et autres, Paris an IV, quoted in Westergaard's *History of Statistics*.

§ An address before the eighteenth session of the Indian Economic Conference at Patna.

\* J. R. S. S., Vol. XCII., Part I, 1929.



## APPENDIX

## INCOMES PER HEAD IN INDIA

Year	Nominal income per head	Authority for the estimate	Dept. of Statistics General Index No. (Base 1873-100)	Real income per head at 1873 price level
	Rs.			Rs.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)=(2)×100÷4
1871	20	Based on Dadabhai Naoroji's estimate for 1867-8	93	22
1881	27	Financial Statement of 1882	96	28
1901	30	Lord Curzon's estimate	110	27
1911	(a) 50	Mr. Shirras in <i>Science of Public Finance</i> according to old method hitherto adopted.	129	39
	(b) 80	<i>Ibid</i> according to new method.	129	(62)
1921	(a) 72	<i>Ibid</i> according to old method	236	31
	(b) 107	<i>Ibid</i> according to new method	236	(45)
1929-30	...	Mr. Shirras in <i>Econ. Jour.</i> , March, 1933.		(53 or 63)*

\* According as the figure for 1911 or for 1921 compiled according to the new method and published in his *Science of Public Finance* stands unrevised for his article in *Economic Journal*. The writer has to confess sadly that he has been completely baffled by a similar table in his *Poverty and Kindred Problems*.

## COMMUNAL SCHOOLS RETARD THE PROGRESS OF MUHAMMADAN EDUCATION

### THE EVIDENCE OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS

By ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJI, M. A.

**T**HE Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India (1927-32) furnishes interesting reading in respect of the Education Department's appraisement of the communal schools in general, and of the Muhammadan communal schools in particular. The following statements, quoted from the above Review, will speak for themselves. Dwelling on the "reckless and impetuous multiplication of primary schools," the Review goes on to say :

"In his quinquennial report for 1922-27 the Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa, drew attention to another illustration of unnecessary expenditure which results from the growing tendency towards communal separatism :

"There is a movement for substituting for the village schools a variety of schools intended for the benefit of particular communities..... We are now reaching a stage when each village wants a primary school, a maktab and a pathshala. In addition it is claimed that even at the lower primary stage separate schools are necessary for girls, and also in many places separate schools for children of the depressed classes. Thus, in

the poorest province of India, we are asked to provide five primary schools for each village."

"Unfortunately, these words of warning have passed unheeded even during a time of acute financial stringency. In his recent report the Director has stated that

"the remarks which I made five years ago are still applicable. Bihar and Orissa is a poor province and cannot afford extravagances ; and communal schools are of the nature of extravagances \* Apart from the question of cost, these extravagances are not always beneficial, for many of the teachers of Maktabas and Pathshalas are notoriously unable to teach subjects other than literature."

"Again, it has been noted in previous reports and reviews that an excessive number of communal schools in the Punjab has resulted in extravagant competition, often in loss of discipline and in reduced efficiency ; yet no reference is made in the Punjab report to any bold and concerted attempt to remedy this inadvisable form of expenditure." (Progress of Education in India 1927-32 Pp. 4-5).

The reader may ask here—who is to make "any bold and concerted attempt to remedy" this evil ? Can any such attempt, if it is made by the public, succeed, in the face of the

\* The italics throughout this article are mine —Writer.



avowed and determined policy of the Government to encourage one particular kind of communalism ?

However, the Tenth Quinquennial Review of Education in India, published under the name of Sir George Anderson, again makes the following remarks on the "segregate schools" for "the accommodation of children of particular communities" :

"Prominent in this category of institutions are the madrasas, maktabas and mulla schools for Muslims, and pathshalas for Hindus ; there are also large numbers of monastic schools in Burma. In one sense, these institutions are interesting relics of the old indigenous system of Oriental learning ; in another sense, *they often provide a very inadequate grounding of pupils who have to make their way in the unfamiliar conditions of modern life. They are also largely responsible for serious overlapping and consequent extravagance in the educational system.*"

As if the huge sums spent on the maktabas and madrasas were not enough,

"...in Madras and Bombay Presidencies large number of segregate primary schools, which provide education of the normal type, are maintained for the benefit of the Muslim community," \* (Progress of Education in India, 1927-32. P. 30.)

A few words about the "pathshalas" will not be out of place here. We, in Bengal, understand by word purely secular primary schools imparting general education, which are open to all. If the same be true of the "pathshalas" of other provinces, these institutions should not be classed with the Muslim communal schools, *viz.* maktabas and madrasas, even if the Muslims choose to shun them deliberately, in order to patronize their favourite institutions. If, however, by "pathshalas" are meant Sanskrit *pathshalas* or *tols*, even then there can be no comparison between the extravagant official favour shown to maktabas and madrasas and the very grudging and niggardly help given to *tols*. For instance, in Bengal, in 1931-32 the grants to *tols* from public funds amounted to Rs. 109266 ; and the same to maktabas and madrasas amounted to Rs. 1107578 and Rs. 530053 or a total of Rs. 1637631† ; that is nearly sixteen times the money spent on *tols*. There is no reason to suppose that Government attitude to exclusively Hindu

education is more liberal in any other province. To place *tols*, maktabas and madrasas in the same class, from this point of view, therefore is to place a mosquito and an elephant in the same category. Moreover, *tols* are so small in number and attract such a small number of pupils that, in spite of them, Hindus have admittedly made great progress in general education. Government reports nowhere say that *tols* retarded the progress of general education among Hindus ; but the same reports have said repeatedly that maktabas and madrasas do retard the progress of Muslim education. For instance, the Fifth Quinquennial Review (1912-17) of Bengal said so, and subsequent Reviews, including the latest, have repeated the statement. To make a fuss over the *tols*, therefore, was not at all necessary.

Now we shall turn to that part of Sir George Anderson's Tenth Quinquennial Review, where the causes of the backwardness of Muslims in education are dealt with. The following passages will be found very illuminating :

"A closer examination of these figures (percentage of Muslim pupils) however, will disclose disquieting features. The vast majority of Muslim boys do not proceed farther than the primary stage. In 1932, Muslims formed 30.5 per cent of the total in class I ; in class II, they formed only 25.3 per cent ; in class V, only 19.4 per cent. In the middle stage, there were only 165144 pupils or, 18.2 per cent of the total ; in the high stage, only 47031 or, 15.0 per cent of the total. In colleges and universities, there were only 13302 students or, 13.6 per cent of the total." "The position of Muslim girls is even more disturbing. In 1932, there were 647713 Muslim girls at school and college or, 26.0 per cent of the total. In class I, they formed 28.6 p. c. of the total ; but in class V, only 9.87... There were only 4591 or 6.5 p. c. in the middle stage ; and 594 or 4.1 p. c. in the high stage. There were only 127 Muslim girls in all colleges and universities."

"The census literacy figures are equally disquieting. In all communities the number of literates by no means reflects school attendance figures, as large numbers of school children never attain literacy, but this disappointing tendency is more prevalent among Muslims than among most other communities."

"The main reason why Muslims in large numbers are unable to reach the higher school stage is loyalty to their traditional learning and religion. The Hartog Committee distinguished between 'separate' and 'special' institutions. The former type includes Islamia colleges which prepare for university examinations, Islamia secondary schools which prepare for matriculation ; Islamia primary schools which are maintained by district authorities."

\* There are the Islamia colleges and Islamia secondary schools in many provinces too, which foster communal separation—Writer.

† Eighth Quinquennial Review of Education in Bengal.



"Special' schools comprise an extensive network of Islamic maktabas, madrasas and Koran schools, Mulla schools in Sind, culminating in higher institutions of Oriental learning such as, those at Deoband and Lucknow. Only an insignificant proportion of the pupils attending these schools make sufficient progress in their general studies to enable them to make headway at a later stage."

"In some provinces very large numbers of Muslim pupils attend these special schools" (Figures for Bengal, Bihar, U. P. and Sind are given).

"In Madras.....the most depressing features of Muslim elementary schools continued to be the high wastage, the comparatively greater stagnation of pupils, and the poor qualification of teachers."

"In accordance with the recommendations of a committee appointed to consider the education of Mappillas the policy has been to develop Mappilla schools on lines most acceptable to the community. Wastage in these schools is reported to be very high."

Then the Bengal Quinquennial Review for 1927-32 is quoted :

"The progress of Muslims is retarded by general apathy to that culture which a liberal education such as is imparted in ordinary schools gives ; .... preference shown for special institutions, maktabas and madrasas which combine secular education with the teaching of Islamic ritual and religion."

It has already been noted that Bengal reports for over twenty years have been making this remark. From the Fifth Quinquennial down to the latest, the same observations have been made.

The Tenth Quinquennial Review of the Government of India goes on thus :

"The greatest handicap to progress in the higher ranges of education is that children in largely increasing numbers attend segregate schools. The Hartog Committee recorded the opinion 'that these institutions undoubtedly brought Muslim pupils under instruction more extensively and more quickly than would have been the case had the only facilities been those offered by the undenominational and publicly managed schools. But these institutions have done but little to raise the general standard of education among Muslims to that of other communities. A continuance of these institutions on a large scale will be prejudicial both to the interests of Muslims themselves and to the public interest.'" (P. 244)

Sir George Anderson concludes the chapter thus :

"So long as segregate special schools continue in such numbers the progress of Muslims must continue to be seriously retarded." (P. 244)

Since this is the considered opinion of the Government of India in the Department of Education, one wonders who is it that causes the expenditure of huge sums on the very same injurious institutions !

But we may get glimpse into the psychology of the Government in the following passages quoted from the Bombay report :

"It has been suggested that 'the necessity of learning two languages had tended to retard the progress of Muslim youths. Government, however, have been guided by the desire of the community, and the Department has loyally given effect to this desire even when it is felt that the material advantages of Muhammadans would be better served in their competition with other communities by their accepting the local vernacular as their chief medium of instruction in school.'" (P. 242, Tenth Quinquennial.)

The Muslim community should be immensely grateful for this sweet amiability of the Government in "loyally" allowing them to go down the ladder of educational progress !

In this connection the following words of Mr. Sharp, formerly Education Secretary to the Government of India, are very significant :

"The very paucity of their (Muslims') numbers sometimes induces them to preserve or to revive Urdu as a means of cohesion and self-preservation. Thus, in the southern part of Madras, Muhammadans whose mother tongue is Tamil, are moving in the direction of Urdu : there is an agitation in favour of Urdu as a Vernacular in the districts of Bombay where it is hardly known to the general public" (Progress of Education in India 1907-12, vol. I, p. 249).

Thanks to Government patronage, all these agitations have succeeded !

As in the case of love of Urdu, so in the case of communal Islamic schools, the motive is mainly "cohesion," which, from the point of view of other communities, is separatism. But the case of general education of Muslims, and the interest of the public no doubt suffer by the continuance of these segregate schools, as pointed out by the Hartog Committee.

Does anybody care to enquire about the efficiency of these communal schools ? Then let the Seventh Quinquennial Review on the progress of Education in Bengal (1922-23—1926-27) speak :

"As one inspector puts it—nothing is likely to perpetuate the present unfortunate communal differences more than the separate education of members of different communities.....The Maktabas and Madrasahs are extremely inefficient. This is not prejudiced criticism but is the unanimous verdict of the Muhammadan Inspector.....It is extremely unlikely that the products of such institutions will ever be able to compete successfully with those who have been taught in ordinary high schools."

This is the private opinion of many Muhammadan gentlemen." (P. 73)



Let me now recapitulate the most important findings of the reports and reviews quoted in this article :

(1) Communal schools are extravagances, that is, they cause waste of public money.

(2) Communal schools, *viz.*, maktabas, madrasas, etc., retard the progress of education of the Muslims.

(3) Communal schools are also detrimental to the interest of the public in general ; in other words, the money spent on them might be utilized for the common good of the public.

But, in spite of all good advice of its own officers, the policy of giving more and more encouragement to segregate communal institutions of the Moslems is being vigorously followed by the Government. Even when Primary Education will be compulsory in Bengal by the Act, already passed, the maktabas will remain intact,—this is the assurance given by the Education Department of Bengal.

Even this is not all. In Bengal, there is a standing rule framed by the Education Department by which ordinary primary schools can be practically converted into Maktabas, to which we shall return later on, if necessary.

For the sake of the educational progress of the Muslims themselves, if not for the sake of justice to Hindus, who contribute three-fourths of the funds at the disposal of the Government, the Government ought to stop the extravagant expenditure on the Muslim communal segregate schools. Let boys of all communities read in common schools, so that they may learn the lesson of communal harmony and love each other like children of the same family. \*

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\* Out of a total of 1437655 Muhammadan pupils in Bengal in 1931-32, 927397 were enrolled in maktabas and madrasas (Eighth Quinquennial Review of Bengal—Writer.

## HIGH LIGHTS OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXPOSITION— SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL

By IDA M. GURWELL

**U**PON entering the Hall of Social Science which is appropriately near the Hall of Science, we are impressed by the figures that decorate the pylons above the entrance. They were inspired by Hindu mythology and represent Fire, Light, Darkness and Storm. Leo Friedlander is the sculptor.

The struggle of knowledge to bring order to social life is the theme of the exhibits in this building. We find a reproduction of Magnon Cave in France, with drawings and carvings left on the walls by the cave-men, showing a record of early culture ; three ages of Indian mound builders in America shown by a cross section of a mound with skeletons buried at different levels ; a relief map of the United States that shows different aboriginal ways of life ; comparative skulls of great apes and primitive men showing development of intelligence. Each exhibit whether diorama, moving pictures, or reproduction, tells a vital story of a hundred years of social progress.

A statistical chart of one hundred years of social legislation is very interesting ; the progress of labour ; copies of old inhuman laws and an illustrated community-planning map introduce exhibits of social work in which ninety-eight organizations co-operated.

Here is shown work of the Red Cross social settlements ; adjustment of immigrants and the effort of the Urban League for the welfare of Negroes. The abolition of crime breeding slums, clinics, health education hospital and social service. The country is doubtless much better for their existence. Co-operative business effects social life and the different branches of co-operative business is shown, among them insurance, home-loans, and philanthropies.

College women from the leading women's colleges retain a reception room here. One meets women interested in educational and social reform from every part of the world.

II Joining this building is the Electrical





Looking northward up the Avenue of Flags at the World's Fair in Chicago. This picture might be called "People and More People." Busy days, like these, are coming along right regularly now.

Building, a modern marvel as are the exhibits within. The telegraph, the telephone, automatic fire alarms, sprinklers, burglar alarms. Here are alarms actually hooked up to protect grounds and buildings at the Fair. The use of electricity in the home, school and hospital. Clean, quiet, electrical apparatus for every use is displayed here. The use of electricity has contributed so much to comfort and convenience in America, we have come to look upon it with little thought as to how it came about.

There are five acres of space in the General Exhibits Building filled with industrial exhibits. Among hundreds of exhibits is shown the world's first print shop, that of Johannes Gutenberg in Germany in 1438. One sees the reconstruction of the Gutenberg Press, and printers in mediaeval costume still pull proof on ancient hand press. There are hand printing jobs of pages done on the antique

equipment and with Gutenberg type. The first printed book page is in the exhibit as is a facsimile of the original Gutenberg Bibles. Associated with the print shop is a book bindery of the present day where rare books are bound by hand. Artists are at work hand-tooling leather and decorating books.

Here are exhibits of business machines, cash registers, tabulating, office machines and equipment of all sorts; the manufacture of early American furniture as done today in a model shop; porcelain, bath and kitchens, modern rug weaving; paper composition, even paper nails which are non-conductors of electricity, and all the wonders of office, and home in our day that have come the industrial route during a Century of Progress.

Famous gems are exhibited here. Among others the 42 carat perfect blue diamond formerly one of the jewels of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico; and the 128.5 carats



Tiffany diamond. In addition to this unparalleled display of diamonds is the South African mine in operation. Thirty tons of diamond-bearing blue clay from Kimberley mines was brought from South Africa for the demonstration. In connection with this \$5,000,000.00 exhibit is a reproduction of a part of Amsterdam, Holland showing the cutting and polishing of diamonds. The entire exhibit is brought to the Fair through the co-operated diamond and jewelry interests.

Fur industry with a natural background. A revolving stage shows on one side foxes in the woods—on the other, a fashion show of furs worn with various costumes.

One of the most educational and inspiring exhibits at the Fair, is one showing four hundred figurines representing women's ideas in costumes from past ages to the present time. Each famous woman is dressed as she was in life. This colossal work was done by Minna M. Schmidt, Chicago University, and is not only a story of costume, but a history of famous women. Forty-four countries are represented. It took five years to complete the exhibit. It is complete in detail, for Minna M. Schmidt is not satisfied short of perfection. This woman is the author of "400 Outstanding Women of the World, and Costumology of their Time." In the book is a short biography of each woman in her "World Family of Figurines." There are five women from India: Padmini (14th Century), Mira Bai (16th Century), Mumtaz Mahal (17th Century), Ranees of Jhansi (1822-1857), and Toru Dutt (1857-1877). All picturesque characters.

The Hall of Religions contains hours of interest and spiritual helpfulness. Christianity with its great family of creeds is represented here. There are many other exhibits of spiritual or religious trend. Perhaps there is much too in this Hall that could not be classified as either spiritual or religious. It has a commercial tone.

Of greatest interest to visitors is the "Chalice of Antioch." Thousands have viewed this, one of the earliest relics of Christian faith. The Chalice is 7'56 inches high. The inner cup would contain about two quarts of liquid. Of silver elaborately wrought is the outer vessel. It was executed about 50 to 90 of the Christian era. The delicate decorations show

Christ as the central figure. In the same collection are other treasures. These are art treasures as well as religious treasures.

Second in interest is the "Last Supper" carved in mother of pearl. It is a miniature carving 30 by 35 inches executed 200 years ago by an Armenian lapidary, Ivan Khanbeyian. It represents Jesus and the Disciples at the table. So delicate and fragile is this piece of work that it is shown under a magnifying glass.

From any part of the fair grounds one does not fail to see the Havoline thermometer that stands near the centre of the grounds. It is 227 feet high, is the largest in the world, and the only one of its kind in existence. It is a landmark for at night it cheerfully reflects the temperature from its well-lighted sides.

The purpose of the General Motors Building is, bringing the factory to the people, and showing visitors how motor cars are put together. From a balcony a fifth of a mile long, 1,000 visitors at a time may watch the entire process from the first step of the assemblage of a Chevrolet car, until the finished car is driven off at the end, under its own power. Two hundred white-uniformed expert workmen are at their separate jobs along the line. When we think of the great expense, it is beyond belief. Construction equipment of the building together with the operation represents an investment of \$3,000,000.

At the Chrysler Building is a free exhibition track. Testing of cars is given hourly under direction of Barney Oldfield, the celebrated racing driver. This is one of the most beautiful buildings of the fair and has murals that are excellently done and unique in their method of origin. (More about these on World's Fair Art.)

In 1933, Ford was not represented. 1934 finds him with one of the most outstanding exhibits ever known. His exhibit covers science and industry and transportation. The building itself is much in evidence. The whole exhibit is tremendously educational. The dome of the building is 200 feet in diameter and represents the giant cogs of a set of gear wheels. The building embodies new principles in lighting. Nearly four acres is devoted to exhibits under this roof. Sixty-seven vehicles of different eras are shown



from the Egyptian chariot to the motor of today. The centre of the rotunda is called the Court of the World. This is open to the sky. Looking upward at night one sees a great pillar of light emerging from coloured clouds reaching a mile into the sky. Twentyfour 38-inch projectors of 5,000 watts are used. Across the street from the building are the Ford Gardens. Here is a road reproduced from nineteen famous highways of the world, dating from the earliest Roman and Chinese roads to the smoothly paved highways of today. Extensive research is being made of the Soy Bean under cultivation. The products of this plant is being used in different ways.

Near the Ford Building is the Mayon Temple. A reproduced section of the Nunnery of Uxmal in Yucatan is shown. Shrunk human heads; war trophies of the Jivaro Indians who still preserve their independence in Equador. In these halls are relics of the engineering genius of the lost civilization of America. Portraits show Mayas as they are today.

Much has been added to the beauty of the World's Fair in 1934. And while it is impossible to do justice to the 1934 version, perhaps my readers will visualize much that is not written. The largest fountain ever constructed was completed in 1934. Through its outlets flow 68,000 gallons of water a minute. It is uncanny when the forty powerful searchlights are turned on back of its spray. Submarine lights extend the entire length of the fountain and the flood of light



One of the delightful scenes in the Formal Garden, Horticultural Exhibit, World's Fair, Chicago.

blends with spectacular effect, colouring the fountain green, red, amber, blue or white.

The Adler Planetarium, a permanent building, has been made a part of the fair itself. A mechanism, the Zeiss Planetarium projector provides the spectacle of the heavenly bodies as seen from the earth. This was the first Planetarium erected in the United States. It is an astronomical museum. The building is approached through the promenade along fountain basin design each depicting a month of the year. The promenade is permanent.

One finds the story of the Government of the United States told in the Government



Building. This building is located at the head of the quadrangle Court of States. Here one gets some idea of the multiplicity of service the government performs ; crime detection, health, scientific research exploration, department of labour and its expanding service ; the great peace-time work of the army engineers ; the service of the Navy and Marine Corps. The progress of man accompanies material achievement, and the struggle of man through the ages and his equally difficult struggle today to adapt himself to changing environment ; the use he makes of his developed powers, all can be read in the exhibits in the Government Building.

The Court of States joins the Government Building. Here are shown special exhibits from the different States of the Union. Interesting all but one can do no more than mention them.

The Agricultural Building displays foods in their raw state and prepared for the table ; the Horticultural Building has four acres of beautiful gardens. This building's exhibits are under the direction of the Society of American Florists and the co-operation of the hundreds of garden clubs throughout the country. The gardens spend themselves in riotous bloom and fragrance for the benefit of the visitors.

Even the fowls of the world have their inning. The international egg-laying contest is being conducted in the poultry exhibit. In rows of modern hen-houses are blue ribbon hens competing for the championship. And who ever dreamed there were so many different kinds ? English Dorkling and Sussex, the leading English meat fowl ; Astralorps, Australian fowl holding world record for egg production ; Jersey Giants both black and white, the heaviest breed of chickens ; Turkeys, a hybrid, asserted to be a cross between turkey and chicken. We must not leave what seems to us to be the most unusual fowl of all, Japanese Silkies, these are featherless but they are covered with glossy down. Near this International show is a restaurant featuring poultry products.

The spectacle known as a Century of Progress Exposition is enormous. There is so much space to be covered outside the buildings that there is transportation to all

parts of the grounds. One walks miles before he realizes it, so interesting are the exhibits and those who come to see them. There are buses, roller chairs, jinrikishas, motor launches and gondolas. There are personally conducted bus tours throughout the grounds as well as the non-stop tours arranged for those who have little time to spend at the fair. It is an accommodating fair. You can see as much as you like or as little. Conveniences for the visitor that are adjustable to purse and needs. A democratic Exposition.

The Avenue of Flags extends from twelfth street entrance to the Hall of Science. Flags with modernistic supports arch above this avenue, which is the main highway of the fair. This is the beginning of an avenue three miles long extending the length of the grounds.

Here are the Government Pavilions of Grecian, Francois, Alaskan, Swedish, Czechoslovakian, Italian, and many others. China has interesting exhibits as do most of the countries of the world. If the exhibits are not housed here we find villages which are reproductions of famous villages of foreign countries in different parts of the grounds.

The Lama Temple is deserving of more space than we can devote to it here. This shrine is known as the Golden Pavilion of Jehol. It is said to be an exact reproduction of the original temple built for the Manchu Emperors of China in 1767. It is filled with bronzes, rich embroideries, statuary, carvings and jewels. Dr. Sven Hedin was sent to the Orient by Vincent Bendix to find and bring back a typical Chinese Temple. He found this relic of the Manchu dynasty crumbling in ruins. A staff of Chinese artist-craftsmen was set to work to duplicate each piece of the structure. No nails were used. More than 28,000 different parts were carved, numbered and shipped to Chicago. \$25,000 worth of 23 carat gold leaf covers the copper shingles of its double-decked roof. It is equipped for Lama worship. Its treasures include a bronze incense burner dating back to the Ming Dynasty. A large antique wooden statue of the "smiling Buddha," bronze prayer wheels, prayer rugs, ceremonial robes, and many other priceless objects. A Chinese interpreter explains the Lama ceremony to thousands.



Sears Roebuck, Armour Co., Swift and Company, Hiram Walker Distillers, as well as dozens of other well-known companies in America have large exhibits at the fair. Hiram Walker Distilleries bottle thousands of one-tenth pint bottles, miniature bottles, each day and sell them to the thirsty sight-seer, who might want whisky. Thousands are sold. At the 23rd Street Bridge, Swift and Company has the Chicago Symphony playing to thousands daily. The bridge is given over to Swift Products. All entertainment here is backed by Swift.

It would take days to visit thoroughly the Great Hall of the Travel and Transport Building, and the Transportation Dome. These buildings belong definitely to Modern Architecture. The dome is an architectural innovation and has attracted more attention than any building erected in recent years. Instead of being supported by pillars, the dome is suspended from twelve trussed towers. This novel suspension allows for floor space entirely free from obstruction. Suspension principle allows for floor expansion and contraction. It is called "The Breathing Dome." The new engineering principle has proved its soundness. During two winters, the roof has borne the heavy snowfalls with ease. Many buildings will follow with this principle.

But beneath this roof are even more interesting displays. Here transportation is compared. The modern truck with one built years ago; the world's swiftest multi-motored plane, with a speed of two hundred miles an hour. There is a capacity for ten passengers, and a crew of three. It carries 800 pounds of mail and express; the cabin has thermostatically controlled vapour, reclining chairs for night travel, lunch side-board.

New types of city transportation in motor bus and street car. Aluminium sleeping cars, two of them stand on tracks, the first two ever built. Between these two giants stands a weather-worn brown wooden sleeping car built in 1859. Here are up-to-date sleeping car bed-rooms, compartments and berths. Historic dioramics reproduce the laying of the first stone in the first Railroad System in America a hundred years ago. Lines of operating miniature models are shown. Moving pictures show the scenic beauty through

which the different railroads pass, in fact, one may remain in the Travel and Transport Building, quietly seated, only when he changes to other lines, and cover "scenically" The Rocky Mountains, Blue Ridge, Ozarks, in fact, the Beauty Spots of America, through dioramics and moving pictures.

The largest automobile ever built is exhibited here. A Studebaker, it is 80 feet long and 39 feet high. A motion picture theatre is inside telling the story of the manufacture of motor cars. Safety glass is demonstrated here, all the steps in safety glass production are shown. Motorcycle, and bicycle manufacturers exhibit a historical collection of bicycles; trailers contain kitchenette, refrigerator, sleeping quarters, in fact, most of the comforts one has in his own home. Here is housed the International Sportsman Show. There are casting contests, archery contests, and equipment, everything belonging to a sportsman.

Just outside on tracks where one may go through stand many of the famous trains of the past. There are at least twenty. The ones receiving the most attention are the very first ones built or the very last ones built. The two newer trains, because they are an innovation and are probably the beginning of a new era in train building deserve to be written about: They will probably revolutionize the world in train building.

Two new streamlined motor driven trains. One is a 110 mile an hour Diesel Motor driven train. In comparing the new with the old; a standard steam train of six cars weighs about 600 tons; the new six car unit weighs 85 tons. A standard high-speed passenger locomotive weighs 310 tons; the new type power unit weighs 20 tons. The average locomotive has to be refuelled every hundred miles; the new type every twelve hundred miles. The new train operates on roller bearings, is air-conditioned temperature controlled, by a thermostat, and all lighting direct.

The second train is also a streamlined Diesel powered train. It is built of stainless steel and is a three car unit. It weighs only 80 tons, no more than a single standard sleeping car. It is air-conditioned, Radio



equipped, has windows of shatter-proof glass, and the rear of last car is an observation solarium.

The poor little frail trains of the past are painfully outmoded, as are the other means of transportation. The theme of the fair is science and its laws have been practically put

into use in the building of new transportation conveyances.

The final article written about the Century of Progress Exposition by Ida M. Gurwell for *The Modern Review* will be: The Century of Progress Art Exhibit, and Entertaining and Feeding the Multitude.

## EVER-NEW KASHMIR

BY PROF. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

**T**HE Valley of Kashmir is said to have been a vast mountain-lake, named Satisar (सतीसर), thousands of years ago. Geologists have discovered not only beaches on the surrounding hills of the Valley, but have also found fresh-water fishes, fossil oysters, and black shells of water-chestnuts, in layers in the earth at the height of 1,500 feet above the level of the Valley and have thus proved the former existence of the lake. According to Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* it was drained out through a cleft of the rocks at Baramulla by Kashyapa, a great ascetic of the day, who afterwards along with his many

of which 690,389 are Hindus,\* 36,512 Buddhists, 31,553 Sikhs, 1,354 minor-religionists, and the rest Moslems. Its area is about 54,258 square miles.

The following are the main divisions of the territory :

- (1) Jammu Province. Its area is more than double of the Happy Valley and is divided into Dogar, Chibal, and Pahar.
- (2) Kashmir Province. Its main portion is the Happy Valley.
- (3) Frontier. Its area is thrice as much as Jammu and Kashmir provinces put together and contains Dardistan, Ladak, and Baltistan.

### DARDISTAN

It was under the Kashmir Government in the Moghul Period and became independent in the Afghan days, though it went on undergoing political changes through petty civil wars. Maharaja Gulab Singh invaded it more than thrice and at last his successor Maharaja Ranbir Singh conquered it in 1859 A. D.

Dardistan is sub-divided into Astor, Bunji, Chilas, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Yasin, and Chitral, of which Gilgit is the most important place and situated on the boundary as it is. There is also a British Political Agency here.

The Dards and the Gilchas, who are the main inhabitants of Dardistan and are Moslems by religion, are believed to be of Aryan blood. They are generally hardy and brave, and are tall in stature and fair in complexion. The river Indus flows through Dardistan for about 150 miles. The people cultivate wheat, barley and Indian corn and produce almost all the Kashmir fruits.

### LADAK

Formerly a part of the Kingdom of Tibet, Ladak underwent many political ups and downs. In 1834 A. D., it was invaded by Maharaja Gulab Singh's brave force

\* The total number of the Kashmiri Pandits is about 65,000 only.



A Shikara in Water Lake. It is the largest fresh-water lake in India.  
Photo by Satyalal, Photographer, Srinagar

Brahmin bretheren settled here, and it got a new name, Kashyapa-Mar (Kashyap's abode). It has taken its present form Kashmir through variations. The Kashmiris themselves have again shortened the word and generally pronounce it as Kashir.

Kashmir has seen both the happiest and the saddest days in its past.

To-day Kashmir stands as India's largest state. It is bounded on the east by Chinese Tibet, on the west by Yagistan, on the north by Yarkand and Pamir, and on the south by the Panjab. It has a population of 3,320,515



and after many battles it came permanently under the Dogra rule of Kashmir.

It is sub-divided into Rukshuk, Zanskar, Lubra, Leh, Dras, and Kargil, of which Leh stands as an important centre of trade between Kashmir and India on one side, and Yarkand, Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet, and Central Asia on the other. Every year in September numerous traders come here with their caravans to exchange their goods.

The following are the main castes among the Ladakis: Giapos or Rajas, Jirks or officials, Mungriks\* or cultivators, who form a



A Boatman Beauty. She is the nymph of Kashmir's water-side life and possesses a repertoire of folk-songs.  
Photo by Vishinath and sons, Srinagar.

majority, and Ringans or minor classes. The Yarkandis, Kargili Moslems and the Arghons, the offsprings of the foreign caravan drivers, who marry temporarily Ladak's Buddhist women, are all traders.

\* These Ladaki peasants generally cultivate wheat, barley and gram, and plough their land with Zoh, a kind of Nil Gai. They produce fruits, too, but only in the hot and moist parts of the land.

## BALTISTAN

The chiefs of Baltistan were formerly under the suzerainty of Kashmir's Hindu Kings, and became independent when there appeared Chak kings on the throne of Kashmir. With the advent of Moghul rule Baltistan was again a part of Kashmir, and with the downfall of the Moghuls, when there appeared Afghan rule on the stage, Baltistan got back its lost freedom. In 1837 A. D., Maharaja Gulab Singh's Dogra force, after a few battles with Ahmad Shah, the then-chief of Baltistan, conquered the land.



A Daughter of the Soil. Sometimes she is named Gulabi (a rose girl) but her comely looks outshine even the native wild roses.

Photo by Vishinath and sons, Srinagar.

Baltistan lies on both sides of the river Indus for about 150 miles and Nature has adorned it with high mountains and lovely side-valleys. It is sub-divided into Kharmang, Khalpu, Shigar, Skardu, and Rondu of which the soil of Shigar is very fertile in this mountainous country, where very little is fit for cultivation, though the climate is exactly like that of the Happy Valley. The Baltistanis are generally Moslems. They are exceptionally hardy and their cheerful faces outshine even the spring flowers of their land.

\* \* \*

Unlike other mountainous parts of the land, the Happy Valley of Kashmir, studded with



numerous villages, is very populous\* and may aptly be named 'Land of Villages.' Against the background of the kingly Himalayas, crowned with snow, a village in the valley is full of life and colour; poetic and pictorial is the landscape all around, especially in early spring when the apricots put forth their snow-white flowers, the peaches look lovely with their pink blossoms and the willows join with their exquisite orange tint to make it a remarkable picture. A singing brook by the village green may lend it an additional charm. The village grave-yard, with every grave clothed in purple or white irises, that become all the more brilliant in the sunshine, is also worthy of note. Everywhere is seen the manifestation of colours along with the happy 'hide and seek' of light and shade.



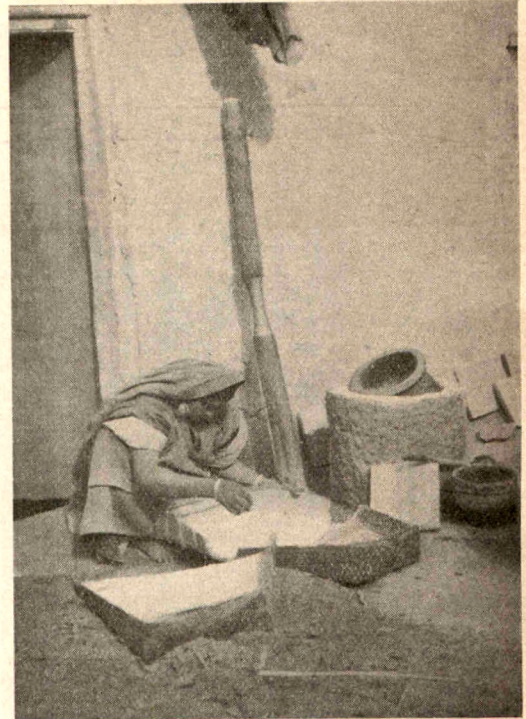
Kashmiri children enjoying apricots in Spring.  
Photo by Satyalal, Photographer, Srinagar.

The villagers, though poor, are merry. 'Certainly the men are often strikingly handsome,' says V. C. Scott O'Connor, "and there are no children in the world with brighter eyes or prettier faces than those of the valley of Kashmir". The masses are gifted, in the words of Whipple, with 'humour all embracing like sunshine both in a genial and abiding light.' It is this well-developed humour that illuminates their

\* There is an average population of 150 people in every square mile.

character. There are tears, too, that make the Kashmiri eyes wet, under the stress of fear or danger, but it is not due to their physical weakness or national cowardice. Through these tears weep the many centuries of the cruel misrule of Kashmir's past, which have not crushed at all the Kashmiri's inborn love for his motherland and it, sooner or later, comes out spontaneously when he says :

Thousands of houses do I sacrifice for thee,  
O Home !  
Never—O never shall I leave thee, O Home !\*



A Daughter of the Peasantry. She is very hardy and laborious.

An average Kashmiri is always a hospitable host. No matter, if he can hardly make his two ends meet, he would not shrink from offering whatever he has even to an unexpected guest.† When old,

\* A proverb :

गरह् बन्दइ गर सासा,  
गर नेर न जाह।

† It will not be irrelevant to note an Urdu couplet :

जरी जरी है मेरे कश्मीरका महमां-नवाज।

राहमें पत्थरके टुकड़ोंसे मिला पानी मुझे॥

—'Everywhere greets me my Kashmir's hospitable host; even the pebbles offered me water on my way.'





A Village Fair

he is always a well wisher of the budding generation and rightly expresses himself when he felicitates it :

'If thou pickest up earth, may it become gold :  
May thy sneeze be sweet and thy life be long.\*

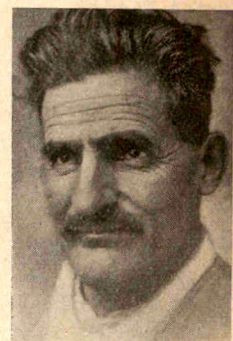
What matters, if the Kashmiri is Hindu or Moslem, he is gifted with innate religious toleration, and Hinduism and Islam seem to be to each other like twin brothers when he says :

Father Adam got two sons,  
One took to the funeral pyre and  
the other to the grave.†

It is really a pity that this feeling of kinship is passing away under the withering influence of recent so-called religious propaganda. But still there can be a great hope of the people's mutual sympathy, if they attain the national view-point.

Kashmir is, of course, a land of flowers. The lotus is the floral prince of all Kashmir lakes—Dal, Wular, Manasbal, Tansar, Khushalsar and Pambasar, etc. There are many Margs or meadows, like Gulmarg (a meadow of flowers) and Sonamarg (the golden meadow), lying on the sloping hills between the flat land and the high mountains. All these Margs are nature's picturesque gardens where she plays with a rich

variety of flowers. Everywhere over hill and dale, in idyllic glens and dells, there are veritable parks where grow the genuine wild flowers of Kashmir, endless in variety of form, colour, and species, having no synonyms in other languages.



*Left.* Kashmiri Grand-father. He possesses a well-developed sense of humour.

*Right.* Gulam Ahmad Mahyur, a popular poet of Kashmir. Many of his songs are already on the lips of the masses.

The lotus is a symbol of beauty and it has its interesting poetry and folk-lore. It becomes an exact emblem of surpassing handsomeness when a son of the soil is named Kamal or the lotus. The Kashmiri's æsthetic sentiment can be well-appreciated only by him, who has seen Kashmir lakes, crowned with the lotus, in August, when the flower is in full bloom and forms a poetic scene, with its stalk, a bit lengthened, pale-green leaves, a couple of feet across, rising

\* A proverb :

मिच अइ तुलक सुन गइमय, मीठ पुंढ त जीठ उमर'

† A proverb :

'बाब अदमस जाइजु गवर, आकिरठ आवरिन बो क्रवर !'



above the water-level, and the pink cup-shaped blossom, more than half a feet across. Again the masses of Kashmir compare a belle's sweet face to the rose and often a daughter of the soil is named Gulabi (a rose girl) and the name becomes all the more poetic when her clean-cut face smiles readily, lending an additional charm to her fair complexion. Even a handsome youth is compared to the rose and is often named Gulab. The Kashmiri mother sings of her son, naming him Lala (लाला) or the tulip flower, and of her daughter, naming her Yumbarzali (युम्बरजली), a bud of the narcissus flower. There are many other flower names borne by the Kashmiri girls, such as, Kungi (a saffron-bud), Tekri (a bud of Tekri flower), Himal (a garland of jessamines), Poshi (a flower-girl), and Poshkuji (a flowery bush), etc. Again, the people give a proof of their close observation of Nature when they compare a hospitable woman to the Chenar, which offers its shade to the weary travellers and name her Buni,\* (a chenar). There are some other female names, too, exceptionally interesting for their natural character, such as, Zuni (moonlight), Sannri (hill), kukil (koil, Maina (a famous song-bird), and Katij (a swallow), etc.†



Left—Village beauties, fetching water. There is Elysian grace and sweetness on the clean-cut faces.

Right—A Guzar belle. She is the princess of postures and sings melodious songs.

Photo by Vishinath & Sons, Srinagar.



*Pheran* is the people's national dress. Coming down below the knees, it is a typical gown with big sleeves. Embroidery work is found only on the female *pherans*—only on the collar and sleeves



A tiller of the soil. He smiles readily and welcomes the Queen of Spring  
Photo by Mahatta and Co., Srinagar.

in the case of a Hindu woman, and generally on a greater space, if it is to be worn by a Moslem woman. Again, the Hindu women use waistbands over the *pherans*.

Kashmir beauties have the comely looks of the heavenly fairies. Their snow-white teeth out-shine even the apricot-flowers that adorn Kashmir's early spring—their fair cheeks surpass Kashmir's wild roses. Kashmir's folk-lore tells that, when the country belles salve their eyes with collyrium, they sleep with eyes half open, lest the jealous fairies come down to steal their glamour.

"The eyes of a beautiful Kashmiri woman," says James Milne, "have such an urgency, mingled with pathos, that you look into them as you look into

\* According to the Kashmiri grammar the word Buni is in the feminine gender.

† Gulabi, Kukil, Katij and Zuni are Moslem names, while Kawal, Lala, Yumbarzali, Kungi, Poshi, Poshkuji, Himal, Maina, Sangri and Buni are Hindu

names found among the masses along with so many other Moslem and Hindu classic names.



spring-waters, wondering. She may be old, in which case they have the glaze of life, braided with the hope of something more, and better, to come. Is she middle-aged? Then they have a softer shade of memory and a clearer gleam of romance, still awaited. Is she a young wife or girl? Then her eyes are large, inquiring, dark as the eyelashes falling over them, with a bewitching double light of emotion and instinct .... They are, in general, almond-shaped, and so have room for laughter or tears, and always they have a touch of the just dumb animal, a lamb or a calf,....."

The women let their hair grow to its natural length and dress it in an indigenous fashion of their motherland. There is undoubtedly a pictorial touch of comeliness in the Kashmir coiffure. None likes to wear loose and wavy hair. When quite young, a Kashmir beauty gets her hair dressed in many intricate braids, tasselled with a coarse woollen thread, and spread out gracefully over her back. A small skull-cap over her head makes the picture all the more complete. Again, when married, she gets the plaits of hair joined together and braided with a woollen thread, and now she would prefer to wear a red cap generally bedizened with pins. In addition to the cap now she wears a square cloth, generally home-made, for a cover of her head and back.

The bunches of silver earrings\* serve as a lovely nimbus for the women's blossomed features. Unlike their so many sisters of the countries where the modern civilization has long dawned, the daughters of the Kashmir Eve stick to their national attire and apparel. Along with their due praise, one cannot overlook their general uncleanliness.

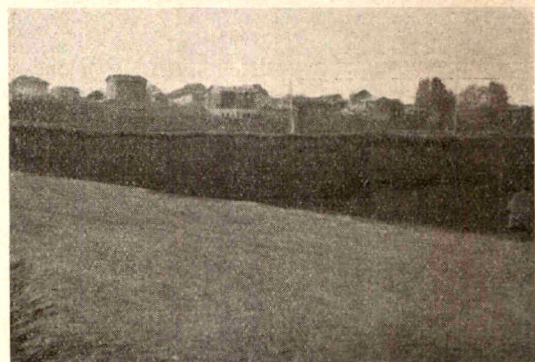
The peasant is a figure of great importance in a country like Kashmir, where the villagers are the tillers of the soil.

"The Kashmiri peasant," says Lawrence. "is in every respect, better off than his fellows in India. He has ample food, sufficient clothing, a comfortable house, and abundance of fuel, and he obtains these without much efforts. There is a general comfort but no luxury, and the process of distribution of wealth, by which a country is divided into the very rich and the very poor, has not yet commenced in Kashmir."

There is exceptionally fertile land on both sides of the Jhelum and it always well rewards the children of the peasantry. Again, there are many rich-soiled alluvial table-lands, separated from one another, in the valley. These are called Karewas or Wudars. No means of irrigation can be applied here and they use them for raising spring-crops. The richest of these Wudars are those of Pampur, covering about twelve thousand bighas, and they have long been used for the cultivation of saffron.

The saffron crop is not raised every year in all the Pampur Wudars. With the alterna-

tive of the spring-crop of wheat or linseed, every third year comes the turn of saffron. All the Pampur Wudars are now the Maharaja's private property and are given on contract. Half of the whole quantity of the saffron, produced in a season, is the contractor's share and the other half is divided among the cultivators. The fields are made into parterres where grow the small saffron-plants. The connoisseurs of beauty come into the fields to enjoy the most delightful hours of life in October when the delicate purple-coloured saffron flowers are in full bloom and their orange-red stigmas glitter like gold in the full moon.



Above : On Manashbal Lake. Below : A glimpse of a Kashmiri Village.

The Rabih (the spring-crop) and the Kharif\* are the only two crops in a year. The Rabih is sown in December and the fields lie under the snow constantly for about three months. In early April when spring comes and brings a new message, the snow begins to melt and the young sprouts appear on the stage. It is the time when the soul of the tillers of the

\* The Panditanis, the Brahman women, never like to wear silver ornaments, but they may prefer brass to pass it as gold.

\* In the Rabih they raise the crops of wheat, maize, linseed and cotton in the valley as well as on the slopes of its surrounding hills, and in the Kharif is raised the only and the principal crop of rice.



soil blossoms forth like their so many wild flowers and they sing in unison with their song-birds. In May they sow the Kharif crop of rice in the nurseries and again re-plant it into the fields, with songs, which come as easy to them, in the words of the poet, 'as the leaves come to the trees'. Rice being the staple food of the people, there may be seen thousands of acres of rice-fields while looking from any of the surrounding hills of the Happy Valley. These fields are irrigated by canals taken off from the nearest stream and remain under water throughout the spring and the summer. The weeding is done about five times a year. Picturesque is the scene when the children of the peasantry, standing for hours together in slime under a hot sun, with their bodies bent down, are engaged in the weeding, and every now and then bursting into a melodious refrain.



Top : Harvest Mirth. Bottom : Peasant girls coming homeward

The harvest of Rabih is reaped in July, and that of Kharif in October. There is music everywhere as the peasants reap the harvest and gather it into sheaves, with songs. In the year of rich crops, they enjoy harvest-feasts, accompanied by songs, generally sung in chorus. *Bach Nagmas* or the boy-dancers, with long hair, who sing and dance in female attire, along with a set of rural musicians, are also hired in the well-to-do feasts. The *Bach Nagmas* generally sing traditional songs. Some of them, gifted

with a poetic heart, are often song-smiths, and sing their own compositions, too, which are always extempore. If these new songs have even the least touch of folk-heart, the peasants learn them by heart, and, though quite unable to reproduce the *Bach Nagmas'* musical cadences, they sing in their own way and many of these songs become traditional in the course of time.

After the harvest is reaped and gathered, in November, comes the wedding-season. It is the time when the tillers of the soil are free from field-work and their stores are replete with new rice. In these happy days of leisure they celebrate the wedlocks of their sons and daughters.

Song is the very heart-beat of a Kashmir-marriage. A few weeks prior to the day, fixed for the marriage, the women begin their chorus-songs. Every day and night for hours together, they sit with a repertoire of songs. A party of Kashmiri women singing marriage-songs looks like a flock of cooing doves. With their arms upon one another's shoulders, forming three or four rows, one behind the other, the women sometimes march in the streets, celebrating the marriage-rituals, which become all the more life-lit with songs. Again at night, carrying burning candles decorated most gracefully with a rich variety of flowers, their procession paces through the streets along with the bridegroom, who generally sits on horseback like a prince. The befitting rhythmic tunes to which the candle-bearers set their songs, make them excellent marching-songs. In marriages of the rich this ritual is accompanied by the village orchestra, that makes it much more sweet.\*

Beginning with *Gara-Narai* (House-clearing), *Hena Bandi* (the ritual of dyeing the bridegroom's hands with hena), and *Divagun* (the bridegroom's marital bath and anointing), Kashmir's Hindu marriage comes to an interesting ritual, when the women, forming a procession in the courtyard, ask the bridegroom to stand on a *ving* (a platform, decorated with lime and colour), and the house-grannie comes forward to wave a pair of lighted lamps and a couple of pigeons before his face, while the procession goes on singing in chorus, and showering every now and then coins and sugar over him. So important is this ritual that it takes place again in the bride's house after the marriage-party reaches there, when the bridegroom stands on the *ving*-platform, kept ready for the occasion, with the bride on his left, and the house-grannie, with cheers on every bit of her wrinkled face, performs her rite. After the wedlock is over, the happy couple partake of the wedding-feast in one and the same plate and then are asked to pace hand in hand on seven silver coins, placed round the sacred fire. After cheerful blessings, wet a bit with the tears of happiness, and the second performance of the *ving*, the bride is asked to bid adieu to her parents, with whom she spent her glad childhood.

\* These rituals are especially of Moslem character.



The women of the bridegroom's house, too, once more perform the happy couple's *ving*, after the marriage-party returns.

The accompaniment of dancing girls and their orchestra was considered to be a necessary item of the wedding-mirth in the past, but for the last few years, it is being totally abolished. Many songs have come down from the native dancing-girls, who were good song-smiths, and full of pictorial words and lines, rapt into life-lit rhythm as these songs are, they have become popular with the masses.

The refrains of Kashmir's marriage-songs, seem to be the sweetest and the women may sing them for 10 to 15 times. Yumbarzal (the narcissus) and Bumbar (black bee) are the emblems of the bride and the groom respectively in many of these songs. A great homage is paid to the love tale of Himal and Nagrai—the bride is compared to Himal and Nagrai to the groom. The names of Laila and Majnu, too, sometimes stand for the happy couple. In the songs of purely Hindu character the names of Shiva and Parvati, and of Krishna and Radha are used to adore the couple.

Throughout Ramzan—the month of Rojas (religious fasts)—after partaking of happy dishes in their respective houses at night, the Moslem women assemble at a particular place in the village to enjoy the celebration of Ruf,\* a typical semi-religious dance, which is accompanied by chorus-songs. Standing face to face in two separate rows, with some distance between them, they move rhythmically forward and having met in the middle pace back in the same order. This is repeated again and again, and short chorus refrains lend it an additional grace and sweetness. This Ruf dance is in its full bloom on the Id night, when the daughters of the soil who celebrate it, are extraordinarily merry. Love-sentiments and the mytho-heroic traditions form the subject-matter of the Ruf-songs.

Among the Kashmiri Pandits the time of a male offspring's birth is always full of festivities. Again, when he completes his twelfth year a gay day is fixed when he gets the sacred thread. The Brahmin Guru who gives the thread asks the boy to ask for alms from all his kith and kin, who may give him from a humble sum of four annas to Rs. 10. The whole amount, which may amount to Rs. 700 in the case of a rich family and Rs. 20 only in a poor one, is the share of the Guru. A few weeks prior to the ceremony the women assemble in the boy's house to celebrate it with melodious songs.

Almost all the Kashmir peasantry have a great faith, full of devotion, simple and pure, in the saints of their soil, and there are numerous Moslem shrines on the tombs of the popular

saints. These are the places to which they look for protection in sad days of bad weather, poverty and disasters, etc. To pass a shrine on horse-back is popularly believed to be an insult to the shrine, which may bring disaster to the rider.



Top : Husking the Paddy. Middle : A Guzar hair-dresser. Bottom : Spinning Pasham.

Embowered in the shady chenars and stately poplars and enclosed in a boundary wall, a Moslem shrine of Kashmir with its rich lattice and carving work, and a variety of flowering plants, looks like a piece of art. The origin of some of the old shrines goes back to the 14th century. The Hazrat Bol shrine and that of Shaikh Nur Din at Tsrar play the leading part, while among the rest Zain Shah's shrine at

\* Drus (द्रुस) and Roh (रोह) are two other synonyms of Ruf, current among different classes of the masses.



Eishmukam,\* the Kulgam shrine and Makdum Shah's shrine on Hari Parbat have their own place.

Many large fairs are held at various shrines. It is in these periodical gatherings, that one may note the national character of the soil. Men and women, young and old, come from far and near and the shrine looks like the embodiment of a psalm in the happy vale of life. Sentiments of pilgrimage play the first fiddle on these occasions. The people are seen bringing offerings, as their means can allow, to the shrines, and on their faces is visible the confluence of Hinduism and Islam. It matters little if they are now away from ancestors' religion, they have not totally forgotten their ancestors' modes of devotion; the shades of Hindu devotee's mind are still seen on their faces. Old grannies, along with their budding relations, may be noted, sitting in the shrine-yard, with their hands folded exactly like Hindu women. Their eyes, the abodes of aged but child-like innocence, raised towards the shrine-top, make the picture all the more exact.

The village-swains and belles are seen clad in their best. There is a play of colours, mellow and serene, everywhere. Here and there are the glad customers engaged in cheap jewellery, sweets, and other native preparations. Along with a few sad faces of old grannies, who speak of a departed glory, there is a sea of happy hearts, expecting the dawn of love and youth.

The fairs do not lack at all in merry-making. There are *Bach-Nagmas* (the Boy-Dancers mentioned above), who are always sure of an audience. In place of singing themselves, the masses rejoice in attending the *Bach-Nagma* Dance and Music. There is also a good scope for the Opera,† executed by the professional actors, named *Bands*. The well-developed art of mimicry and buffoonery, as displayed by the *Bands*, is thoroughly appreciated by the villagers. One may also note the wandering-minstrels, § the

descendants of Kashmir's Himalayan Muse. They sing the stories of the past and the present and entertain the people. A wondering minstrel of Kashmir may rightly be portrayed in the words of Gray's *Bard*:

"With haggard eyes the poet stood ;  
(Loose his beard and hoary hair  
Streamed, like a meteor, to the troubled air)  
And with a master's hand and prophet's fire,  
Struck the deep sorrows of his lyre."

Along with these fairs of Moslem character, there are also Hindu fairs, connected with various festivals, celebrated at certain sacred places on particular days. Among the Hindu fairs, those held at Khir Bhawani, Hari Parbat, Dal Gate and Veri Nag are noteworthy.

The Gujars, who are shepherds by occupation, are birds of passage. In winter they come down from the highland postures, situated near the snowy peaks, and in summer again they start towards their dear postures, with their sheep and family. There they settle temporarily for months together. Leaving their beds with the sun they move about freely in the open air, enjoying the happy company of Nature and partaking of the sweet and clear glacier-water. It is after sun-set, when the darkness spreads its wings, that they return to their humble cots, nestled among the scented pines. The pastoral landscape of Kashmir, with its pretty sheep and cheerful shepherds, who sing and dance for their own delight in accompaniment to their poetic surroundings' varying moods, constitute 'a thing of beauty,' and 'a joy for ever.'

The *Hanzis* (boatmen) have their own place in the water-side life of the country. Their men as well as women are very hardy and laborious. The *Doongas* (big flat-bottomed country-boats, walled and roofed by matting) are their floating homes. They have long been living in these *doongas*, which are also used as means of trading. The rich *Hanzis* now possess many house-boats, the modernized and the up-to-date form of their *doongas*, for the Kashmir-visitors. Again, they have pretty *Shikaras* (skiffs) and the visitors, enjoying a trip, are simply charmed by their rhythmic songs, they sing on the silken Dal, the Jhelum or some other water-side, while propelling the *shikaras* by applying the heart-shaped paddles. Great believers in God and the Divine miracles, as the *Hanzis* are, in the refrains of their songs is enshrined their cry for providential help, such as: 'Ya Pir Dastgir'—'(Help us) O Pir, O saint Dastgir', 'Suleman Phulaijan'—'O Solomon! let there be good blossoms,' and 'Subjar Gulzar'—'(Let it be) a verdure and a land of flowers', etc.

\* The Eishmukam shrine is regarded as the most sacred by the Kashmiri boatmen, who offer here the first locks of their children.

† 'Kashmiris have a strong dramatic instinct'—THINGS SEEN IN KASHMIR, by Earnest F. Neve, p. 65.

§ The Kashmiri synonym for a wandering minstrel is Gavian-Vol (गवियन वोल) meaning literally 'a singer.' But the people generally name him according to the musical instrument, he carries. If it is Dahra (दहदरा)—an iron-rod with loose iron-rings on it, which produce a sweet jingle, when shaken in a typical rhythm—he is called Dahri or Dahar-Vol. Similarly if he carries a Rabab or Sarang (typical harps) he is called a Rabab-Vol or a Sarang-Vol respectively.





Studies from nature and life. "Radha and Krishna playing the flute" being a composition, drawn between 1894 and 1895.





Studies of women from life. The girl with 'Sarengi' is a composition, drawn between 1894 and 1895.





Studies from life and composition, pen and ink drawings, drawn between 1892 and 1895





"Kastaharini" Ghat at Munghyr (water-colour sketch) and other pen and ink drawings, drawn between 1886 and 1895



## LIFE-STORY OF ABANINDRANATH TAGORE

By MUKUL DEY, A.R.C.A. (Lond.), M.C. S. E.,  
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### THE BEGINNING OF HIS CAREER

**D**R. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E., the well-known artist of Modern India, was born in Calcutta on August 7, 1871, at the Jorasanko residence of the Tagore family, 5 Dwarkanath Tagore Lane. He is the youngest son of the late Gunendranath Tagore and grandson of Girindranath Tagore, the second son of Prince Dwarkanath Tagore. His eldest brother Gaganendranath is also an artist of repute, and the next is Samarendranath Tagore, of a studious and retiring disposition.

The history of this branch of the Tagore family shows a hereditary inclination towards art, so that the present members of this family had the advantage of living in an atmosphere of art and culture. Girindranath, Abanindranath's grandfather, was himself a painter of considerable merit and used to paint portraits and landscapes after the European style. He made copies of the oil paintings in the Belgachia garden gallery. He had for his collaborator Dr. Gouri Sankar, the first Indian painter in oils of note. Girindranath was not only a painter but a dramatist and musician as well. He composed many songs and *jatra* plays. The famous Bengali poet Iswar Chandra Gupta was his contemporary and friend. It was a favourite pastime with Girindranath to sail in his boat on the Ganges when the sky was overcast with clouds and a storm was threatening, to the accompaniment of music and drums. Girindranath was a great friend of Radha Prosad Roy, the eldest son of Raja Rammohun Roy.

In the year 1864 Gunendranath and his cousin Jyotirindranath, an elder brother of the Poet, Rabindranath, were the earliest students of the Art School at Bowbazar, where Gunendranath studied art for 2 or 3 years. This School was started in 1854 as a private enterprise by a number of Indian

and European gentlemen who formed themselves into a society under the name of the Industrial Art Society, and was known as the School of Industrial Art during the time of Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, being afterwards



Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore  
By the courtesy of Mr. Kanakendra Nath Tagore

turned into the Government School of Art, Calcutta, when Lord Northbrook, who founded the old Art Gallery, was Governor-General.

Amongst many others, such eminent men as Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore and Mr. Justice Pratt were members of this Society. The School was first (1854-1855) situated at a house in Jorasanko (now the residence of



the Mallick family) and in turn moved (1856-1858) to premises in Coloolota (now the Medical College Eye Infirmary), to Sealdah (1859-1863) and finally to Baitakhana, Bowbazar (1864-1892).

Like Girindranath, his son Gunendranath was also a man of varied artistic tastes. He took a keen interest in photography, botany, gardening, as well as in zoological and other scientific studies. He used to send flowers grown by him to different exhibitions and was the recipient of several prizes. He helped the well-known florist S. P. Chatterji with Rs. 500 to start a nursery of flowers. He was a life member of the Agri-Horticultural Society, established at Alipore, and a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. He was very fond of dramatic performances.

This will give an idea of the environment in which the two artist brothers, Gaganendranath and Abanindranath were brought up.

When Abanindranath was about five years old his father sent him to the Normal School, then situated on the site of Mr. Haren Sil's house in Chitpore Road, Jorasanko. He studied there for about 2 or 3 years. One day his English teacher pronounced "pudding" as "pudding," and when Abanindranath pointed out the mistake and said that he was quite sure of the pronunciation as he had "puddings" for dinner every night, his teacher flew into a rage, flogged him severely and tied him up with the *punkha* rope to the school bench. He was left thus confined till the school was over at 4 o'clock, when he unfastened the rope and ran home. This kind of punishment annoyed his father very much, and Abanindranath's connection with the Normal School was thereupon ended.

One of the hobbies of Abanindranath's father was to make architectural plans and sketches in colour. After leaving the Normal School Abanindranath made use of his father's paint box to paint rural scenes with cottages and palm trees. He also acquired considerable skill in drawing similar interesting pictures with his father's red and blue pencils. He was then about nine years of age.

At this time there came a change in the household affairs of Gunendranath Tagore. The whole family removed to a garden house at Champdani by the river Ganges. The

atmosphere here was quite different from that of Calcutta. It was an old house, reputed to be haunted, and was built on a large piece of land which was originally infested by robbers and other men of ill fame, close to the French territory of Chandernagore. The area of the Park was very extensive (about 40 acres) and was strewn with bones and skulls, with which Abanindranath used to play football, or which he throw into the garden ponds. This haunted house served to stimulate his artistic faculties. In the park-like grounds there were peacocks and many other kinds of birds, and deer and other animals roamed about freely. In the morning the ground remained strewn with the feathers of various kinds of rare and beautiful ducks eaten up by jackals at night. The house itself was like a museum stored with artistic vases, carpets, screens, other furniture of diverse colours and designs, which left a deep impression on the mind of the budding artist. Abanindranath used to make free use of his father's pencils and brushes, as we have already seen, and here the animals and birds served the purpose of living models, while the vases and carpets offered him all kinds of designs and colour combinations.

From this garden-house Abanindranath used to see the village maidens returning from the Ganges with their pitchers full of water and all the other usual sights to be seen in typical Bengali villages. Thus at the early age of nine or ten the love of nature was implanted in him, and opportunities thus offered were made full use of by Abanindranath. On seeing his sketches one of his uncles, Nilkamal Mukerji, was so pleased that he presented him with a drawing slate of ground glass and some coloured pictures for him to copy. All this gave a peculiar mould to his mind. Here he embroidered a piece of tapestry and used to mould figures of the gods Kartika, Ganesa, etc., out of thick flour-paste. But the house with its garden which was the source of his artistic development was also the scene of his first severe bereavement. Here his beloved father died when Abanindranath was only of 10 years of age.

After this bereavement the whole of the Tagore family returned by boat to the Jorasanko house. Their appointed guardians Messrs Ganges Gangooly and Nilkamal Mukerji



henceforth looked after the brothers. Abanindra's mother desired once more to give him a school education and his guardians accordingly put him in the Sanskrit College.

While reading in the Sanskrit College he composed a hymn on Saraswati, the Goddess of learning, and secured the first prize. He also received Sanskrit books as prizes. There was no drawing class in the school but, along with his Sanskrit studies, Abanindranath began to write Bengali verses illustrating the childish pictures that he composed about delapidated temples, moonlight, evening, early morning, and many other scenes.

While still at the Sanskrit College (1881-1890), he took some lessons from his class-mate Anukul Chatterji of Bhowanipur, of whom he still remembers clearly the beautiful pencil outline drawings that he used to make. Although he was not very strong in his English, he somehow managed to get promoted upto the first class, being well up in Sanskrit literature.

In 1889 he married Srimati Subasini Devi the eldest daughter of the late Bhujagendra Bhusan Chatterji, a descendant of Prosanna Kumar Tagore, and left the Sanskrit College after nine years of study. He then studied English as a special student at the St. Xavier College, which he attended for about a year and a half (*i. e.*, from 1890 to 1892), specially the science lectures of Father Lafont.

Between the years 1892-1894, many of his early efforts at pictorial illustration were published in the "Sadhana", "Chitrangada" and other publications of Rabindranath and in his own books *Sakuntala* and *Khiner Putul*, and made numerous illustrations for the stories of *Bimbavati*. It was at this time that Rabindranath used to compose songs and sing them himself and Abanindranath used to accompany him on the *Esraj*.

The following four years, *i. e.*, from 1892 to 1896, were utilized by Abanindranath in practising music and in composing pictures for book illustrations. He also devoted himself to writing stories and dramas in Bengali.

About the year 1897, when Abanindranath was about 25 years of age, he took private lessons from Signor Gilhardi, an Italian artist, the then Vice-Principal of the Calcutta Government School of Art, on cast drawing, foliage drawing, pastel and life study.

About the year 1897 the arrival of Charles L. Palmer from England marked the turning point in the development of the artistic genius of Abanindranath. Palmer had a studio at Kyd Street which Abanindranath used to attend. After undergoing training under Palmer for 3 or 4 years, that is from 1897 to 1901, he attained such proficiency in portrait painting that he could finish a bust portrait within 2 hours. About this time Abanindranath went to Monghyr, where a complete change took place in his artistic activities. He gave up oil paintings and devoted himself to water colour. After his return Abanindranath began to paint pictures descriptive of the episodes in the career of Srikrishna, the divine cowherd, which are popularly known as "The Krishna Series" of paintings. These were the results of his experiences at Monghyr which led to the giving up of his once cherished hope of becoming the Titian of Bengal.

On his return from Monghyr he again took a course of training in water-colour painting under Palmer, and then he again went to Monghyr, taking the work he had done under Palmer with him, and began to develop them in accordance with his further impressions of nature. Here sitting at Kastaharini Ghat\* he devoted himself whole-heartedly to water-colour painting. From this Ghat he could see the life of the villagers going to and coming from the river, and all these first hand glimpses of Indian life combined with his inner experience of visiting old dilapidated Moghul forts produced a peculiar inclination of his mind towards the India of old, and the rich realm of Indian art definitely revealed itself to him.

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\* So named because it is supposed that a plunge into the river from this ghat relieves all misery.





## E. B. HAVELL : THE ENGLISH PROPHET OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

By O. C. GANGOLY

**T**HE cruel hand of death has snatched away one of the most valued and sincere friends of India, of Indians, and of Indian culture, and it is our lot to mourn today the departure of a great Englishman, who came to India with a noble mission and gave his services to India with sympathy, with love, and with devotion. Time will adjudicate on the merit of his services. Indeed, it has already appraised the value of the thought and work which this ardent devotee of India's culture has contributed to the growth of knowledge and understanding of Indian Art as the finest expression of Indian spiritual culture.



E. B. Havell

From the Oil Painting in Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Hall.  
By the Courtesy of Bangiya Sahitya Parishad.

The discovery of Sanskrit Literature is justly regarded as one of the momentous mile-stones in the progress of European culture. A much more momentous discovery, pregnant with future consequences, it was our good fortune to witness about the year 1907, when the late Mr. E. B. Havell proclaimed to cultured circles in Europe that

India had bequeathed to the world a logically developed autochthonous and indigenous Art,—the forms and ideals of which are the special product and the peculiar expression of her own native genius. Indeed, before this discovery, Indian Art was not only lost to the Indians themselves, but was on the point of being lost to the world, being erroneously regarded as a decadent sequel to the debased Hellenistic Art, which was once supposed to have poured into India in the wake of the conquering steps of Alexander the Great.

For many years previous to the publication of his epoch-making work, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, this able connoisseur of Art had been diving into the depths of Indian spiritual life and its many expressions, in order to discover the key to the mysteries of one of the most valued contributions that have ever been made to human civilization. We have some indications of his ardent and unbiased studies of the spiritual complex of Indian culture in his richly illustrated volume *Benares: The Sacred City, Sketches of Hindu Life and Religion* (Blackie & Son, October 1905), which he offered as "an intelligible outline of Hindu ideas and religious practices, and especially as a presentation of the imaginative and artistic side of Indian religions." The spirit of his enquiry is very pithily expressed in his own words:

"It is waste of energy for Christians to inveigh merely against Hindu superstition, idolatry, and caste. It is rather by sympathetic study of Hinduism in all its aspects that we shall learn to reach the hearts of the people, as our Great Teacher did on the shores of Galilee."

Mr. Havell's first contact with Indian Art began about the year 1887 when he assumed charge of the Madras School of Arts. This is indicated by his earliest published article on "The Art Industries of the Madras Presidency" in the pages of the now defunct *Journal of Indian Art* (Vol. IV, April 1891). Shortly after he came to Calcutta as Principal of the local School of Arts, he published a monograph on "Stone-carving in Bengal" (October 1906) in which he proved that the great tradition of stone architecture and stone-carving to which the architectural monuments of Orissa (then a part of Bengal) owed their finest masterpieces were still lingering with all the beauty, with all the skill and vitality of its traditions and he cited the additions to the Emar Math in Puri, then recently constructed, as evidence of what the Indian architects were still capable of carrying out. It was an irony of the educational Fates of Modern India that this discovery was made, not by any educated Indian,



but by an Englishman, still groping in search of the key to Indian Art.

A great stir was created in cultured circles in Europe when with the rich eloquence of his voice he championed the cause of Indian Art, and claimed a sympathetic appreciation of its peculiarly Indian quality, richly documenting his claim with choice masterpieces of old Indian Painting and Sculpture which he cited from numerous sources. His claim at once met with sympathetic support of critics, both in England and on the Continent, although it gave very rude shocks to Anglo-Indian antiquarians comfortably settled down to the belief that India had no Fine Art of its own. The late Mr. Roger Fry, then the foremost English critic, reviewed Mr. Havell's championship in a brilliant article in the *Quarterly Review* (October 1910):

"And now, finally, the claim is being brought forward on behalf of the Sculptures of India, Java, and Ceylon. These claims have got to be faced; we can no longer hide behind the Elgin marbles and refuse to look; we have no longer any system of aesthetics which can rule out, *a priori*, even the most fantastic and unreal artistic forms. They must be judged in themselves and by their own standards."

Mr. Laurence Binyon, another gifted English critic, wrote in the same *Journal*:

"Before Mr. Havell wrote, it was the fashion to deny that India had produced any 'fine' art at all. That fashion is now exploded. Mr. Havell has done a real service by his championship of Indian sculpture, painting, and architecture. He has shown that India possesses a creative art animated by its own ideals, and he has interpreted those ideals with sympathy and eloquence. He has made the English public, so ignorant of the real India and its achievements, and so little enlightened by the returning Anglo-Indians, acquainted with an art of which it had no conjecture. The impetuosity of his attack on ignorance and prejudice and the very excesses of his zeal, have probably been more effective than a more critical and judicious treatment of his subject."

Mr. Havell's demonstrations opened the eyes of many who, hitherto, saw no quality or merit in Indian Art. But the assault that the new discoverer of the beauty and spirituality of Indian Art, launched against the depreciative estimates perpetuated by a generation of so-called British authorities on Indian Art, *e. g.*, Sir George Birdwood, Curator of Indian Art, South Kensington (author of "Hand-book of Industrial Arts of India," 1880) disturbed the self-respect and *amour propre* of British "die-hards" in the field of Indian culture. And Sir George Birdwood, protesting against Mr. Havell's admiration of a typical Indian image of the Buddha in the sweet serenity of a *Yogāsana*, broke out in an undignified expression of his views in the following words:

"This senseless similitude in its immemorial fixed pose is nothing more than an un-inspired brazen image, vacuously squinting down its nose to its thumbs and knees and toes. A boiled suet

*pudding would serve equally well as a symbol of passionless purity and serenity of soul!"* (*Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 4th February, 1910).

Sir George Birdwood, till then regarded as the most competent authority on Indian Art, reflected the typical Anglo-Saxon incapacity to respond to the forms of Art other than their own. For not only in the field of Oriental Art, English critics, wrapped in their characteristic insularity and narrow Little Englandism, have been proverbially impervious to the quality of any form of Art—even of other European countries,—which differed in spirit, temper, or form from the customary conservatism of British Art. Anyhow, Sir George Birdwood's infamous invective and calumny of Indian Buddhist Art did not go unchallenged even in England. And a group of English artists, scholars, poets, and literary men (Fredrick Brown, Walter Crane, George Crompton (?), Laurence Houseman, E. Lanteri, W. R. Lethaby, Hulsey Ricardo, T. W. Rolleston, W. Rothenstein, George W. Russell (A. E.), W. Reynolds Stephens, Charles Waldstein, Emery Walker) wrote to the *Times* protesting against Sir George Birdwood's invective, in the following words:

"We, the undersigned artists, critics, and students of art, think that it would be a misfortune if the criticisms of Sir George Birdwood were to go forth to India, and elsewhere as the expression of views prevalent on this subject among lovers of art in the British Islands. We find in the best art of India a lofty and adequate expression of the religious emotion of the people and of their deepest thoughts on the subject of the divine. We recognize in the Buddha type of sacred figure one of the great artistic inspirations of the world. We hold that the existence of a distinct, a potent and a living tradition of art is a possession of priceless value to the Indian people and which they and all who admire and respect their achievement in this field ought to guard with the utmost reverence and love. We wish to assure our brother craftsmen and students in India that the School of National Art in that country which is still showing its vitality and its capacity for the interpretation of Indian life and thought, will never fail to command our admiration and sympathy so long as it remains true to itself. We trust that, while not disdaining to accept whatever can be wholesomely assimilated from foreign sources, it will jealously preserve the individual character which is an outgrowth of the history and physical conditions of the country as well as of those ancient and profound religious conceptions which are the glory of India and of all the Eastern world."

While in England, Mr. Havell's discovery of Indian Art met with a mixed reception, the critics of the Continent greeted it with cheers and whole-hearted admiration. This is typically represented by the views published by Dr. William Cohn, an eminent German critic, and Editor of the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, who in a famous article: "The Understanding of Indian Art" (translated by Dr. Coomaraswamy and published in *The Modern Review*) gave a warm support to Mr. Havell. Other eminent critics,



e.g., Professor Strzygowski, Dr. Diez, and Dr. Victor Goloubew, enthusiastically supported his claim. Indian Painting and Sculpture, thus, won a place of honour in the judgment of the world, through the able championship of Mr. Havell.

His second volume *Ideals of Indian Art* (1911) written in a tempered key, and avoiding the polemics of heated controversy, explained the forms and motives of Indian sculpture through the ideas expressed in religious and mythical literature, and traced their derivation from the old Aryan heroic ideal as described in Indian epic poetry. He endeavoured to indicate the inspiration of Vedic thought, which still permeates the whole atmosphere of Indian life, as the originating impulse of Indian Art, the influence of which links together all its different historic phases, not excepting the Moghul period.

In the meantime, under the guidance of Mr. Havell, Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore had laid the foundations of the New School of Indian Painting to develop the best traditions—which had never died out, and had survived in continuous threads through its different historic developments through the centuries. While Dr. Tagore picked up the threads of old Indian traditions, he did not disdain to assimilate the best lessons from European studios. Indeed of all the exponents of Modern Indian Painting his works display the most significant signs of contact with European painting, particularly in modelling and principles of composition. A group of sympathetic Englishmen in Calcutta, (of whom the most notable connoisseurs were Sir John Woodroffe, and the late Mr. Norman Blount) laid the foundation of the Indian Society of Oriental Art—which offered rich impetus to the new movement inaugurated by Mr. Havell.

Architecture was not neglected, and Mr. Havell's deep insight and earnest studies helped to unearth the fundamental basis, and the key-note which has governed the rich development of Indian architecture—through the varying demands of different religions and the differing political conditions throughout the fateful evolutions of life and society recorded on the coloured pages of Indian history. In his first volume on *Indian Architecture, its psychology, structure and history* (1913), Mr. Havell demonstrated how the historic building traditions of India met the demands of varying conditions of life at different periods of history, how the Moghul Emperors utilized and developed the skill and genius of the Indian craftsmen in new opportunities which flowered out in the glories of Moghul architecture. Incidentally, in analysing the forms of Moghul architecture, he demonstrated that its elements (domes, arches and many details) were essentially Indian rather than Persian, and that the term 'Indo-Saracenic' employed by archaeologists was a misnomer. In his famous pamphlet, *The Building of the New Delhi*, he demanded the employment of the

living Indian craftsmen whose ancestors had built the Imperial Cities of Delhi and Agra under the liberal patronage of Akbar and Shah Jahan, and who are still capable of designing a New Delhi for the British Raj. The main burden of his agitation was that it was not a question whether "New Delhi" should be built in this or that style, but whether the traditions of Indian craftsmanship should be allowed to continue or develop on lines consistent with its history. Should the Indian builder having a living architectural practice at his back dating back to several centuries be given a free hand to evolve "out of a stock of still vital Indian ideas," a form of architecture which will symbolize, on the one hand, the spirit of India, as it is today and will stir on the other hand the potency of Indian Art to express itself in new creative efforts. The agitation that he set up in England led a group of cultured Englishmen, artists, and members of Parliament, to petition the Secretary of State and to impress on him "That it is for the general good, artistically and morally, not only of the United Kingdom and India, but of the world at large that the living craftsmanship should be saved from extinction by a right method of employment; that politically such a method will tie the natives of India more closely to the Mother country, and at the same time give an outlet for the energies of the college-trained Indians to whom all the arts are at present closed; further, that the use of native master-builders handling native material is financially economical." An official enquiry was set on foot to ascertain the character and nature of the building crafts still surviving in India. The result of the enquiry embodied in the "Report on Modern Indian Architecture" by Gordon Sanderson fully justified Mr. Havell's claim for the living quality of the old building traditions still surviving in India.

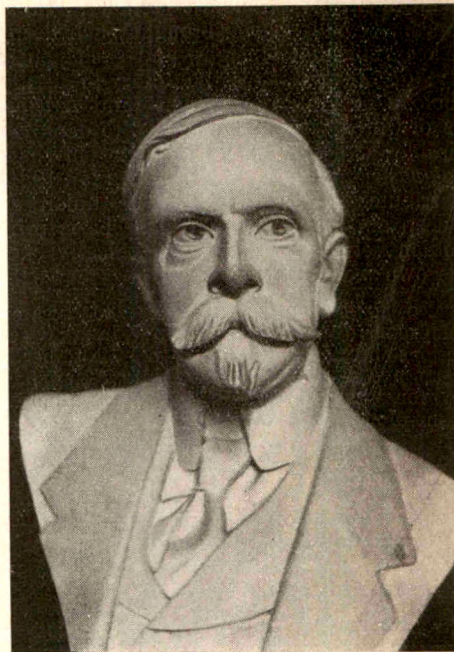
In his first monograph, Mr. Havell had confined himself to the Indian monuments erected under Islamic patronage. In his second volume, published in 1915 under the title of "The Ancient and Mediæval Architecture of India," the author made an extensive and detailed survey of the whole field, and revealed the fundamental principles of Indian architecture, with a rare insight and a power of analysis, which a generation of learned antiquarians labouring for nearly a century had failed to discover. Mr. Havell had not set out to write a text-book on the History of Indian Architecture—but to interpret how the scope and development of the building craft—the mother of all the other forms of arts and crafts—was made the basis of Indian forms of political administration and had afforded in all periods of Indian history ample scope for the genius of Indian culture to express itself in diverse ways and means. He had demonstrated by his admirable studies how it is the first and foremost duty of an historian of Indian Archi-



ture to realize for himself the distinctive qualities which constitute its Indian-ness and its peculiar value in the synthesis of Indian life.

The contributions he has made to the problems of the preservation and development of Indian Industrial Arts under the depressing conditions of a machine age are indeed valuable. Many years before Mahatma Gandhi thought of launching his scheme for resuscitating the village craft of the weavers, Mr. Havell realized that unless the Indian handloom could be helped to survive the competition with mill-made piece-goods, unless the organization of Indian handicrafts could be built on a sound economic basis,—unless the poverty problem was adequately faced by providing a sound economic status for the basic village industry,—the handloom, it was useless to expect a healthy revival of the artistic industries. As a practical effort in this direction, he devised and imported an improved type of "Hattersley-Loom" and he demonstrated how it was possible for this oldest village craft to hold its own against the competition of power-loom productions. His valuable suggestions for the development of Indian industries are embodied in a series of essays published under the title *The Basis for Artistic and Industrial Revival in India* (Madras 1912). He believed in the possibility of building upon the basis of Indian civilization and culture a better social and industrial order than that which now exists in Europe. And for this purpose he was an ardent advocate of national education in the Indian Universities, and made practical efforts to introduce the study of Indian Art in the University curriculum. It is indeed unfortunate that, although some of the Indian Universities have adopted theoretical resolutions recommending the study of the Fine Arts as an essential factor in higher education, none of the Universities has yet taken steps to offer practical courses to ensure in the curriculum an opportunity to all students to come in contact with the Masterpieces of Indian Art. Even the text-books of Indian history have failed to indicate how the principles of Indian culture and civilization had incarnated in its monuments of Arts and its artistic crafts, at all periods of Indian history. And it was left to Mr. Havell to reveal how, through the interstices of the dynastic wars and foreign invasions, and the fateful political cataclysms, the story of the expression and the development of Indian culture has progressed unabated through the chequered careers of the dynastic upheavals and internecine quarrels. In his *History of Aryan Rule in India* (1918) he has given a new way of looking at Indian history. He has pleaded for a recognition of national art as a key to the true understanding and interpretation of Indian history. Incidentally, he has shown that even during the reigns of foreign invaders the course of Indian Polity, Indian social or religious ideals, Indian Arts

and Crafts have had full scope and have helped to realize the fruits of Indian culture to the fullest extent. The reigns of Kanishka, of the Tughlaks, of Sher Shah, of Akbar were not reigns of foreign invaders—but essentially



Mr. E. B. Havell

Photo by the Courtesy of Mr. Mukul Dey. Bust made by Mr. K. Venkatappa at the Government School of Art, Calcutta

Indian governments carried out with the co-operation of Indians, and mainly based on the principles of Indian Polity, and Sociology—and have helped to develop rather than retard the expression of Indian culture in all its phases. In his shorter handbook designed for students, *A Short History of India* (1924), he has within a short compass traversed the whole field of Indian history from the earliest times to the present day, and has given a skilful and well-balanced survey of the march of Indian culture through the fateful shadows of political incidents and happenings,—through the domination of princes and personalities.

As a practical educationist, Mr. Havell's finger-marks have left their blessings on the Government School of Art, Calcutta, and the Fine Art Section of the Indian Museum for which, with rare courage and fine connoisseurship, he collected a magnificent gallery of old masterpieces of Painting and Sculpture,—valuable documents of the brilliant history of Indian Art, hitherto inaccessible to the prejudiced eyes of antiquarians filmed with tapes, charts, and estampages. For Indian school-boys, he designed



and published a series of Drawing Books, using the finest examples of old Indian models and decorative designs. It is unfortunate that Mr. Havell was not a Sanskrit scholar, and the source-books of Indian culture were only accessible to him through translations. But, it is doubtful if any Sanskrit scholar, Indian or European, could have brought such deep faith, such keen spiritual insight, and such penetrating power of analysis as he did, to study the symbology of Hindu Religion and Art, and the fruits of which it is a privilege to enjoy in his admirable exposition of Saivaite myths in his *Himalayas in Indian Art* (June 1924), his last tribute to the shrine of Indian culture. His deep and abiding faith in the basic principles of Indian civilization is very typically expressed in his own words:

"No nation has ever grown to greatness by compromising. India has sunk in the scale of nations because she has been false to her highest ideals and India will rise again when she holds up for herself and for humanity higher once than Modern Europe now brings her."

As an interpreter of Indian culture of rare and profound insight, as a connoisseur of Indian Art, in all its phases, of rare vision and acumen, as an unprejudiced student of the basic principles of Hindu Religion and Polity, as a worshipper of the finest ideals of Indian civilization, of unshaken faith and devotion, as a true and passionate friend of Indians, of rare power of sympathy, as an educationist of liberal and sincere outlook and as one of the foremost prophets of Indian nationalism, Mr. Havell's personality and works shall ever occupy an honoured throne in the hearts of all Indians, and shall be cherished in loving and grateful memories in all future developments of Indian culture, for the study of which he has provided such valuable and enduring inspiration. From his own countrymen he has richly deserved, if he has not actually earned, the richest tribute for the inestimable services that he has rendered to the cause of international understanding, in indicating the way to a spiritual *rapprochement* between the East and the West,—for which events have been slowly but surely working out a divine fulfilment.

## THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

### XXII

**S**HRIBILAS was seated in the outer room. He was in a rage. The condition imposed by Suparnā was becoming unbearable to him. He was to have none of the rights of a husband, till Suparnā granted them to him of her own free will. It had not sounded so bad in Calcutta, as everything ultra-modern and dramatic went well with the atmosphere of the metropolis. Shribilās had to consent to it there, because otherwise Suparnā would have refused to come with him. But he had hoped that Suparnā would not insist on a strict observance of the condition. If she was treated well, she would surrender within a few days. But the way she had behaved during the journey, had been an eye-opener to Shribilās. He had understood that Suparnā hated and detested him too utterly, ever to be his voluntarily. But how was he going to conquer her? She was indifferent to good treatment, and she would allow no sort of familiarity or intimacy. And she could never be won over by presents and ornaments. How was Shribilās ever going to find a place in her heart? Of course, he could use force, as she was alone now, but whenever he remembered the severe expression of her face, he felt discouraged. Besides, he had given her his word. It would never do to break it so soon.

Haimabati called to him from outside, saying "Why are you sitting there like a fool? Won't you have your bath and meal?"

"Go away and don't nag," said her brother angrily. "I will eat when it pleases me."

This was their usual mode of speaking and sometimes it became even worse. So Haimabati did not mind this much and said, "Very well, I am going. It's no use my interfering in your affairs now. I came to ask you, only because aunt told me that your wife was waiting for you and could not take her own meal."

Suparnā was waiting for him? The words warmed up his heart and he got up in a hurry. "I am going to bathe," he told his sister, "it won't take me long." Haimabati left, her face distorted with displeasure.

Shribilās went to the pond and hurriedly finished his bath. In the village it was customary to keep the upper part of the body bare, but Shribilās felt rather shy to appear before Suparnā so scantily dressed. So he put on a *panjabi* and combed his hair, before going in.

"Why are you so late, my dear?" asked his aunt. "Your wife has finished her bath long ago. I could not give her her meal, as you had not come in."

So Suparnā had not waited for him of her own will, the aunt had made her do it? Shribilās felt his temper rising again and said, "Why did you keep her waiting for me? You could have easily given her her meal."

"We are not Memsahibs, my dear," said his aunt, "and do not know these customs. A wife can never eat before her husband. Sit down



here. I shall serve food to your wife inside that room."

Shribilas sat down to eat, with a frowning face. He looked askance once or twice, but could not catch sight of Suparnā. "Who has cooked today?" he asked. "It is very nice."

"I and your sister have cooked together to-day," said his aunt. "When I am gone, there will be some difficulty about cooking the fish."

"Why?" asked Shribilas, "sister used to cook fish before?"

Before his aunt could reply, Haimabati came rushing out of the kitchen and cried:

"Why should I? I am a widow, why shall I touch fish every day? The person who wants to eat fish, will have to do the cooking also."

Shribilas flared up at once. He hated the thought of Suparnā's listening to these petty quarrels. He pushed away his plate and cried, "Alright, alright, you need not shriek like a steamer's siren. We would do very well without tasting your fine cooking. Other people also know how to cook."

His aunt tried her best to stop this altercation and said, "Please stop, my dear, don't fight the first day you set foot in the house. Some sort of arrangement will certainly be made. Wherever does work stop, for a single person?"

Suparnā heard everything, sitting inside the room. It was really something novel in this house, this fight about who was going to cook for Suparnā. Strange turns of the wheels of Fate! She had finished eating, so she picked up her plate and tumbler and came out with them. Shribilas nearly jumped up in consternation, though he had not yet finished eating. "Why are you carrying these things?" he cried. "Aunt, I asked you to engage a maid servant for doing these works. Have not you engaged any?"

"Why not?" said Haimabati, with a sneer from inside the kitchen. "Which of your orders has not been carried out? But the low-caste maid-servant never entered the rooms before. But if it pleases you now, we can bring her in, anytime."

"I shall see whether she comes in or remains outside," said Shribilas. "Aunt, please show her where to keep these plates and tumblers."

The old lady was feeling utterly fed up with these continuous bickerings. "She knows where to keep them," she said to Shribilas. "She had lived in this place for many years. Come with me, daughter, I shall show you."

Suparnā followed her and put down the things by the side of the pond. "The maid-servant will scour and wash them," said the old lady, "you have only to pour some water on them and take them in. Here we cannot get high-caste servants. You know the state of things here."

"There was no need of a maid-servant," said Suparnā. "I could have done these few things myself."

"Why not, indeed," said the old lady. "You have only two persons to work for. If your sister-in-law had not been such a fool, it would have been even more easier. But Heaven has not granted her any wisdom and her mother had spoilt her thoroughly. Please, make some allowances for her. You know, she has no other home."

Suparnā was washing her face and hands in the pond. "How can I help it if she gets angry for nothing?" she said. "Please try to make her understand that I do not want to take away any of the rights she had been enjoying. She won't have to do anything for me either. I shall do all my work myself."

"If she had sense enough to understand it, then there would have been no trouble at all," said Shribilas's aunt. "But everyone thinks others as good or bad as oneself. She is mortally afraid of being driven out by both of you."

Suparnā did not like to say much about this subject and returned home. The old lady went into Haimabati's room and Suparnā went back to the room where her things had been placed. Shribilas had finished eating by that time. Suparnā had not slept at all during the previous night, and was feeling extremely tired. But she felt rather awkward about occupying this room solely for herself. This happened to be the best room in the house. If she took it, then Haimabati and Shribilas would have to manage with inferior rooms. She had not come here to enjoy herself. She had come for the sole purpose of inflicting punishment on herself and thus have her revenge on Sudarshan. She had another object in coming. She did not want people to witness how Shribilas pestered her. She knew that countless sorrows awaited her here, but she had prepared herself for that. She did not mind if she ended her wretched existence here. She only felt pity for her poor father, who would be stricken to the heart, if his only child came to such a sad end.

She went out once to find Shribilas, but did not succeed. Haimabati had calmed down somewhat and had gone into the kitchen with her aunt. So Suparnā did not see her also.

She was feeling too sleepy to wait for anyone longer. She closed the door and flung herself on the bed, thinking to settle about the rooms at night.

Haimabati came back after finishing her meal. She pointed to the closed door of Suparnā's room with a sneer and said, "See aunt, what a great Memsahib she is. The couple are so shameless that they are sleeping with closed doors in broad daylight. They don't mind about our presence. If mother had been living, I would have shown them. Shribilas is nothing but a lamb, who is being led by the nose." But Haimabati had to stop in the middle of her oration, seeing Shribilas



coming out of his room. He could not hear exactly what she was saying, but he understood that she was talking about him. "What did you say?" he asked.

"Nothing, my dear, nothing", put in his aunt, ever on the alert to avoid breach of peace. "You have come a long way, and must be feeling tired. You need a bit of rest, that was what we were discussing. Your wife had fallen asleep after her meal, she was so tired."

Shribilas laughed to himself at these words from his aunt. The poor lady was in an awful fix, coming to this place. She had to fight day and night for the maintenance of peace. She did not know the ways of this family. When his mother had been alive, she was known as the greatest virago of the village.

He felt a bit disappointed seeing that Suparnā had closed her door. He wanted to talk to her for a bit, after his sister and aunt had retired. Was she really asleep or was this a ruse for keeping Shribilas away? Probably, the latter.

In answer to his aunt, he said "Yes, she must be pretty tired. She sat through the whole of last night. I too could do with some sleep."

As Haimabati and her aunt went away, he rapped upon Suparnā's door rather lightly. But there was no response from within. Shribilas went back to the outer room in an angry mood, and in spite of his efforts to remain awake, fell asleep, soon after.

Suparnā woke up suddenly, after she had slept nearly three hours. A sense of strangeness in her surroundings probably helped to awaken her. She looked out and found the daylight already fading. She got up in a hurry and came out of her room. There was no one in the vicinity. She could hear only voices talking, in the kitchen. Shribilas was not there.

Suparnā went into the improvised bathroom, and washed her face. She took out a telegraph form and her fountain-pen out of her suitcase. She was writing out a telegram to her father to inform him about her safe arrival, when she was interrupted by the sound of footsteps. She looked up and found Shribilas standing by the door. "Are you wiring to your father?" he asked.

Suparnā nodded in the affirmative. Shribilas entered the room and said, "Give it to me. I am going that way and I shall have it sent."

Suparnā got up, after having finished writing the telegram. She was taking out a rupee, when Shribilas said, "You need not give me any money. I have got enough with me. I hope, you find this room comfortable? Tell me, whenever you need anything. Though it is a village, I shall try my best to make you as comfortable as possible."

"Oh, I shall be alright, anywhere," said Suparnā. "But I don't want to live in this room."

"Why," asked Shribilas, with a frown. "This

is the best room in the house. What is wrong with it?"

"I don't want a large room or a very good room," said Suparnā. "I can manage very well with a small room. Your sister used to live in this room before. Tell her to live in it. Or you can live in it yourself."

"You want to show me up before people as mean and selfish. But what would you gain thereby?" said Shribilas. "You want to prove to people that I am ill-treating such a girl as you. But I am not going to submit to it. Nobody likes to be a scape-goat. Even as it is, I am doing penance for a sin that is not mine, but mother's. This should be enough."

"If you are determined to misunderstand everything," said Suparnā, "I cannot help it. But I will not live in this room. If you don't want to speak to your sister about it, I shall do so myself."

"Do whatever you like," said Shribilas angrily. "I cannot close your mouth, of course. But what is the use of washing dirty linen in public? I can guess very well the sort of discussion that will follow, when these village people come to know about our living separately. If you had kept quiet, they would not have known anything about it. But you are not the person to do it."

Suparnā's face flushed with anger. But she controlled it and said calmly, "Very well, if my living in this room is so very important, I shall do it. Now, here is the telegram." She placed the telegram in Shribilas's hand and then turned her back upon him. She was ostensibly putting her suitcase in order. Shribilas left the room in a huff.

Suparnā got up after closing the suitcase. The day seemed so long. Was it never coming to an end? Only God knew how many more days like this awaited her. Suparnā felt a choking sensation.

After a while she got up and walked to the kitchen. Haimabati was seated in the doorway, while her aunt was washing some rice. "Had a nice sleep?" asked Haimabati, rather unpleasantly. "Shall I prepare some tea for you?"

"Please don't bother about me," said Suparnā. "I shall get it myself. Please, aunt, give me some hot water in this glass."

The old lady poured the hot water in the glass, asking, "Would it matter? I have boiled the water in an earthen vessel."

"It does not matter at all," said Suparnā and went back to her room. There were a packet of tea, cups and saucers, and everything else necessary on a table there. Shribilas had probably ordered these things for her. She was putting in the tea-leaves, when Shribilas's aunt came in with some milk and a paper-bag full of sugar. "Here you are, my dear," she said. "Do you require anything else? I could not prepare anything, as I did not know what you would like."



"You have done well," said Suparnā. "I never take anything with my tea, if I happen to take my breakfast rather late. Please leave the cooking to me now. I shall go and set about it as soon as I have finished my tea."

"No, my dear," said the old lady, "as long as I am here, I shall not let you handle the pots and pans. I shall go away to-morrow morning. Then you will have to do it, until Shribilās makes other arrangements. Haimabati is bent on quarrelling and won't do anything to help you."

### XXIII

After the old lady had left, Suparnā felt sorry for having offered to cook. She ought to have known that, being an orthodox Hindu woman, she would never accept food prepared by Suparnā. So she had dissuaded her rather skilfully.

The evening came on. Very few lights are used in the villages. People finish their last meal while there is still daylight and then retire after closing all the doors and windows. So they have no use for lights. But Suparnā had long ago lost the habit of finishing the day at evening. So this fast gathering darkness seemed insufferable to her. But she did not make any attempt at getting a light. This darkness was better for her. What was the use of light to her? She did not want to see anyone's face, nor to show her face to anyone. She only wanted to lie down in a corner and die.

Shribilās's aunt came and stopped before Suparnā's door, carefully shading an earthen lamp with her hand. "Why are you sitting alone in the dark?" she asked. "Haimabati has not lighted the lamps even, I see. Come with me, you can sit on the verandah of the kitchen and talk to me. A person cannot sit alone in the dark like this. This is your house, and nobody can prevent you from entering any place."

Someone knocked at the outer door and Haimabati cried out from the kitchen, "Please aunt, bring the lamp here for a bit. Shribilas has come perhaps, and I must open the door."

Shribilas came in and cried out in anger, seeing the whole house in darkness, "Are you all dead? Could not you even light a lamp?"

"How many chandeliers have you supplied me with to light up the whole house?" answered his sister in the same spirit. "So long we have done quite well with earthen lamps. Now that they are insufficient for you, you had better make new arrangements."

Shribilas opened the outer door with a jerk and went out in the darkness again. "Where is he going in the dark?" asked his aunt. "There are snakes round about here. Both the brother and the sister are equals in every way."

However, Shribilas came back within half an hour, carrying a packet of candles. "I have ordered lanterns," he said. "I shall get them, day after to-morrow. For these two days, you must

manage with these. Have you finished cooking?"

"Long ago," replied his aunt. "Do you want your supper now?"

"Yes," said Shribilas. "What is the use of sitting up late?"

Shribilas sat down to eat on the verandah, while Suparnā had her meal in her room. Haimabati stood at the door, looking at her.

The supper was soon at an end. "You must not sit up for us, my dear," said the old lady to Suparnā. "You must be very tired after the long journey. I have still many things to finish before I can retire and Haimabati, too, takes a long time over her supper." Saying this she took up the earthen lamp and went back to the kitchen.

Shribilas stood for a long time before Suparnā's door. "I must go now, Suparnā," he said. "I hope you won't be afraid alone here?"

"Not at all," said Suparnā very shortly. Shribilas had to go away after that.

After a while Suparnā heard Haimabati's voice, speaking to Shribilas. "Do you mean to say, you are going to sleep in the outer room?" Suparnā could not hear what Shribilas said in reply.

Then again she heard Haimabati's voice, speaking sneeringly. "Well, you surprise me! I have never seen the like of it, not even in the homes of Memsahibs. Your wife must be greater than Memsahibs even."

Suparnā closed her door, but could not sleep.

Shribilas's aunt left the next day, as there was nobody to look after her own home. "I shall enquire about you daily," she said to Suparnā. "Whenever you are in difficulty, let me know. The maid-servant will do all the rough work, but the cooking you must do yourself. It would cause inconvenience, but you know, we cannot get cooks and servants in the villages."

"She has only two persons to cook for, and she must have a cook for that?" asked Haimabati. Without waiting for a reply, she went and shut herself in her own room.

Suparnā came back after seeing the old lady off. She went straight to the kitchen, the cooking was a troublesome affair, as she had only wood for fuel. The fire went out constantly and she had to relight it again and again. She set some water to boil for tea. Shribilas came and stood near the door looking at her. "What shall I prepare for you?" she asked.

"If you don't prepare anything for yourself, you need not prepare anything for me either," said Shribilas. "I shall take whatever there is in the house. I have sent Rakhal to the market, he will bring vegetables and fish. Prepare fish and rice only, that would suffice. I know it is a great trouble—"

"It is no trouble at all," replied Suparnā, cutting him short. "Go and sit in your room. I shall bring tea presently."



Shribilas went off. The water was boiling, so Suparnā took it off the fire and carried it into her room. She was very much displeased to see Shribilas sitting there in a chair.

But she did not say anything. She stood by the table, silently making the tea. After the tea was made, she went back to the kitchen and brought in a plateful of home-made sweets. She pushed it all towards Shribilas, and took only a cup of tea for herself.

"Won't you have anything?" asked Shribilas, "Did you never have anything in the morning even in your father's house? Women have a knack for creating unpleasantness, unnecessarily."

"People do not take the same amount of food always," said Suparnā. "They might be physically ill, or mentally depressed."

"The mental depression is the cause here, I expect?" said Shribilas with a sneer.

"You are right", said Suparnā, looking at him sternly.

"But cannot you tell me, what must be done, to relieve you of that depression?" asked Shribilas. "I shall try my best to do it."

"Your best efforts won't be of the slightest use in that direction," said Suparnā. "So what's the use of speaking about it?"

Shribilas began to get angry. "Have you come determined to quarrel all the time you are here?" he asked pushing away his tea.

Suparnā had finished her tea also. She got up and left the room, saying "If you behave sensibly, I don't see any reasons for quarrels." She hastened back to the kitchen.

Shribilas followed her with quick steps and caught her by the hand. "Don't think that you can shake me off so easily," he said. "You must give me a chance to win you."

Suparnā's face turned deep red with anger. She shook off his hand at once and said, "I believed you to be a gentleman and as such, put my trust in your word. Don't let me repent it."

"Even holding your hand seems to be a breach of contract," said Shribilas, totally unabashed.

Suparnā looked at him with deep hatred in her eyes. She went back to the kitchen, without giving him any reply. Shribilas returned to his room. He was very much excited. This feeling went on growing.

He had not thought much about it, when he promised Suparnā to treat her as a guest. He only wanted then to get Suparnā back within his power somehow. He had no definite intention of breaking his promise. But he had thought that Suparnā was only trying to make him feel how superior a girl she was. He did not believe she had any other intention. He also believed fully that she would surrender after a few days, if he treated her well. She had good reasons to be angry with him, but he did not believe that any Bengali woman could hold out against her husband for ever,

even though he had ill-treated her once. She could not marry again. So she must accept him as a husband again, sooner or later. A woman cannot live alone for ever, so Shribilas thought. So she would certainly not hold him very strictly to his word.

Shribilas had never tried to understand himself. He had nothing like self-control or restraint in his character. Besides, he had been spoilt very completely from his childhood by his mother and sister. He was the only boy in the family, so he had never been denied anything. All these years, though he had not married again, he had not led a celibate life. He never knew how to control any desire. The close proximity of Suparnā began gradually to excite him. Since his aunt had left, the house seemed very silent, since Haimabati hardly ever came out of her room. How could he restrain himself under these circumstances? Such a beautiful woman, and she was his wife! The more Suparnā tried to thrust him away, the more wild became his desire for her.

He went and flung himself on the wooden bedstead that stood in his room. He did not know what to do. He must have Suparnā. He was ready to give away all he had, if thereby he could win her.

The sound of footsteps made him look up. Two girls from a neighbour's family were coming in followed by a young man. The elder of the two looked at him with a smile and asked, "Where is your wife, Shribilas? Have you hidden the Memsahib, lest we catch sight of her?"

Shribilas sat up and answered, "Why should I hide her? Why don't you come and see?"

"But where is she?" asked the younger woman. "She might be in the kitchen," said Shribilas. "Go in and ask my sister."

The young women went inside. The man came and sat down by his side. "Well, how are you getting on with your modern wife?" he asked.

"Not too bad," replied Shribilas. "Won't you let me meet her?" asked the youngman trying in vain to repress his eagerness. "I am younger than you are."

"All in good time," replied Shribilas. "She is not likely to vanish into thin air. I shall ask you all one day. You can see her then to your heart's content."

"Just as you please," answered the young man. "I have seen her, of course, when she was young. Has she changed much?"

"Yes," replied Shribilas. "She does not appear to be the same person."

"Is she as fair as she was?"

"She has become fairer," said Shribilas. "She looks almost like a Memsahib now."

The young man, Keshab by name, struck him a resounding blow on the back. "Lucky devil," he said. "You married only once, but have virtually got two wives."



Shribilas did not say anything in reply. The sound of women's laughter floated over to them from the inner apartments, and made him very pensive. Haimabati's voice rose above all. Shribilas got up saying, "Let us go out for a while. I don't feel like staying in."

"You have got attraction enough here," said Keshab. "Then why don't you want to stay in? But when are you going to resume your practice? Or have you given up the idea of doing it ever? Can't tear yourself away from here, eh?"

Shribilas bent down to put on his slippers and said, "Oh indeed! And what shall I live on, pray? My expenses will increase henceforth."

"That's true," said Keshab. "Now, there are only two of you. But you will be hard put to it when the family begins to increase. We are fellow-sufferers and know what is what."

Shribilas began to feel his ears burning. "You are right," he said shortly and went out dragging Keshab behind him.

Haimabati had shut herself in her room, resolving neither to come out nor to cook and eat. But she could not keep to her purpose when she heard the girls come in. She opened her door and called out, "Come in here, I am in my room."

The two young women entered her room. The younger one, called Satee, said, "Where is the new bride? Won't you show us the Memsahib?"

"If you have got eyes in your head, you can see her easily," said Haimabat' turning nasty at once. "I have not kept her hidden in a box."

"But where can she be?" asked the elder Aruna. "We came in through the big room. It is empty."

"She is in the kitchen," said Haimabati.

Aruna's eyes seemed to jump out of her forehead as she cried, "In the kitchen? You don't mean to say that you are making such an accomplished girl do your cooking?"

Haimabati's face turned black with anger. "She may be very accomplished," she said, "but she has got hunger and thirst like everybody else. What will she eat if she does not cook? Aunt has gone away, and I am not going to cook for them. Let them think what they like."

"Won't your brother quarrel with you?" asked Satee.

"Oh, much I care about that!" said Haimabati.

"If they don't want me here, they can send me to Benares. I am a widow, and my wants are little."

Satee and Aruna were typical village women. They found quarrels very palatable, but for the present, they were rather eager to see Suparnā. Aruna was a bit older than Suparnā and she remembered her as the ill-treated child-wife. Aruna wanted to know how Suparnā looked and talked now. Satee was younger and did not remember Suparnā. Still she was eager to see what a modern educated woman could look like.

The two sisters came and stood before the

kitchen. Suparnā was cutting up some vegetables with a chopper. She looked at the newcomers enquiringly, failing to recognize them.

Satee said, "Why, she is not at all like a Memsahib! She looks like one of us, cutting up vegetables like that."

"She cannot forget the habits of her childhood," said Aruna. "But don't you recognize me? I am Aruna, of the Mitra family. I have become too fat to be recognized easily."

Suparnā pushed two wooden seats towards them, saying, "Please, sit down."

But they would not sit down. "We shall come again to-morrow," said Aruna, and both went back to Haimabati's room. Suparnā washed the vegetables and began to cook them. Any other time she would have tried to converse with the girls. But now she had begun to hate nearly the whole of humanity.

The vegetables were nearly done, when someone knocked and cried out, "Letters for you."

Suparnā put down the cooking pan in a great hurry, and ran out. But next moment she began to feel thoroughly ashamed of herself. What had made her run out like that? What did she want with news of the outer world? Whom had she to call her own there? Her father? Was she really so anxious to hear from him? She had lived apart from her father nearly all her life. Then, did she really want to hear from Sudarshan?—Sudarshan, the greatest enemy she had, Sudarshan, who had insulted her so terribly? Was Suparnā running out so eagerly to hear news of the man for whom she had accepted this hated life? Had she lost all sense of self-respect?

The postman looked at her rather surprised, and went off after handing over her two letters. One was from her father. The sight of the other nearly made her faint. It was from Sudarshan. What had he to say to her again? Had not he said enough?

She closed the door of the kitchen, then went into her own room and bolted it from within. First, she opened the letter from her father. He had not written much. He was well and he wanted to know how she was. He had requested her to tell the village postmaster if ever she was in any trouble. He was a relative of Pratul and would try his best to help her.

She pushed away his letter. She sat still for a while holding the second letter in her hand. Then she opened the envelope with trembling fingers and drew out the letter.

There was nothing much in it. Only one word was written on the paper in English, "Forgive." It bore his signature underneath, "Sudarshan."

The letter dropped on the floor from her hand. She flung herself down on the floor, uttering heart-rending sobs. Why this attempt at reconciliation now? Did Sudarshan know the terrible effect of his foolish anger? From whom was he



asking forgiveness? Suparnā Mitra? Was such a person still alive?

She could not remember afterwards, how long she had lain thus on the floor. Suddenly the sound of furious knocking at the door made her sit up. It must be Shribilas, no one else had any interest in her movements. She stood up, her legs trembling and going to the door, opened it.

Shribilas gave a start as soon as he caught sight of her face. "Are you ill?" he asked. "You are looking extremely unwell."

"I am quite all right", replied Suparnā, turning away her face. "You finish your bath, I have got the breakfast ready." She again closed the door.

Suparnā did not know herself what charm her tear-stained face held, but Shribilas was deeply moved. Suparnā had hitherto looked like a statue of marble or a flame of fire. But to-day she looked very much of a woman, soft and kind. Shribilas could not understand himself fully, but his desire for her increased hundredfold. He restrained himself with great difficulty.

But all ways seemed closed to him now. He had to keep his thoughts to himself and go for his bath. He returned very soon and found Suparnā's door still closed from within. Shribilas lost all patience suddenly. He did not dare to vent his anger on Suparnā. So he gave a hard kick on Haimabati's door, crying "Are you all dead?"

Haimabati opened her door and came out in a furious mood. She was feeling inclined to commit murder. For two days, she had to keep her anger to herself and was now feeling like a volcano on the verge of eruption. "Why should I be dead?" she shrieked at him. "You go and die and take your wanton wife with you. If

you try any more tricks with me, I shall go for you with a broomstick!"

"You dare to say such things to me, you wretch!" cried Shribilas and dealt her a heavy blow on the head, with the metal jug he had in his hand. "Oh God, he has killed me!" cried Haimabati, and fell down on the spot.

Suparnā had heard the sound of the blow and Haimabati's cry. She opened her door and rushed out to find Haimabati lying senseless in a pool of blood. Suparnā stood rooted to the spot and whispered, "My God, what is this?"

All his anger had left Shribilas, "Please save my sister, Subarna," he cried. "She is already gone, perhaps."

Suparnā began to feel the responsibility of a doctor when faced with a crisis. She knelt down by the side of the insensible woman and began to examine her. After a while, she said, "Don't be so much upset, it is nothing very severe. Please bring some tincture of iodine and some boric cotton."

Shribilas ran out to carry out her orders. Suparnā began to sprinkle water on Haimabati's face to restore her senses.

She opened her eyes after a few minutes and asked, "Where is that murderer? I am going to see that he gets handcuffs this time, though he is my brother."

"Please don't get up now," said Suparnā, "or the bleeding will start afresh. Let me first bandage the wound."

Haimabati smiled. It looked horrible and strange on her blood-stained face. "It is difficult to know your friends and foes", she said. "So my life was saved by you, of all persons?" She got up pushing away Suparnā's restraining hand, and tottered to her room.

*(To be continued.)*





# LEGAL FICTION AND CONSTITUTIONAL PRACTICE IN THE DOMINIONS

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

## I

**M**ORE than once it has happened that a British statesman who has represented his Sovereign at Canada's federal capital Ottawa has been placed in supreme authority over India. The reverse has also occurred and a proconsul, upon the conclusion of his term of office in an Indian province, has been appointed Governor-General of the original Dominion.

The Earl of Minto, for instance, had been sent to this country just about thirty years ago within a year of his retirement from Ottawa. He laid down the reins of the Governor-Generalship of Canada on December 10, 1904 and assumed charge of the office of Viceroy and Governor-General of our land on November 18, 1905.

So urgent was the political and administrative need of that day that he had been permitted but a short respite between the two appointments. After heating the Indian temper with his bombast and arbitrary acts, the Earl (afterwards the Marquis) Curzon of Kedleston had thrown his post at the head of the Government of India avowedly because of differences with the India Office, then presided over by an Oxford contemporary and later political colleague and personal friend (the Earl Middleton), over the position to be occupied by the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Kitchener) in relation to the Governor-General.

For years prior to tendering his resignation Lord Curzon had been confronted with forces that seemed suddenly to have arisen in India and which he lacked the temperament to understand. Essentially of a nationalist character, they had been engendered by a sense of revulsion against the Occidentalizing tendencies which, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, had begun to fall from the meridian that they had touched only a few years earlier. The victories won by the Japanese against the Russians in the Tshushima Straits dividing the Daybreak Kingdom from its possessions on the mainland of Asia and on the Manchurian battlefields, had the effect of stimulating these forces.

## II

By a coincidence, my first visit to Canada occurred shortly after Lord Minto began to grapple with the difficulties he had inherited from his predecessor in India. It was therefore only natural that all sorts of questions should be put to me by the Canadians I met respecting that

statesman's ways with my people and the chances he had of scoring a success in my Motherland.

This interest, I soon discovered, was not confined to any one part of the Dominion. It was manifest in British Columbia, to which province I had pushed my way from Seattle across the land frontier. So it was also in Manitoba where I tarried on my way to the East. In Ontario and Quebec, particularly in Ottawa, it seemed to reach its climax.

Since I did not have the opportunity of meeting the Earl of Minto until I returned to India from my first tour around the globe in the summer of 1910, I could not satisfy their curiosity. All that I knew had been gathered from Indian newspapers and occasionally from a reference to the subject in a letter received from some kind acquaintance in one Indian town or another. Judging from those accounts, he was a great improvement upon his predecessor. So I told the Canadian enquirers.

## III

I soon noticed however that they made up, with their vivid imagination, the deficiencies obviously left by my statements. Not being burdened with ministers entrenched in power in Parliament, as had been the case in Canada, he would, they fancied, do pretty well as he pleased in our country. Sitting, as he did, in the seat of the Grand Mughal, he had, they felt sure, great scope for his energy and statesmanship—great opportunities for indelibly imprinting his name on the pages of our annals.

In these flights of imagination they forgot to reckon with two factors:

(1) There was the India Office, which, soon after Lord Minto's appointment, had gone out of the control of the Conservative Party, whose nominee he had been. The Liberals who had come into power had placed their political mentor—John (afterwards the Viscount) Morley, at the head of that office. He might pay lip-service to the "man on the spot," but he was constitutionally incapable of leaving him entirely to his own devices. That fact I was to discover when he received me at the India Office in the spring of 1910.

(2) Then, there was the administrative caste in India itself. Composed of men who had received the highest education their country could give them and possessed of uncommon shrewdness, it was closely knit together by an *esprit de*



*corps* of matchless vigour and tenacity. Any man lacking entirely first-hand knowledge of Indian people and conditions, superimposed upon it, would find it no easy task to bend the Civil Service to his will, no matter how masterful that will might be and how reinforced it was with ripe experience acquired elsewhere.

With such intelligence as I then possessed—I am writing of a generation back—I called attention to these matters. But I doubt if I succeeded in making my meaning plain except perhaps to a few Canadians gifted with a large vision.

#### IV

The speculations regarding Lord Minto's opportunities in India and the powers that he exercised there held no great interest for me. My attention was however arrested by the hints that my chance acquaintances in the Dominion conveyed to me about his position in the governance of Canada when he was representing the British Crown there.

My education in that respect was incomplete. Such literature—I use the word in the Canadian (and American) sense—as I had read had only served to puzzle me. I had gathered from it the impression that the Governor-General was the fountain-head of power in Canada.

The Canadians whom I met—and they were, as a rule, men and women of intelligence, well placed in life—talked, however, as if he were no more than a figurehead. I therefore plied those who appeared to me to be well informed on that particular subject with questions so that I might understand as precisely as possible what position the Governor-General actually occupied in the polity of Canada, and what work he really performed.

Such information as I gathered appeared to show that the office was almost entirely of a ceremonial character. While at Ottawa Lord Minto was only the titular head of the executive, while the ministers, particularly the Prime Minister, exercised the real power.

It was clear to me that many of the Canadians who spoke to me on the subject evinced, nevertheless, great respect for the representative of the King. While he did not actually bulk very large in the government of the country, his office was one of great dignity and the highest honour was paid to him.

Some of the Canadians whom I came across, however, shocked me with their irreverence. They spoke as if the Governor-General was no more than a social ornament. Remarks of this description were obviously made by persons who had been influenced—sometimes without realizing it—by their neighbours to the south.

#### V

My mind was not fully satisfied with the information I thus elicited. It was vouchsafed by

persons who, however well "posted," had not come in contact with the Governor-General in his official capacity and could, at best, retail only oft-told tales.

For this reason I considered myself fortunate when I was introduced to a Canadian statesman who, some years before, had occupied the highest position to which any countryman of his had ever been elevated. Sir Mackenzie Bowell by name, he had been Federal Prime Minister from December 21, 1894 to April 27, 1896.

The meeting took place in a singularly pleasant circumstance. One of the leading lawyers of Vancouver, B. C.—Mr. Fred Wade—invited me to a luncheon at the Club. To my surprise and delight I found myself seated next to the ex-Premier, opposite whom sat his son, who was Collector of Customs at that port and whom, as I remember it, his father had come out from the east to visit.

The meal proved to be an utterly informal affair. The atmosphere of the Canadian West, in fact, kills formality.

No one was more jovial at the festive board than Sir Mackenzie. He and his son seemed to run each other a race in recounting jokes. Before we dispersed they had extended me a cordial invitation to call upon them. The ex-Premier even gave me his address in the east, in case I had not been able to look him up before he went back home; and extracted a promise that I would visit him. Canadians are, I must add, hospitable almost to a fault.

I was only too anxious to meet him again and to ask him quietly to give me the benefit of any light he might be able to shed upon the constitutional point that was puzzling me. I did so without any undue loss of time and broached the subject with considerable diffidence.

The ex-Premier soon put me at my ease. I was not the only man, he assured me, who found the position puzzling. The law said one thing, he added, while the practice was entirely different.

In law his Excellency possessed the supreme executive power. But in reality that power was exercised through the ministers. All important appointments were made as if at his initiative, but the actual choice was ministers'. It was their advice that prevailed in making the appointments.

The same was true of legislation. The initiative came from the ministers. And not only the initiative. Also the responsibility. They had to get the bills through Parliament, to which they were answerable for all their acts of omission and commission. If they lost its goodwill, out they went, whether they were in the good graces of his Excellency or not.

The Governor-General was kept informed of what was going on. No secrets were made. In discussing measures with the ministers he could no doubt influence them. But that was the farthest he could go.



So far as the letter of the law was concerned, he could hold up legislation, veto it or send it to London for signification of the Crown's pleasure. But so many years had elapsed since the veto power was exercised that it was regarded as dead as mutton.

So great an impression did Sir Mackenzie Bowell's words make upon my mind that nearly thirty years later they are almost as fresh in my memory as when they entered it. As I went about Ottawa and met ministers, deputy ministers and politicians, I realized that the ex-Premier had portrayed the position in its true colours. Even the phraseology did not materially differ.

## VI

Some twenty years later, when I paid another of my many visits to Canada, I found a situation that, at least on the surface, appeared to clash with these ideas. Some two weeks prior to my landing the Governor-General had acted, not in virtue of the advice tendered to him by the Prime Minister, but of his own motion. He had accepted the resignation of Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader. Without so much as asking him if he wished to go to the polls, or waiting for him to recommend the calling in of Mr. Arthur Meighan, the Conservative leader of the Opposition, Mr. Meighan had been invited to form a government and that government had been put in power.

If by this action the representative of the Crown had tried to save the country from going through the agony of a general election, his intention miscarried. Within a few hours of Mr. Meighan and his colleagues being sworn in, Parliament was dissolved.

The only difference that the Governor-General's intervention really made was that during the legislative interregnum the Conservatives were in power, whereas had matters been permitted to take the normal course, the Liberals would, most probably, have remained at the helm. For that reason, if for no other, the action was serious—or what comes to much the same thing, was capable of being made to look serious.

## VII

That something had happened to ruffle the Canadian temper was plain to me hardly had the Canadian Pacific liner *Minnedosa* that had carried me from Anvers (Antwerp) in Belgium touched the quay at Montreal about the middle of July, 1926. Even the newspaper reporters who sought interviews with me in my cabin before permitting me to disembark seemed to me to be excited, though the craft to which they and I belonged has the effect of making men *blasé*—or at least of making them wear that look.

I asked one of the reporters what was new (a North Americanism for news) in the Dominion, which I was visiting after an interval of many years. Without any ado he told me that just a

few days before there had been a change of government at Ottawa.

"Ah!" I said, "you must have been through an election. Was it exciting? And was there much mud-slinging?"

As I uttered these words I recalled electoral campaigns in the Dominion when I was living there or just south of the border, in the United States of America. The memory of one of them particularly leapt from the limbo of time and stood in front of me like a grim, grey ghost.

The Federal Government presided over by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the French-Canadian lawyer, who rose to the top through sheer native shrewdness and pertinacity, had come to an agreement with the United States Government, then headed by, William Howard Taft. The Reciprocity Treaty, as it was called, was dragged in the mire and with it the name of every Liberal politician of any note, particularly Sir Wilfrid himself and his young lieutenant, William Lyon Mackenzie King, whose rebel maternal grandmother was (figuratively) dug out of the grave and trampled under foot.

Laurier had had his day. For many years he had wielded great power. But King was a young man, a trifle older than myself and exceeding likeable. That, at least, had been my impression when I first met him at Ottawa in 1906 or 1907 and during my subsequent intercourse with him.

As these recollections coursed through my mind I wondered if history had repeated itself just before my arrival twenty years later. But the newspaper man shook his head to indicate that such had not been the case.

"No. We have not had an election—only a change of government," he said. "The Liberals under King have gone out of office. The Conservatives under Meighan have taken their place. The election is still to come."

That answer struck me as cryptic. Something, I felt sure, was being kept from me.

I should have liked to probe the secret. But the reporter was in a hurry to get away to his paper to write his "story"—an interview or an article of any description is a "story" in the North American journalistic parlance.

My wife, too, was becoming impatient at my being detained in the cabin. She was naturally anxious that the luggage should be cleared through the customs and we should speed away to the hotel where we were to make our home during the few weeks we were to stay in that city, the most populous and probably the richest in the Dominion, though Toronto in Ontario cannot be far behind.

## VIII

Elucidation of questions relating to the change of the Federal Government had therefore to wait for a more propitious moment. Not for very long, though. Travel-worn persons like us soon settle down to a new routine soon after anchoring at a temporary haven.



A day or two later I happened to be talking with a young Englishman who, some years earlier, had quitted his country and settled down in Canada in a post with alluring prospects. He was a wide-awake man and his work brought him in contact with all classes of people. I therefore thought that he would be just the person who could tell me all about the political commotion that I fancied must have accompanied the change of government at Ottawa.

He had had no communication with King, the young Englishman facetiously informed me. That remark made me feel that the man was not disposed to talk and I decided I would have to seek elsewhere the information I desired.

But no. I was wrong. That was merely his way. After that jocular introduction he jumped into the heart of the matter, as people in North America, among whom he had chosen to make his home, have a habit of doing.

Mackenzie King, he told me, must feel sore at being unceremoniously chucked out of office. He would no doubt have preferred to have gone to the polls and "yapped." But the Governor-General was a strong man—a military man—none other than Lord Byng of Vimy fame. He accepted that politician's resignation and promptly put Mr. Meighan in power.

I was amazed at these words and asked him if the Governor-General was competent to do so. Should he not have sent for his constitutional adviser—Mr. Mackenzie King—and acted in conformity with the advice he tendered? Was that not the recognized constitutional practice in the Dominion?

I could see that the young Canadianized Englishman was taken aback at my words. His was an agile brain however and he promptly parried my question by asserting that it mattered precious little what the Governor-General could or could not do. What really was important was that the action had been taken. Meighan, the Conservative leader, was actually in the saddle. His Government was running the country, and not King's. That was that.

This argument based upon the *fait accompli* did not impress me. I said so.

Without troubling to take up the challenge implicit in my words and even more so in my tones, the young man began abusing the Liberal leader. He could not trust King, he declared, not even when he was in his sight. He was a "dirty politician," he continued. He would bide his opportunity. Presently, when the election would be in full swing, he would drag this matter through the mud. He would not spare even the Governor-General. No. He would stop at nothing that would advance his personal selfish interests.

The bitterness with which these remarks were tinged convinced me that I could not expect to get a dispassionate view from that source. I therefore decided to let the matter drop then and

there and pursue further inquiries elsewhere. It later developed that his employer was not only a Conservative in politics but was a strong partisan of Mr. Meighan.

## IX

A French-Canadian lawyer of considerable note lived in the hotel where I had taken up my temporary abode. Thinking that we two might find each other interesting, the manager—an American with a "glad hand" and ready wit—had kindly introduced him to me.

Encountering the lawyer in the lobby, I asked him about this affair. I did not know what his political persuasion was; but the fact that he came of French-Canadian stock, which predominated in that province (Quebec) but, taking the Dominion as a whole, constituted a small but influential minority, would, I felt sure, invest with interest his ideas—whatever they might be—on the subject.

"In my opinion," the French-Canadian lawyer said, without beating about the bush, "the Governor-General has committed a blunder. Mr. Mackenzie King was his constitutional adviser. When the need arose his Excellency should have sent for him and asked his advice."

"Instead of that, what did the Governor-General actually do? He sent for Sir Robert Borden and Borden advised him to put Arthur Meighan into power without first giving Mr. Mackenzie King an opportunity to appeal to the people."

"I am giving away no state secret. It is pretty generally known in political circles as to what really happened. An open secret, you might call it."

After these facts had had time to sink into my mind, the French-Canadian lawyer added:

"Mind you, it is not a question of party allegiance. It is purely constitutional. The Governor-General did not send for his constitutional adviser, as he was supposed to do. He chose to take some one else into his confidence. Sir Robert Borden is no doubt a great man. But at the moment he was not the Governor-General's constitutional adviser. Mr. Mackenzie King was. In passing over Mr. King, the Governor-General assumed the responsibility of deciding a matter himself was not for him to decide except with Mr. Mackenzie King's advice. There will be trouble over it, mark my words."

## X

This French-Canadian lawyer proved right in some respects and wrong in others. Trouble there was, as he had predicted. The action taken by the Governor-General formed the dominant note of the election. The Liberals saw to that. But that action was not treated purely as a constitutional issue, as it should have been. It was like the sub-dominant note running through a musical composition. It became a matter of Party—a "partisan matter," as a Canadian would put it.

As I look back over the nine years that have



elapsed since then, I am glad that I chanced to be in the Dominion when this fight was going on. I am gladder still that my journalistic, literary and photographic work necessitated my touring the Dominion extensively at that time. The watching of the electoral campaign was, for me, an interesting experience. The constitutional question was thrust into the background or dragged into the limelight, exactly as it suited the purposes of the speaker.

The consummate ability with which Mr. Mackenzie King managed the campaign raised him greatly in my estimation. Without ever using an unseemly expression, or importing heat into the discussion, he managed to convey to the voters that he had not received the treatment he had deserved. And he made them realize that he was not whining—not thinking of himself but of the country and its constitution.

To have followed any other tactics would have laid him open to the charge of having shown bad taste. It might, moreover, easily have proved a boomerang for him and his party—might have resulted in a disaster even greater than the one in 1911 over the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States of America, to which I have already alluded.

Lord Byng, it must be remembered, was no ordinary representative of the British Crown in Canada. In leading Canadian soldiers in action that won them deathless glory on the European battlefields, he had become a hero in Canadian eyes. If any Briton went out as a proconsul to that (or any other) Dominion because he was eagerly asked for it was he. But for the Canadian insistence it is to be doubted if Downing Street would even have thought of appointing him to that office, requiring gifts usually not associated with a general.

A political leader lacking the consummate tactical ability of Mr. Mackenzie King might therefore have lost the election fought over an issue in which this hero of the Canadian Expeditionary Force was inextricably involved. By alienating the "soldier vote" he would have not only done harm to himself and to the party that had elevated him to the highest position in its gift, but also would have lowered the Dominion's position, constitutionally—re-invested the Crown's representative at Ottawa with a power that, through disuse, had atrophied.

## XI

From the very beginning of the campaign I saw that Mr. Mackenzie King's opponents were hemmed in with difficulties that appeared to me to be insuperable. Patriotic men and women as they were—desirous in no smaller degree than the Canadian Liberals of being supreme in their own household—they could put up no defence likely to place any Canadian ministry of the future (which conceivably might be composed of members of their own party) at the beck and call of the Governor-General of that day.

Such thoughts were not, for reasons that will

be obvious to the reader, paraded by Mr. Meighan (an astute lawyer, often held in fee by wealthy, powerful corporations) and his followers. But in talking with some of them I derived the impression that they were in their minds.

Finding it difficult directly to combat Mr. King's arguments, his political opponents tried to turn the attention of the voters towards other questions. I recall, for instance, Mr. R. B. Bennett, now the Federal Prime Minister, visiting Winnipeg, Manitoba, while I was there and endeavouring, in a speech of remarkable ability and *verve*, to tear the record of the Liberal administration to tatters by pointing out its inability to usher in a new heaven and a new earth. The Conservatives, if returned to power, would, he promised, in his bland, expansive way, to divert trade from the United States of America to the Empire and thereby ensure prosperity for Canadian producers.

That tack was a shrewd one to take. An Empire Conference was expected to take place shortly after the declaration of the results of the election. The leader of the victorious party, accompanied by selected colleagues, would go to London and negotiate with the representatives of Britain and of the other Empire countries with a view to increasing the Canadian export trade.

If Mr. Bennett and others of his way of thinking could succeed in impressing the voters with their politico-economic programme, Mr. King would not have the slightest chance of wresting power from the hands in which the Governor-General had placed it. The move was therefore exceedingly clever.

The electors refused however to be turned off the constitutional issue. When the votes were counted in Mr. Meighan's own constituency, it was found that his opponent had scored heavily against him. Other men of his party also went down like wickets before a swift ball sent flying by an expert bowler.

Mr. King returned triumphant to Ottawa. In two months and a half of having been superseded by the Conservatives, he was back in power. In another eight weeks he was attending the Imperial Conference in London and a colleague of his—Mr. Vincent Massey—had taken up his post at Washington, D. C., as the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America—the first in Canadian history,

## XII

Fortunately for everyone concerned, the term of Lord Byng's office was nearly over at the time. The Canadian voters pronounced their verdict in favour of their fallen Premier in the middle of September. In less than a month the Viscount Willingdon had assumed charge.

The new Governor-General came to Ottawa at a ripe age and with a reputation for tact and urbanity, and accompanied by his lady, distinguished alike for her shrewdness and her gracious manner. Judging by what I saw myself, he



greatly enhanced his reputation while in Canada. By scrupulously observing all the constitutional conventions—by avoiding even the semblance of interference with the ministers—and making himself accessible to Canadians of all political persuasions—he won a personal popularity that no predecessor of his had enjoyed.

From my own experience, I can fully endorse a reference to his work in Canada made by Lord Willingdon at Calcutta during his recent stay in that city. Speaking at the annual dinner given by the European Association, he said :

“As Governor-General of Canada many powers were entrusted to me which I never had occasion to use.” \*

From all accounts Lord Willingdon continued to pursue the strictly constitutional course until, upon his appointment in December, 1930, as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, he vacated his office. Some six months prior to his departure another general election had been held at which Mr. Mackenzie King was defeated. He (a Liberal in politics) did not have either the personal or political affinity † with the new Premier, Mr. R. B. Bennett, that he had had with his (Liberal) predecessor. He nevertheless upheld the highest constitutional conventions which place the British Crown and its representatives in the Dominions above the clash and clangour of party ructions.

By following that course he revived Canadian faith in the convention of strict neutrality in Canadian politics and non-interference in the control of Canadian affairs by the chosen representatives of the people, which his predecessor had broken.

### XIII

While the citizens of the oldest Dominion are content to pin their faith to this unwritten law, elsewhere in the Empire the attempt has been made to expose the true character of the legal fictions which seem to give extensive and formidable powers to the representative of the Crown in a Dominion, but which exist only on paper. The creators of the youngest Dominion—the Irish Free State—have chosen to hew out a new course for themselves. With that end in view provisions have been integrated into the body of the constitution that have the effect of rendering nugatory all such legal fictions and placing, definitely and openly, authority in the

hands of the ministers who, in law as in fact, have been made the servants of the Dominion Parliament and placed, in no sense, under the orders of the Governor-General, or liable to be overruled by him in any matter or to any degree.

It would have been better if, instead of employing this cumbrous procedure, the legal fictions could have been entirely expunged from the statute embodying the constitution. Obviously.

But in this mundane sphere, admittedly imperfect, logic has often to give way to necessity. Much as the framers of the Irish Free State Constitution would have liked to dispense with all legal fictions, they were unable to do so because they had to work within a zone strictly defined by an arrangement that had been come to between certain Irishmen and the representatives of His Majesty's Government, led by Mr. David Lloyd George, then the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The constitution, as passed by the Dail (the Irish constituent assembly) had, moreover, to run the gauntlet of opposition in both the British Houses of Parliament, which had to validate the measure.

These legal fictions dear to the British heart therefore found place in the document. But side by side with them appeared provisions having the effect of cancelling them.

### XIV

Absurd as the device looks and clumsy as it certainly is, it nevertheless is effective. It is avowedly based upon “the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada.”\* It leaves not the least doubt in the mind of even a person lacking specialized knowledge of constitutional law and procedure that the representative of the Crown has been assigned only a ceremonial position in the polity of the Irish Free State.

I cannot venture to deal with this matter in any detail towards the end of an article. I must therefore content myself with drawing the reader's attention to the fact that in settling it for the Irish Free State the British Parliament settled it for all the swarajist units of the Empire, giving to the constitutional practice a force that it had therefore lacked.

It is hardly necessary for me to add that the constitution now on the British Parliamentary anvil for India will hammer out proconsuls who, so far as I can visualize, will bear no resemblance to the Governor-Generals set over any of the Dominions. But then, no artificer of that constitution has ever suggested that it was to be a constitution of the Dominion type. Everyone who could talk with authority has, on the contrary, scrupulously refrained from mentioning Dominion status for India.

\* *The Statesman* (Delhi *dak* edition), December 21, 1934; cols. 2 & 3, p. 10 and 2 & 3, p. 16.

† It was stated to me by more than one person in Canada that Lord Willingdon, while on his way to China on a mission, met Mr. King, then the Federal Premier, who was so charmed with that statesman's manner and so impressed with his ability, as to pave the way for his appointment to the Canadian Governor-Generalship. Even at that period the practice of letting a Dominion choose its own Governor-General, in reality if not in appearance, had grown up in Canada.—Writer.

\* Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, article 2.



# Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

THE WORK PROMETHEAN: By James H. Cousins, D. Lit. (Pp. 122, Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1933. Re. 1-8.)

It is a striking piece of literary criticism that is fully worthy of the writer who has established a high reputation by his past labours in the field. It deals with a poet who has much said about him and yet remains as elusive and inscrutable as ever. But the work under review makes a definite contribution towards the unfolding of the mystery.

The book is divided into six chapters, of which the first entitled "The Significance of Shelley" is by far the most important. There is an eloquent and convincing rebuttal of the conventional charge of vagueness and obscurity against Shelley: "There is a stage beyond which the demand for clarity in poetry may be a demand for something other than poetry." The author stresses "the fundamental brain-stuff" in the poetry of Shelley whom he characterizes as "incurably both a philosopher and a poet." There is a trenchant criticism of the famous Victorian estimates of Shelley—the verdicts of Carlyle and Mathew Arnold. The writer says that this criticism failed because "it essayed a judgment for which it was inadequately equipped, seeing that it lacked affinity with the poet whom it presumed to judge." The chapter ends with the statement "Shelley, seen in his full significance, will stand through all the fluctuations of history as a supreme rebuke to ignoble and unintelligent and unbeautiful life, and one of the most inspiring and constructive influences in the evolution of 'the great race that is to come'."

The second chapter entitled "The Message of *Prometheus Unbound*" identifies Shelley with the spirit of his Prometheus. He says, Shelley's purpose in *Prometheus Unbound* was neither artistic only nor didactic only. "His purpose was vital, the influencing of life through love." The author challenges the superficial view of the poem that Shelley was here preaching the anarchical doctrine that man was

superior to law and that each man should be a law unto himself. He says, "What Shelley taught in *Prometheus Unbound* was that Love, not man, is superior to Law, and that only when Man-in-the-highest, Man Promethean is governed solely and completely by Love can he safely be set free from Law." The general teaching of the poem, according to the author is that true freedom is unattainable while the higher powers are inoperative; and that "law cannot be set aside until love is the active principle in all life's affairs." Referring to the cosmic forces that form the dramatis personae of this great drama-poem the author says, "The drama is the true lineal descendant of the first of dramas, the drama which (as has been frequently recorded by the seers of old in India) was composed by Brahma, the Lord of Creation, and produced by the celestial stage-manager and author of the laws of the drama, Bharata, on a stage constructed by the cosmic architect, Visvakarma, and set in the heaven of Indra, the Lord of the Sky." The analogy should be extremely interesting to all Indian readers of the great poem.

The remaining four chapters deal with Shelley's ideas of religion, arts, will and social reform. Everywhere there are traces of a piercing insight into the core of things. Here too there are refreshing parallelism drawn between Shelley and Rabindranath whom the author calls "the Shelley of India."

The work concludes by pointing out that the so-called "meaningless rhapsodies" of this "beautiful but ineffectual angel" have not gone unheard in the field of practical life: "The century which has passed since Shelley's time has seen the translation of much of the dream of the poet into the achievement of the statesman." The work ends with a fervid expression of the hope that the day is not far off when the world will see a complete realization of Shelley's rapturous prophecy of a time "when divine Equality shall have fulfilled itself in perfect wisdom and perfect love."

It is a rare pleasure to read a work of literary criticism of this kind, intensely personal and refreshingly original. The author is himself a poet, and his criticism has, therefore, risen to the level of



creation. We congratulate Messrs Ganesh & Co. of Madras on their publication of this book for, as was remarked by Sri Aurobindo Ghose of a former book of the same author, "It is not often that literary criticism of the first order is published in India." The get-up of the book is excellent and is quite in keeping with the richness of its contents.

P. K. GUHA

**WOMEN AND A CHANGING CIVILIZATION :** *By Winifred Holtby. Published by John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd., London. Pp. 213. 2s. 6d. net.*

The Twentieth Century Library edited by V. K. Krishna Menon has projected quite a sensational series of publications by eminent British writers of progressive views: Democracy and Communism, Money and War, Art and Health, The Jews and the Black Races give us a foretaste of the synthetic survey. *Women* by Miss Winifred Holtby, Director of *Time and Tide*, London, should be welcomed by all interested in pursuing the destinies of the half of humanity from the chapter "Hardly human" to the basic "Conditions of Equality" between the two sexes. The presentation throughout is as realistic as we expect from a lecturer on History, and for that very reason may not please many men and women still given to idealization or poetizing of Womanhood. The author has given us probably the most trenchant analysis of the pet ideologies or pious frauds blocking the march of Woman as the *equal partner* of man (as she undoubtedly is from the dawn of creation). She finds her ideals partially realized in the noble status of women in Soviet Russia and gives a brilliant exposition of it in the section: "Moscow has a Plan." Realizing fully the value of maternity in the evolution of society and civilization, she nevertheless exposes relentlessly the sophisticated and utilitarian cradle-cults of Hitlerite Germany and Fascist Italy. In 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft published her *Vindication of the Rights of Women* nobly struggling, like a true pioneer, to obtain for women "a character as a human being." Since then, nearly a century and a half have rolled by and yet legally and constitutionally speaking woman in many countries is still but a movable if not an immovable *property* without statal or human responsibility and character. Man has really shown a perverse slowness in appreciating the rôle of woman as his true and only partner in social evolution and has therefore merited most of the criticisms and censures levelled against Man-ridden State and Society by Miss Holtby. May we hope that her ardent championship of women's cause would remove misconceptions quickly and have the way for fuller participation of woman in the life of peoples. This book should be in the library of every thoughtful man and woman pursuing the trend of world progress not forgetting the Orient which is entering on a new phase of history through the assertion of the individuality of her womanhood.

KALIDAS NAG

**THE MESSAGE OF KRISHNA :** *By A. S. Wadia, M.A. Published by Messrs. J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford St., London, W. C. 2, Price 3s. 6d. net.*

This is a brief but nevertheless an excellent summary of the teachings of Krishna. Though the author had mainly confined himself to the Gita,

he is not unmindful of the other sources of our knowledge of Krishna and his teachings. "Our Georgian Era," says the author in his dedicatory epistle to the Hindus of India, "is an age of aeroplanes and short stories." And no one has time to wade through verbose volumes and tiring treatises on religion. Hence he has rightly made his treatise a short one. But brevity has not detracted from its merit. And some of the chapters are not only illuminative but are quite entertaining as well. The chapter on Reincarnation provides pleasant reading on a vexed problem which is naturally difficult to solve. On the whole the book is a safe guide to all those who would understand Hinduism within the brief compass of less than a couple of hundred pages.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

**KIDNAPPED IN CHINA :** *By Ernest Fischle. Translated into English by Marie S. Christlieb with six illustrations. Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository, Mangalore, S. K., Brit. India.*

The book relates a strange experience that befell three missionaries in China who were kidnapped from their holiday homes in the hills on the 17th August, 1929, driven from one place to another by a band of Chinese communists and kept for an incredibly high sum of two million dollars to be paid for ransom. It was only on the 17th December, 1930 that the narrator and his friend were set at liberty, and the two men look upon the interval as practically a period of trial for their spirit, under the idea that "He that has ears to hear may hear much." The reader feels uncertain as to how much of the anti-missionary and anti-European spirit (and if so, with what amount of justice) combined for the episode with the mere robber's love of his spoils, but the adventures are enjoyable in the reading, and the piety of the writer's tone is evident. The get-up deserves praise, but one feels a map or sketch of the locality would have helped to a more vivid understanding of the situation.

**KESHUB CHUNDER SEN—"TESTIMONIES IN MEMORIAM."** *Compiled by G. C. Banerji, Allahabad. 1934. Cloth binding. Re 1/8/- Paper Re 1/4/-.*

This is a collection of appreciations from many eminent personalities on the life, character and teachings of the great Brahmo preacher. We are told by the compiler that at least one-half of the volume is practically a reprint of an earlier publication together with some other comments collected here for the first time, along with a number of reminiscences and criticisms in Bengali and a bibliography. It throws light on some knotty points which generally trouble Keshub's biographers, and should have the way to a good, comprehensive biography of the teacher of New Dispensation.

**SIX POEMS OF SRI AUROBINDO :** *With translations in Bengali. Rameshwar and Co., Chandernagore, 1934.*

Faint echoes are sometimes heard, telling us of advances made, of thoughts breathed, in a secluded corner of India for the good of all mankind. Sri Aurobindo's poems now and then remind us of the great exile at Pondicherry where he has been passing a busy and austere life devoted to the



working out of a spiritual programme rich with immense possibilities. The volume under review contains six of his poems written at intervals since 1930 and reveals the favourite moods of a Seer and Poet. The dim outline visaged in some of its detail contains truths too vast to be cooped up in sentences and the thought-packed phrases run silently against this dark background. The original line selected by the poet sometimes requires unorthodox measures for its proper expression and his knowledge and command of the technique of verse keeps pace with it all, to which the notes appended give sufficient clue. We are extremely grateful for these occasional morsels and feel with a sigh of relief that the Seer has not killed the Poet in Sri Aurobindo. The Bengali renderings by his disciples, though acts of reverent homage and therefore objects worthy of our respectful consideration, fall far short of these artistic creations, and betray more crudities and immaturities than may be expected under the circumstances. The greatness of the attempt must be their excuse.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**ANALYSIS OF THE ABHISAMAYA-LAMKARA** (Fasc. I): By E. Obermiller, Ph. D. Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 27. Pp. viii+106. Published by Luzac & Co., London.

The necessity of an analysis in English language of such a difficult treatise as the sacred Buddhist Text of the name of *Abhisamayalamkara-karika* of Maitreyanatha, the great founder of the Yogacara section of the Mahayana school of Buddhism was long felt by scholars, both occidental and oriental. Every student of Buddhism recognized that on a true comprehension of the *Prajnaparamita-sastra* (paraphy) specially of the *Astasahasrika* and *Pancavimsati-sahasrika*, depended largely the formation of a true idea of the tenets of Buddhist philosophy of the Mahayanists. It has lately and rightly been pointed out by scholars of the type of Professor Stecherbatsky and his eminent disciple Dr. Obermiller and also by our friend and colleague Dr. N. Dutta of Calcutta University that the two works, viz., the *Prajnaparamita-sastra* and Maitreyanatha's *Abhisamayalamkara* were inter-related. As a matter of fact almost every old copy of the *Pancavimsati-sahasrika* is accompanied, rather preceded, by a copy of the *Abhisamayalamkara-karika* of Maitreyanatha. Elsewhere Dr. N. Dutta has remarked that the relation of the *Karika* to the *Pancavimsati-sahasrika* is "that of a synopsis to the whole book." Had not Maitreyanatha, out of compassion to scholars intending to understand the *Prajnaparamita-naya*, taken up the work of composing the *Karika* by way of a commentary to that important *Sastra* (as acknowledged even by Haribhadra, the writer of the *Karika-tika* named *Abhisamayalamkara-loka*) the world would have remained longer in darkness and ignorance regarding the true import of Mahayana doctrines. Hence the importance of the Analysis under review, prepared so laboriously by Dr. Obermiller, who has previously also published a full edition of the original Sanskrit text of the *Karika* in collaboration with his eminent guru, Professor Stecherbatsky (in *Bibliotheca Buddhica*).

In this work the learned Doctor has dealt with the eight subjects (*padarthastaka*) and the seventy topics (*arthasaptati*) of the *Abhisamayalamkara* of Maitreyanatha. It may be said that without an accurate understanding of the technical

philosophical terms discussed in this Analysis, it is really very difficult to form any good idea of the career of a Bodhisattva commencing from his developing the *Bodhicitta* and ending in his attaining *Sarvakarajata* the highest detailed knowledge. With the help of this Analysis all the different stages of spiritual progress attained by a Bodhisattva can be well comprehended. It may be regarded as a short illuminating dictionary of Mahayana philosophical terms, the meaning and significance of which are so much needed for a proper elucidation and comprehension of the Mahayana doctrines. This Analysis is the outcome of a knowledge of all the different sources of Buddhist philosophy and its doctrines, especially of the *Prajnaparamita-Sastra*. It entailed a good deal of long and laborious study, as the *Abhisamayalamkara* is an extremely abridged summary of the *Prajnaparamita-Sastras* of which a clear understanding required a knowledge of the technical terms used therein with the help acquired from a study of other sources. This *Abhisamaya* is really an "exceedingly puzzling and difficult work" and its contents are incomprehensive without reference to the *Paramitas*. Hence it is that in later period of Indian history the latter were curiously enough regarded as serving as a commentary to the former. It is with such a view that Dr. Obermiller investigated its contents and succeeded so splendidly in bringing out such a lucid analysis of the work for the good of scholars interested in the study of Mahayana Buddhism. For it is generally held also that the *Abhisamaya* is the fundamental book which should be largely used by all students for studying "the Buddhist doctrine of the Path (*marga*) towards moral perfection and the attainment of the condition of a Buddhist Mahayanist Saint, and of a Mahayanistic Buddha in the blessed Nirvana." The author of the Analysis has largely drawn from Haribhadra's famous commentary the *aloka* and his other smaller commentary called *Sputartha* and has profitably used the Tibetan versions of the *Karika* and the two commentaries of Haribhadra. He has given ample quotations in Sanskrit and Tibetan from these books by way of elucidation of the topics. Who can be regarded as a better interpreter of the *Abhisamayalamkara* than this great Western Savant who studied for years under learned Lamas of the great Trans-baikalian monastery of Chilitai?

RADHA GOVINDA BASAK

**PRISONS**: By M. Hamblin Smith, M. D. (London. John Lane, the Bodley Head, 1934. Pp. 146. Price Half-a-Crown).

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon is known to India as the Secretary of the India League which visited the country two years ago. Under his editorship a series of important monographs are being now published entitled the Twentieth Century. *Prisons* is an outstanding example of planned study of some of the important sociological problems facing us at the present. Dr. Hamblin Smith deals with his subject as a trained expert. As sometime Medical Officer of H. M. Prisons, he knows his ground thoroughly well. The cardinal point of his thesis is whether prisons ought to be retributive or corrective in their scope and implication. Vindictiveness or humanization—these are the rival ideas influencing the attitude of governments at the present day. Dr. Smith is not merely content with an examination of this important administrative question. In fact, he goes to the root



of the matter when he challenges the entire basis of penal legislation. In passing, it might be remembered that ever since Bentham this question has agitated the minds of humanists and administrators, but very little progress has been made since Bentham's time. We in India attach a lot of importance to a strict administration of prisons. Dr. Hamblin Smith's monograph ought to be read alongside of Wilson's "Forced Labour in the United States," and ought to find a place in the private libraries of all students of sociology.

LANKA SUNDARAM

**THE TRANSFORMATION OF NATURE IN ART:** *By Ananda Kent Coomarswamy, Harvard Oriental Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Humphrey Milford, London, 1934. Price \$3.00.*

The greatest intuitions of a race are deposited in its art. But to understand that art, it is necessary to understand the mind of the artist, as well as to look to those qualities which, in their literature, religion and society, were held up as ideals of life. In his recently published work Dr. Coomarswamy attempts to explain to the world the theory of art as understood in ancient East, especially in India. For purposes of elucidation he has referred to Christian, that is mediaeval European aesthetic theory, specially those of Eckhart. Further he supplements the Indian theory with that of the Chinese. The first principle of his theories enunciated in the book is that art does not exist for its own sake. It exists as a means to some religious condition or experience, and it is needless to point out that in this respect the comparison with mediaeval European art has been extremely helpful. That art in India is mainly religious, is not an original idea of Dr. Coomarswamy, but the material he utilizes, and the method he adopts, to establish its validity is one of the greatest merits of his book.

In the first chapter he discusses the theory of art in Asia, and arrives at the conclusion that the Indian artist did not seek an illusion of Nature, rather he tried to create a truthful suggestion of the character of the subject. The image is only useful to a worshipper as help to the realization of God.

Chapter II deals with the scholastic or mediaeval Christian theory of art, and especially those of Meister Eckhart. The purpose of the third chapter is to bring together mainly from the general, non-technical literature, a few passages in which the reaction of the public to works of art is reported, with a view to indicate how the art was actually regarded by those for whom it was intended. In chapter IV the author reconsiders certain passages in the *Sukranitisara*. Chapters V and VI explain the significance of the terms *paroksha* and *abhasa*; and finally in Chapter VII the origin and use of images in India is discussed with a wealth of material. The book contains elaborate notes, a glossary of Indian and Chinese aesthetic terms used by the author and an excellent bibliography. Written in a simple but forceful style it is an indispensable work for the students of ancient art.

A. C. BANERJI

**SURVEY OF ANGLO-INDIAN FICTION:** *By Bhupal Singh, M.A., Oxford University Press, 12s.-6d.*

The book is a "criticism of the life of Englishmen and Englishwomen in India, and of Indians" as found

in literature. The book begins with a brilliant introduction where the author says that "Artistically Anglo-Indian fiction is a record of the ephemeral," and occasionally suffers from a propagandist tendency.

The reader will be able to see Indians as Westerners see them. The author is straight and accurate in his conclusions and has a mastery over materials. The book has satisfied a long-felt want and will be invaluable to those interested in Indian life.

TARAK NATH GANGULY

### GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY BUDDHISM:

*By Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. Pp. XXI+88+a map.*

Dr. Bimala Churn Law has already made a name among the younger generation of Indian scholars by his numerous and useful studies in the field of Buddhist literature. The present monograph fully maintains his reputation as an industrious and conscientious worker in the same field. Naturally enough he has been able to profit in this case by the researches of his predecessors but he has deserved well of the student of Indian history by his skilful arrangement of his data under convenient headings and sub-headings. The value of his work has been enhanced by the addition of a good index and a sketch-map at the end.

A few suggestions may be made for the consideration of the author, should the necessity arise for a second edition. The list of place-names culled from inscriptions should be much more complete. The archaeological data, when these are brought forward to supplement the literary references (*Cf.* Rajagaha—p. 10ff; Kosambi—pp. 16-17; Savatthi—p. 23), should be more complete and up-to-date. The mixture of Sanskrit with Pali and of ancient with modern names (*Cf.* p. xv of the introduction) should be avoided. We have noticed a few errors (*e.g.* Nagri for Nagari and It-sing for I-tsing—p. xv) and a few grammatical slips (*Cf.* 'were' for 'was'—p. 16). We also regret to find that the date of Fa-Hien's entrance into India (p. xv) and the extent of Hsien-tsang's Indian travels (p. xix) have been wrongly stated.

U. N. GHOSHAL

### IMPERIAL AGRA OF THE MOGHALS:

*By Keshab Chandra Mazumdar, M. A., Lecturer in English, at the B. R. I. College, Agra. 1934. Price one Rupee. Pp. 4+iv+ii+141.*

A romantic description of the city of Agra and of the Court of the Imperial Moghals. The book also contains a rather indifferent map as well as a brief description of the principal places of interest in and near the city.

The printing is good, but the colour chosen for the plates has been ill-advised. The plate, facing p. 86, has been wrongly described as the tomb of Etamad-ud-daula; it is evidently the gateway of some mausoleum and not the mausoleum which it professes to be.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**IN THE LAND OF MY BIRTH:** *By S. Thurai Raja Singam, Government English School, Pekan, F. M. S. Price 50 cents.*

This booklet gives a popular but rather slipshod account of the influence of Indian culture on the different aspects of Malayan life. The account is



derived mainly from scattered writings on the subject by various scholars and will be found of interest and use to the inquisitive general reader who cannot afford to go through those writings.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

**THE RED JUDGE AND OTHER ANECDOTES:** By Kenneth Leslie. With a foreword by Mr. Justice Sen, pp. i+110. Rangoon Times Press; Rangoon. Price Rs. 3.

As Mr Justice S. N. Sen has observed in the foreword Mr. Kenneth Leslie has succeeded in reviving for us within a small compass some pointed memories of the old Supreme Court of Calcutta, and of its successor. But to enjoy the book fully, or to have the old scenes revived, one must read in original sketches as :

"There were two Calcutta institutions which the public regarded as absolutely reliable—one was the Ochterlony monument on the Maidan; the other 'Stokoe's Opinion.' Mr. Thomas Stokoe was a barrister of retiring habits, who was never seen outside his chambers, for his practice was entirely a consulting one. His knowledge of law was encyclopædic and his opinion as sound as a Privy Council judgement."

Or, "This devout and faithful judge [the late Rt. Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali] when first raised to the Bench, feared that he might find its duties an impediment to his routine of midday prayer, until he was assured by the Moulana of his Musjid that righteous work was the highest form of prayer, and that his every hour upon the bench would be accounted an hour of prayer."

We heartily recommend this little book to the lawyers and laymen alike for quietly enjoying an hour or more over old scenes, which are mere memories, and thank the author for preserving many such.

J. M. DATTA

1. PRACTICAL NATURE-CURE. Vol. I. Pp. 192, Price Rs. 3.

2. PRACTICAL NATURE-CURE. Vol. II. Pp. 158, Re. 1-8.

3. THE FASTING CURE. Pp. 46, price As. 3 for ordinary edition, As. 6 for superior edition.

All these three books are written by Sarma K. Lakshman, B. A., B. L., the first two being the 4th editions. They are all published by the Nature-Cure Publishing House, Puduakotah, (S. India).

The author's aim in these volumes is to help every reader to become and be his own doctor by practising Nature-Cure with the help of water, air, sun, diet and fasting.

According to the author "allopathy does its level best to keep up the mortality among sufferers from acute illness by committing two mistakes,—by drugging and by feeding with unwanted food". "The author is against drug in any form in the treatment of disease." He would not have the drinking water even clarified by chemicals. Speaking about the filtered water supply of the city of Madras, the author says, "compared to it even gutter-water is nectar". Again vaccination is believed by the author to be the "wrotest crime of medical science".

Leaving aside the personal views of the author

about modern preventive medicine and sanitation, the chapters dealing with the physiology of hunger and selection of proper food are based on sound common sense.

At the end of the 2nd volume there is a page advertising the fees of the author. One is led to the view that all these publications are part of an advertising propaganda by the publishers.

A. K. MUKERJI

## SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

**A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT MSS. IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL:** By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada Shastri, C. I. E., M. A., D. Litt., F. A. S. B., etc. Vol. VII: *Kavya Manuscripts: Calcutta, 1934. Printed at the Baptist Mission Press and Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1 Park Street. Pp. 653. Price Rs. 10.*

The importance of descriptive catalogues in reconstructing the history of an old literature is universally recognized, and as an indispensable preliminary for all solid construction in this line, the art of cataloguing has received careful attention from present-day scholarship. A complete history of Sanskrit literature has not yet been done, and a catalogue like the present one is an important contribution towards the ultimate preparation of such a history. A great deal of the labour and research of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada Shastri was taken up with the making of a set of very valuable catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., and the present work, a posthumous one which has been ably completed and commented upon by one of our rising young Indologists, Professor Chintaharan Chakravarti, brings to a close what may be called the late Shastri's distinctive contribution towards the preparation of a history of classical Sanskrit literature. The previous six volumes in this set deal respectively with Buddhist MSS., Veda, Smriti, History and Geography, Purana and Vyakarana, covering a great deal of technical and sacerdotal literature in Sanskrit. The MS. Collections in the Asiatic Society of Bengal possess rich treasures in Sanskrit as in the Vernacular, and in other languages, and a descriptive catalogue like the one inaugurated by Rajendralala Mitra (as whose junior Shastri took the field of Indology some sixty-five years ago) and carried on by Shastri, can alone do justice to these. In the various prefaces to the above six volumes, we see the fruits of Mm. Shastri's ripe scholarship, for not only we find there observations on the important noteworthy MSS., described in the body of the catalogue but also valuable monographs replete with information and criticism which indicate the thorough student and painstaking researcher and the genuine literary scholar and critic. Shastri is a veritable mine of precious information, but his facts are chunks of ingot, which it is necessary at times to refine in the crucible of the present-day scientific mind.

Mm. Shastri had got his notes on the different MSS. ready for the press, and had prepared the draft of his preface to Kavya literature in Sanskrit when he joined the majority at the too early age of 77. This preface as it did not receive the benefit of his revision, has not been published with the present catalogue—it will be published separately as a



posthumous article from the great scholar. The preface has been furnished by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti of the Bethuue College, on whose shoulders the mantle of Shastri has fallen. Prof. Chakravarti has done his work with erudition and with conscientiousness, and with commendable brevity.

About 1000 MSS. which are classified under various heads are described, and Prof. Chakravarti has told us about the most noteworthy among them in the *Preface*. There are books ancient and modern (we have even works composed in the eighties of the last century), and there are MSS. dating from 1172 A.D. and MSS. written or copied at the end of the last century. In preparing the catalogue, Prof. Chakravarti had to do a considerable amount of revising and checking of the actual descriptions of works as made by Shastri and his Pandit—and here the collaboration of the younger scholar has decidedly improved the catalogue as an accurate inventory of the contents of the Kavya MSS. in the Society's Collections. A work like the Asiatic Society's series of Catalogues will be indispensable in any Sanskrit or Indological collection; and we hope the volumes on the *Tantra* (at which Prof. Chakravarti is already working) and the subsequent volumes on Philosophy, Jyotisha, Jaina works etc. will worthily maintain the tradition and the standard set up by Rajendralala Mitra and Haraprasada Shastri.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

**SANSKRIT TEXTS FROM BALI.** *Critically edited with an introduction by Prof. Sylvain Levi. Published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda.*

To the Asiatic Researches of Calcutta (Vol. XIII 1820) goes the credit of publishing the first essay on the "Existence of the Hindu Religion in the Island of Bali by John Crawford. More than a century afterwards the Oriental Institute of Baroda has the satisfaction of printing this fragmentary yet highly interesting "Sanskrit Texts from Bali," edited by no less an authority than Prof. Sylvain Levi of College de France. "While the whole of Indonesia turned gradually to the Moslem faith," writes Prof. Levi, "Bali alone kept faithful to Mother India and became a repository of ancient Indian lore." Prof. Levi traces the name of the island in the Chinese *Poli* which sent embassies to China in 517-22. The family name of the king of Bali was *Kaundinya*, a name common to the pioneer of Hindu civilization in Cambodge. Yi-tsing knew Bali in the 7th century A. D. and the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions have been assigned to 8th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. Dr. P. C. Bagchi has recently demonstrated (Ind. His. Quarterly Vol. V. 1929. p. 734) that as early as 802 A. D. four Tantrik texts were introduced into Kambuja and the originals are partly preserved in the Nepal Durbar MSS. Library. During the IXth and Xth centuries the cultural relations between Bengal and Indonesia was "very active" according to Prof. Levi who has further identified a verse in the old Javanese translation of the Mahabharata as identical with the benedictory verse of Bhatta Narayana's *Venisamhara*. Thus as early as Xth century A. D. the Javanese dramatic art was influenced by Sanskrit plays. So Charitra Ramayana or Kavi Janaki of Java and Bali were composed to illustrate the grammatical rules of Sanskrit just as Bhatikavyam already attempted. Many of the *Tantrik* fragments and stotras to Siva, Devi, Ganesha, Surya, Yama etc., in spite of being

hopelessly corrupt, have been identified by Prof. Levi, who has very wisely inserted in this anthology, the *Buddhaveda*, showing how in the mind of the colonial Hindus of Bali, Buddha was an integral element of Hindu pantheon, following the Puranic traditions. So Buddhist Tantrik hymns have been identified with the fragments of *Sadhanamala Sarvadurgati parishodhana* etc. signalized by the late Mm. Pandit Haraprasad Sastri. The name of Bengal (Gaud) has been proudly proclaimed in the inscription at Kuloerak (782 A. D.) which shows direct influence of Magadha and Bengal and announces that the donor of the image of Manjusri was initiated in conformity with the tradition of Bengal gurus:

*Gaudi-dvipa-guru-krama*

Is a most significant expression on an epigraph of 8th century, A. D.

Earlier Vedic traditions were recorded naturally with greater imperfection for, as Prof. Levi has shown the so-called Chaturveda recited in Bali were nothing but a highly corrupt version of the *Narayana Atharva Siropanishad* which he has quoted *in extenso* to enable us to compare the two versions.

All such fragments have been classified in a recently published work into six main sections: (1) Veda (2) Agama including Law and Politics (3) Variga or technical manuals of grammar, metrics, mythology etc. (4) Itihasa Ramayana Mahabharata etc. (5) Ballad or historical tales and (6) Tantri or stories partly from Sanskrit and partly from vernacular.

Some of the Sanskrit titles of works now lost but preserved in names only as quoted by Prof. Levi is tantalizing. Probably a deeper research into the old literature of Java and Bali will throw more light on this fascinating subject and we are grateful to Prof. Levi, the *doyen* of Sanskrit studies in the West, for the invaluable suggestion he has given through this volume which is the outcome of his short visit to Bali in June-July 1928, and which he announced before the meeting of the Greater India Society of Calcutta which met specially to honour him. Sylvain Levi started studying Sanskrit under his master Abel Bergaigue about half a century ago when they were preparing an edition of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Champa and Cambodge. And now after more than fifty years Prof. Levi is still actively busy in the noble task of reconstructing the forgotten history of Greater India. The Editor of the Gaekwad Oriental Series deserves congratulation on the publication of this memorable volume, and we hope that similar studies on Hindu culture in Champa, Cambodge, Java and the Far East would find their place in the memorable Gaekwad Oriental Series which has done so much to foster and widen the interest of the learned world in the Science of Indology.

KALIDAS NAG

#### NOTE ON THE PADYAVALI

There is a slight misunderstanding, which I would like to remove, in a rather misleading statement which Mr. Sukumar Sen makes while reviewing my edition of the *Padyavali* in the January number of your journal. He seems to be under the impression that I have translated the epithet *gosvamin* by the word 'law-giver.' But I have not done so. What I intended to express was that the six Vrindavana Gosvamins of Caitanyaism were also its acknowledged law-givers in the first stage of its history. Some of them (Rupa, Sanatana, Gopala Bhatta and Jiva) actually laid



down the law by their elaborate treatises on Caitanyaism ; others (the two Raghunathas) set up a standard of Vaisnava devotion by the example of their pious lives and their devotional songs and poems. At the same time, I find no authority for the term 'Lord spiritual' suggested by Mr. Sen. At best, the term Gosvamin is untranslatable, like the epithets *bhagavata* of the early Bhagavata and other sects and *bhadanta* of the Buddhist ; for such honorific designations of the high reverence, indicative of religious eminence, include shades of meanings or concepts for which it is difficult to find a modern equivalent.

Poona, 2. 1. 35

S. K. DE.

## PERSIAN

### ANNUAL NUMBER OF THE "KABUL":

(*An Afghan Monthly*) Edited by Shahzadah Ahmad Ali Khan Durani. Published by Anjuman-i-Adabi, Jada-i-Arg, Kabul, Afghanistan.

The Anjuman-i-Adabi (The Literary Society) of Kabul has been publishing an illustrated Persian monthly named "Kabul" for the last several years. The present number is its annual issue for the year 1312 (1933-34). It is a big bulky volume of more than 500 pages of demy-quarto size with several hundred pictures and about half a dozen maps and charts. It is more of a year-book than an annual number of a miscellaneous magazine. The contents of the volume can be divided into two parts. The first half deals with Afghanistan and gives a short history of the country, its physical features, its mineral resources, its political divisions, and the Civil List as well as short administration reports of the most of the departments of the Afghan Government. In this portion the reader will find pictures of nearly all the high Civil and military officials of Afghanistan. The second half gives a survey of the world events during the year, a short history of Asiatic countries, an article on Nobel prize, and statistical and general information about foreign countries. This annual will no doubt prove to be a veritable mine of information for the average Afghan reader. In several places while showing the comparative progress of Afghanistan under its three former rulers, the reign of Nadirshah is referred to as "During the reign of His Majesty Muhammad Nadirshah Shahid (Martyr)"; the reign of Habibullah Khan is referred to as "During the reign of Amir Habibullah Khan Shahid"; but the reign of Amanullah Khan is contemptuously termed as "During Amani regime."

BRIJ MOHAN BURMA

## SANSKRIT

PRAJNAPARAMITAS : *The commentaries on the Prajnaparamitas. Volumes 1st. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LXII. The Abhisamayalankaraloka of Haribhadra being a commentary on the Abhisamayalankara of Maitreyanatha and the Astasahasrikaprajnaparamita. Edited with Introduction and Indices by Giuseppe Tucci of the Royal Academy of Italy, Oriental Institute, Baroda.*

We have here, in the shape of a critical edition of the work of Haribhadra, a valuable contribution to the important and extensive literature on Prajnapara-

mita as found in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature. A list of various readings collected not only from the three manuscripts on which the edition is based but also from a comparison of several other Buddhist works including the Tibetan translation of the work is appended at the end of the Volume. The sources of a few of the readings do not, however, appear to have been indicated through inadvertence. Five useful indices have been given in the beginning. The first of these contains a synopsis of the contents of the present work showing in a tabular form the corresponding sections of the *Abhisamayalankarakarika* and the *Astasahasrikaprajnaparamita*. The four alphabetical indices pertain respectively to the verses of the *Abhisamayalankarakarika*, the verses quoted in the *Aloka* from other words (a reference to the chapter and verse of which is given by the editor as far as possible), works, authors, and geographical names (*Acaryas, Sutras and Sastras*) and important words of the text (*words and subjects*). Of these the index of authors, works and geographical names does not appear to be complete, many important names having been left out. It is not known as to whether printer's devil or corruption of the manuscripts is responsible for the occasional mistakes in the Sanskrit text. A correction or emendation of them would have been helpful to the reader.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## GUJARATI

SAMAY NE OEKHO : by Muni Vidyavijayji ; printed at the Mahoday Printing Press, Bhavnagar, Thick Card board. Pp. 236. Price As. 10. With two pictures.

Muni Shri Vidyavijayji, a favourite disciple of the late holy Jain Saint Vijaya Dharm Sureji, is a Jain Sadhu, with tendencies towards literature and reform. He believes in moving with the times and in this book, which is the second part of a book of that name—Know the Times—he has held forth on twenty topics, all bearing on reform in social and religious matters. In every observation of his, offered in very simple but effective language, common sense, unaffected by unreasoning orthodox prejudices, peeps out at every corner and the views on matters religious, such as Ahimsa, though they naturally are coloured by the faith to which he belongs, are such as cannot be very successfully assailed. His advice to youths is also inspiring.

MULUND NI VIR MAHILA : by Thakkur Narayan Visanji. Printed at the Surya Prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 352. Price Rs. 2-8-0. Profusely Illustrated.

Ratanbai died early leaving her work incomplete. She belonged to the Oswal Bania caste of Cutch and was settled in Bombay, where her community is known to be in the forefront of all commercial ventures. She was an ideal Hindu wife and woman. The incidents which crowded her useful but short life are narrated here by her Thakkur, and they make her out to be an ideal wife, woman, helper of a joint Hindu family, who in spite of her many domestic engagements could find time to assist in the education of her sisters, and the numerous activities of Mahatma Gandhi. Incidentally the compiler gives much interesting information about the origin and develop-



ment of the Oswals, who are spread all over Northern India, Kathiawad, Cutch, and Gujarat.

**SAUBHAGYA RATRI, PART II:** *by Thakkur Narayana Visanji. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 259. Price Rs. 2.0.0.*

This is a continuation of the translation of the Hindi Book of Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya, which is written in the shape of Letters addressed by an experienced Hindu lady from Simla to a newly wedded bride. A number of pieces of advice, mostly based on the Hindu Shastras are given, with a view

to make the latter's life happy, as well as that of the joint family in which her lot was cast. The essence of that advice is to consider her husband, her overlord. Whether with the new ideas of the equality of the sexes, contraception, companion marriages, woman would care to follow the advice given in these pages which are excellently and intelligently translated and annotated, is another question. The supplement given at the end gives very practical advice, including that for the physical training of women, to which hardly any exception can be taken, either by the old or the young.

K. M. J.

## THE LIFE OF SYMBOLS

By DR. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

**I**N order to bring the realm of the spiritual and the divine within the range of perception, humanity is driven to adopt a point of view in which it loses the immediate union with the divine and the immediate vision of the spiritual. Then it tries to embody in a tangible or otherwise perceptible form, to materialize let us say, what is intangible, and imperceptible. It makes symbols, written characters, and cult images of earthly substance, and sees in them and through them the spiritual and divine substance that has no likeness and could not otherwise be seen.

It is by no means the case that symbols and likenesses arise in the course of a higher development of spirituality in men. On the contrary they draw nigh as means of rescue when there is a decline in our divinity and spirituality. So it was that Jesus Christ gave out in parables the treasures of the divine kingdom to a declining, not to an advancing humanity, for his own and for all future ages. In the same way, in pre-Christian times, the visible symbols, the images of the great mysteries and experiences, provided a remedy for the indigence of the soul in the time of the decline.

It is only when one has acquired the habit of this way of looking at things that symbols and images can be understood; not when we are habituated to the narrower way which always brings us back to an investigation of the outward and formal aspects of symbols and images and makes us value them the more, the more complicated or fully evolved they

are. This formalistic method always leads into a vacuum. Here we are dealing only with the end, not with the beginning, and what we find in this end is always something hard and opaque, which opens up no further glimpse of the way. And it is only by such a glimpse of the spiritual that the ultimate goal can be reached, whatever the means or methods of research that may be resorted to. When we sound the archetype, the ultimate origin of the form, then we find that it is anchored in the highest, not the lowest. This does not mean that we moderns must needs lose ourselves in irrelevant speculation, for everyone of us can experience microscopically in his own life and body the fact that he has wandered from the highest and that the longer he learns to feel a hunger and thirst for symbol and likeness the more deeply he feels it, that is, if he only retains the power to guard himself against that inner hardening and petrification, in which we are all, alas, in danger of being lost.

The formalistic method can indeed only be justified the farther we move away from the archetypes to the present day. The sensible forms, in which there was at first a polar balance of the physical and metaphysical, have been more and more voided of content on their way down to us; so we say, this is an "ornament." That indeed can be treated and investigated in the formalistic manner. And that is what has happened constantly as regards all traditional ornament, not excepting the "ornament" so-called that is represented by the beautiful pattern of the Ionic capital.



Scholars, like Puchstein in his researches, could hardly have done otherwise.

He for whom this conception of the origin of ornament seems strange, should study for once the representations of the whole fourth and third millennia B. C. in Egypt and Mesopotamia, contrasting them with such "ornaments" as are properly so-called in our modern sense. It will hardly happen that even one such can be found there. Whatever may seem to be such, is a drastically indispensable technical form, or it is an expressive form, the picture of a spiritual truth. Even the so-called ornament of the pottery painting and engraving that ranges back to the neolithic in Mesopotamia and elsewhere is for the most part controlled by technical and symbolic necessity. Research should deal with the problem, upon what plane of spirituality they must rest or have originated in; for in the domain of creation and life, it is by no means the case that everything lies on one and the same level. In a craft like that of pottery, now so little valued, but which once as being the oldest of the arts enjoyed the highest favour, we should expect to and do indeed meet with forms and symbols proper to a plane other than that of the field of architecture and sculpture.

He who marvels that a formal symbol can remain alive not only for millennia, but that, as we shall yet learn, that it can spring into life again after an interruption of thousands of years, should remind himself that the power from the spiritual world, which forms one part of the symbol, is eternal. The other part is material, earthly, and impermanent. Unseen by earthly eyes, the spiritual is able to survive in the smallest movements and traces, revealing itself only to the penetrating glance of one that looks deep, as has been our experience in the case of the forms of the Ionic column. Then it becomes an immaterial problem, whether the ancients, in our case the early Ionians, were aware of the whole content of the ancient symbol of humanity, which the East had bestowed on them, or whether or not they wanted to carry over only some part of that content into their formula. Conscious or unconscious, willed or unwilled, is not the question here. It is the spiritual power that here knows and wills, and manifests itself when and where its due time has come.

From that moment when the deep symbolic meaning of the Ionic column was forgotten, when it was changed into architecture and art, its truthfulness was at an end. Then there came out of it an "architectural form," and "art form," it became an element of construction, a form without any legitimate function. We learnt this even before the discovery of "modern realism" and it is a service that the latter has rendered, to have dispensed with what had nothing more to tell it. But there we merely compromised with the ignorance and stupidity of our times. Sensitive students of ancient art already felt and still feel that illegitimacy in the decaying branches of Greek art, in Hellenistic and especially in Roman art, where what is holy in the symbols is more and more overlaid by the abundance and exaggeration of the large and small parts of the form and the costliness of the material. With the submergence of the old wisdom of the Mysteries, the understanding of this noble symbol of a higher humanity grew less and less. A new kind of spiritual attitude, and a new kind of holy symbol grew up into the Christian world out of the now barren soil of the Oriental, Hellenistic and Roman forest of forms, and subsequently, in the time of the Renaissance and Humanism, by a revivification of Hellenistic and Roman forms, built up for itself on this basis a new spiritual attitude, *viz.* one of service in the temple of its own self-conscious beauty, that of æsthetic humanism.

Was the Ionic column therefore dead, because its living meaning had been lost, because it was denied that it was the image of a spiritual truth? I think not. Goethe has rightly expressed it: Inviolable, never annihilated by any power or any age, this immemorial form of the "Ringbundle" lives on and still reproduces itself. To all appearance hidden away for centuries and millennia, its course flows on, and appears, when the time comes, in new light and with new value. Someday humanity, hungry for a concise and integral expression of itself, will take hold of this inviolable and holy form again, and therewith attain to those powers of which it is in need, to the bi-unity and to its own superstructure, to the perfecting of the all too earthly in the freedom of the spiritual worlds.



Perhaps we may be allowed a glance into the future. What is the significance for our day of all the investigations of the noble forms of antiquity and of all their identification in our museums, if not as guides, indispensable to life, on the way through ourselves and onward into the future? If the Greeks already called the crowns of leaves upon their stelae, columns, and entablatures a *kyma*, that is "relic of the past," and handed them on with a never dying awe, even though the primeval significance of these crowns had been diluted, we ourselves can learn from that to penetrate our being with the noble forms, and to saturate the creative patterns with the feeling of our own day. Again the call is uttered to formative men in general and the

creative artist in particular: Maintain the transparency of the material, that it may be saturated with the spirit. He can obey this command only if he maintains his own transparency, and that is the rock on which most of us are apt to break. Each and every one reaches a point in his life when he begins to stiffen and—either stiffens in fact or must by superhuman effort recover for himself what he possessed undiminished in his childhood but was more and more taken from him in youth: so that the doors of the spiritual world may open to him, and the spirit find its way into body and soul. \*

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\* Translation of the Schlusswort to Andrae, W., *Die ionische Saule, Bauform oder Symbol*, 1933.

## WHY CHOTA NAGPUR SHOULD NOT BE CLASSED AS A BACKWARD AREA

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M.A., B.L.

**T**HE legal position of some of the aboriginal tracts of the Province of Bihar and Orissa, particularly Chota Nagpur, does not appear to have been improved in any way, but perhaps degraded, by the Report of the Joint Select Committee.

The areas in this Province which are now called "Backward Tracts" within the meaning of section 52A (2) of the Government of India Act, may be said to fall under three distinct categories, which may be respectively called, the "Actually Backward" (namely Khondmahals in Angul), the "Less Backward" (namely, the Santal Parganas), and the "Least Backward" (namely, Chotanagpur and Sambalpur).

Sambalpur and particularly Chota Nagpur have hitherto been the least protected among the so-called "Backward Tracts" of the province, and the most advanced. Though originally included among the scheduled districts under the Scheduled Districts Act of 1874, gradually all the general Acts of the Imperial and Provincial legislatures have been extended to Chota Nagpur, so that it has long been treated, to all intents and purposes, as an ordinary "Regulation District", and has been subject to the same High Court and the same classes of subordinate courts as the most advanced districts of the province.

The only protective measure now extended to Chota Nagpur is that under section 52A (2) of the Government of India Act 1919 which provides that the Governor-General may direct

that any particular act or portion of an act will not apply to the tract or any part of it or he may direct the Governor-in-Council to do so.

It is a significant fact that within the last fifteen years it was only in one small matter that it was thought fit to use this small safeguard to Chota Nagpur. This was some twelve years ago when the Local Self-Government Act of 1923 was passed and only one section regarding the election of Chairmen of the District Boards was withheld from the area. But even this small restriction was later withdrawn from one of the Districts, namely, Manbhum, and there are indications that it may before long be withdrawn from the other districts as well.

With the rapid progress which Chota Nagpur has been making in education and civilization within the last 50 years or so, this emergency power has now fallen into practical disuse, and Chota Nagpur, which was the "Least Backward" among the so-called "Backward Tracts" within the meaning of section 52A of the Government of India Act, now, to all intents and purposes, enjoys all the rights and privileges of the most advanced parts of the province. The omission in the Report of my third category or the "Least Backward" areas is, we might reasonably presume, intended to exclude the Chota Nagpur Division from the category of "Backward Tracts" and give the *de jure* right of treatment on the same footing of which right they have been for years in *de facto* enjoyment. But the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Hubback has dispelled our illusion.



The Joint Committee's report is admittedly the outcome of the British Government's desire to give higher rights of self-government to the people of India, according to their deserts and capacity as estimated by the Committee. As an endeavour has been made to bestow on the rest of India a liberal constitution and higher rights (according to the Committee's lights), however circumscribed and hedged in by reservations, I cannot persuade myself to believe that, far from seeking to make any improvement on the present position of the people of Chota Nagpur by raising their political status to the next higher grade, the Joint Parliamentary Committee should have contemplated the degradation of Chota Nagpur to a much lower status than it at present enjoys.

Chota Nagpur has, if anything, admittedly done well and deserved better of Government,—deserved some advance in its political status. Even the Chota Nagpur aborigines have admittedly made considerable progress in education and civilization since 1919 when the last Government of India Act was passed. Since then, and indeed from before it, Chota Nagpur has enjoyed all the privileges and advantages of ordinary 'Regulation Districts'. There was indeed a time, three-quarters of a century ago, when, if timely protection had been given, the aborigines of Chota Nagpur would have been spared much harassment and spoliation of property and loss of rights. But the then authorities followed a *laissez faire* policy and took no effective steps for their protection so long as there was anything to protect. And by being thrown into the melting-pot of a common law and standardized system of administration and thus allowed to sink or swim as they best could,—though they have lost and suffered much,—they have somehow managed to keep their head above water and have since been able to adapt themselves to the new conditions. The Census Reports show that their population has been steadily on the increase. In thus enabling them to stand on their legs, the slight protection of section 52A of the Government of India Act might have done its little bit in its time. Now, however, they have over-grown the stage of spoon-feeding and "sheltered" political existence. The novelty of the situation created by the Reforms has now worn off, the fear of innovation has disappeared. They no longer stand in need of statutory leading-strings. They have found their strength. They have been repeatedly successful in returning their nominees to the Legislative Council, to the district boards and municipalities, some of their own people have been successfully administering their district boards and municipalities as vice-chairmen and members or commissioners. Some of them have been for years working efficiently as Deputy Magistrates, Sub-Deputy Collectors, Assistant Settlement Officers, Pleaders, Medical Practitioners,

Engineers. A few have received education in foreign countries. A few of them have been adorning the Legislative Council. A few have been honoured by Government with titles and decorations for their public spirit and selfless philanthropic activities. Every year some of their young men are passing out of the Universities with success. In the expansion of primary education of boys, the last year's provincial report on education shows that the Ranchi district now surpasses every district in Bihar proper except Patna; and in the education of girls the Ranchi district far surpasses every other districts of Bihar including Patna, and the Chota Nagpur Division, as a whole, surpasses every Division in Bihar and Orissa except the Orissa Division. In secondary education, too, Chota Nagpur districts now hold a respectable place among the other districts of Bihar.

In these circumstances it is natural to expect that Chota Nagpur will be given an extension of its political rights and not degraded to the lower political level of the "partially excluded areas," within the meaning of paragraph 144 of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report. To degrade Chota Nagpur to such a low status would be to inflict a grievous hurt on the self-respect of the people and set back the hands of the clock of civilization in Chota Nagpur for many a dreary decade. This would indeed be narrowing down their rights by every successive Reforms Act. I, for one, cannot imagine that such a retrograde and unjust measure can be countenanced by that palladium of justice—the British Parliament,—or can even have been contemplated by the Joint Parliamentary Committee itself. And I would appeal to the Government to give a definite assurance that Chota Nagpur will not only continue to enjoy the rights and privileges that it now enjoys but also that it will share with the rest of the province some measure of further political advance; and that the aborigines too will be allowed to send an adequate quota of their own representatives not only to the Provincial Legislatures but to the Central Legislatures, and that their representatives will be given the same effective powers of discussion, interpellation, moving of resolutions and voting, and the same methods of influencing the Legislature in the interests of their constituents, as the representatives from the most advanced districts of the province. The vagueness and uncertainty of the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report with regard to the aboriginal areas is causing great anxiety and misgivings in the minds of the people of Chota Nagpur. And I have recently received copies of resolutions passed at an extraordinary meeting of the Chota Nagpur Improvement Society—the premier aboriginal association in this province,—protesting in anticipation, against any measure which may keep them out of the general constitutional advance for India.





## FOREIGN PERIODICALS



### Minorities and Majorities

*The Standard*, America, writes :

"It is argued that the minority, no matter how small, must not be coerced. Since, however, this respect for minority rights, and the determination to do no violence to them, actually results in the minority having its way by maintaining the status quo, one cannot help inquiring whether this does not mean that violence has been done to the majority, which fails to have its way in the opposing desire to take positive action. When there are conflicting desires, how can it be otherwise than that the victor coerces the vanquished? The basis of majority rule is the desire to secure the greatest good to the greatest number. That this laudable end often fails of achievement is of course familiar to all of us, but it does not affect the principle of decision by voting."

### No Teaching of Humour !

Says Stephen Leacock in *The Yale Review* :

"Humor is a queer product; or at least our attitude towards it is queer. All other products and processes of art we analyze to the last degree. We have lessons, courses, and instruction, by the hour or by the year, in anything or everything that can be taught. One American college, for example, has a three months' course on marriage. But humor we let alone. There are no books on how to get funny, and no lectures on how to tell funny stories. Yet there ought to be. An earnest young divinity student will try to improve his voice, his rhetoric, his manner; it will never occur to him to work hard to improve his sense of fun."

### Value of Fundamental Ideas

In *Journal of the N. E. A.*, America, Joy Elmer Morgan expresses the opinion :

"Every great achievement of the human race has first been an idea in someone's mind. Frequently this idea has been held against impossible odds through generations or even centuries. Ideas are more abiding than the material things of life. Houses decay, nations rise and fall, even the land washes away and a once prosperous country becomes desert, but the great ideas abide, passed on from one generation to the next by men and women who are blessed with the gift of teaching. Let us turn therefore to ideas as great realities of life."

"With revolution or without it, a new civilization is always built out of those things in the old order which are right. We may cry out at the wrongs, the stupidities, and the injustices, but when the hour of building comes we shall begin with the best we have. Modern democratic civilization—and the hope of a better civilization tomorrow—rest on great ideas. It is a good exercise in thinking to try to select the central ideas that have meant most to humanity."

### The New World-Picture

The *Message of The East* has given an account of the address of Sir James Jeans at the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In a 'Foreword' the *Message* states—"The Occident, up to this time, has approached truth largely from the without; the Orient has sought to fathom reality from within." The visions of Sir James of a new world are most startlingly salient departures from the old point of view but yet bears some resemblances with the oriental belief and can be read, side by side with some of the writings of Swami Vivekananda :

Space and time and the physical world of substances have no objective reality apart from the mental concepts of them that man creates with his mind. This is "the new world-picture of modern physics" as painted before a gathering of the most distinguished British scientists by Sir James Jeans, in his presidential address, at the opening here tonight of the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

Sounding the Swan Song of the old Newtonian physics with its fixed universe and its unchangeable laws, Sir James Jeans declared that nothing was real in the new world of modern physics except what is in our consciousness and our perceptions. Yet, standing on the ruins of the old-time scientific laws, Sir James boldly suggested that the clue to the solution of the mystery that baffled Plato in ancient Greece and Bishop Berkeley in eighteenth century England: If all nature exists only in our consciousness, why do we all see the same sun, moon and stars?—might be found in the present-day theory that photons do not have individual existence, but are members of a single beam of light. The same was true of electrons in a continuous electric current, he said, and the same might be true of millions of cells in the human body.

"Isn't it conceivable," he asked the twenty-five hundred scientists in his audience, "that what is true of objects perceived may be true also of the perceiving minds? When we view ourselves in space and time, we are quite obviously distinct individuals; when we pass beyond space and time, we may, perhaps, form ingredients of a continuous stream of life."

"Our minds can be acquainted only with things inside themselves—never with things outside," Sir James told the meeting. "Thus we can never know the essential nature of anything . . . which exists in that mysterious world outside ourselves to which our minds can never penetrate; but we can know the numerical ratio of two quantities of similar nature, no matter how incomprehensible they may both be individually. For this reason, our knowledge of the external world must always consist of numbers, and our pictures of the universe—the synthesis of our knowledge—must necessarily be mathematical in form. All the concrete details of the picture,



the apples and pears and bananas, the ether and atoms and electrons, are mere clothing that we ourselves drape over our mathematical symbols—they do not belong to nature, but to the parables by which we try to make nature comprehensible.”

The famous Michelson-Morley experiment, Sir James added, was designed to prove that space and time could be separated from one another and a clear-cut distinction made between the two. Yet the experiment, when performed, showed “that such a separation was impossible.” It proved that space and time were merely “part of a parable.” The general theory of relativity proved, the scientist continued, *that not only space and time, but their product, the space-time continuum, are not realities of nature, but merely “mental frame-works of our own construction.”* He said they were very important frameworks, of course, *“being nothing less than the frameworks along which our minds receive their whole knowledge of the outer world, . . . media through which the messages, from the outer world enter the ‘gateways of our knowledge,’ our senses, and in terms of which they are classified.”* Assuming that each message must have had a starting point, he said, physical science postulated the existence of matter to provide such starting points, but the existence of this matter was a pure hypothesis. *He asserted that matter was in actual fact as unobservables as the ether, Newtonian force and other observables that had vanished from science.*

### Jewish Colonisation in Palestine

An extract of the concluding portion of M. Berenstein’s elaborate essay on the problem of ‘Jewish Colonisation in Palestine’ is quoted below from the *International Labour Review*. Agriculture is the primary activity of all Colonisation, hence the essayist opines that ownership of the land is the fundamental object of this Zionist movement :

Palestine holds a place apart not only among Mandated Territories, but among colonisation countries in general. Jewish settlement is hampered by three main difficulties : the scarcity of available land, the necessity of a heavy capital outlay to make the land fit for cultivation, and the dissatisfaction of many of the Arabs at the establishment of the Jewish Home in Palestine, which they fear will have adverse political effects upon themselves. But these drawbacks are partly compensated by the rare enthusiasm which the Jews of Palestine bring to the work of colonisation, the faith which inspires them, and the support they receive from Jews throughout the world.

In the years following the war the Jews found in Palestine a haven of refuge when the doors of other countries, and in particular the United States, were closed to immigration. The Jewish population of Palestine, which was 60,000 persons at the end of the war, was estimated at 240,000 at the beginning of 1934. More than half the immigrants are workers, chiefly young manual workers, but even those who have independent means usually engage in some kind of productive activity after entering the country.

Palestine has not only provided an opening for young people who were unemployed in their country of origin; it has also enabled Jews who were formerly employed in trade or as middle-men to return to the land.

### Zamenhof, Creator of Esperanto

On the occasion of the birth anniversary of the inventor of the proposed universal language, Kenneth Twin writes in *The Inquirer* of Dec. 15, 1934 :

Today is the anniversary of the birth in 1859 of Zamenhof, the inventor of the international auxiliary language, Esperanto.

The creation of Esperanto was not due to a peculiar linguistic turn of mind which made Zamenhof want to concoct an artificial language for fun. The real mainspring of Esperanto lies in certain essential ethical and religious ideals of its author. To use an analogy, the *plant* was Esperanto, but the *soil* in which it grew was the intense racial hatred among the four nationalities residing in Bialystock, his native town. The *shelter* was Zamenhof’s intellectual and linguistic equipment. But the *seed* was his desire for “peace on earth, goodwill to all men.” The name he gave to this ethical and religious belief was *Homaranismo*. *Homarano* means a member of the human race.

It is, he wrote in his *Declaration on Homaranismo*, “the teaching which, neither cutting a man off from his national country nor from his language, nor from his religion, gives him the means of avoiding all untruthfulness and contradiction in his national-religious principles and of having contact with men of all languages and religions on a neutral and human basis, upon principles of mutual brotherliness, equality and justice.” It sounds pious but impractical; and so it seemed to Zamenhof himself until in 1905 the first Esperanto Congress was held in Boulogne. It was an amazing success: the speech he made is one of the peaks of Esperanto literature. There men and women of many nationalities mixed together on friendliest terms. Zamenhof was convinced that his dream was made possible.

Zamenhof judged every man according to his personal value and acts alone, not according to his race, his nationality, his class or his religion. From this fundamental orientation sprang his political ethics. Living as he did in the pre-war welter of minorities, he claimed equality of rights for all inhabitants of particular geographical regions, rights of representation, of language and of religious practice. Thus he defined patriotism not as the service of a particular nation at the expense of other nations but as the service of all who lived in the same country, of whatever origin, religion or social class. Zamenhof had, of course, long recognised the binding force of language, and deplored the intrusion of the language of the majority upon the minority. He advocated the use of a neutral language for intercourse between such groups.

He indicated his meaning of the word God as “that incomprehensibly supreme Force which rules the world, and whose essence everyone has the right to define for himself as his wisdom and his heart and the teachings of his church dictate.”

It would be presumptuous for anyone to say that Zamenhof was ethical before he was religious, because ethical suggests *mere* rationality; but it is true that he was an ethicist before he was a theist.

Zamenhof was a seer, not a politician, yet he has produced something which should be a practical instrument in the welding of the peoples of the world. The idea of a league of religions which should realise the ideal of the brotherhood of man is no invention of Zamenhof. His originality, however, lies in wedding it not merely to the idea or theory of a universal language, such as had been projected before, but to a universal



auxiliary language *already invented and already in use*. Zamenhof admits that the essence of the ideal is not new, but finds in that fact an added strength: that it is something the greatest men of all times and places have dreamt, which carries it therefore beyond mere utopianism.

Zamenhof died in 1917 in the midst of the greatest contradiction of his faith since he launched it. He did not survive into the hope of the post-war world with its League of Nations. Perhaps it is just as well he is not living now. A man who would have been working for international harmony for sixty years could not have borne the second disappointment of the present situation. But he should be numbered with our saints.

### Indian Oils for Perfumery

A portion of Mr. E. W. Bovill's speech before the members of the Royal Society of Arts is quoted below from the *Journal of the Society* :

British India gives us several oils, the most important being lemongrass and sandalwood. The former is distilled from a grass which is widely grown in the tropics, partly because it is supposed to have an anti-malarial value. Lemongrass oil has a verbenal smell, and is therefore in demand for soap and bath salts. It is also very important as the source of ionones which are the basis of practically all violet perfumes. Till recently the only source of supply was Cochin, in Southern India, but some is now being produced in French Indo-China, and attempts—not very promising ones—are being made to produce it in various parts of the Empire.

Sandalwood oil is a high-priced oil used in medicine and also in perfumery. The famous sandalwood forest lies almost entirely within the native state of Mysore, which therefore enjoys very nearly, but not quite, a monopoly of this oil. Australia, as I have told you, also produces a sandalwood oil, but it is not thought as highly of as the Indian oil, which has no real competitors.

Palmarosa and gingergrass oils, which are used in perfumery, also come from South India. For long, gingergrass oil was regarded in the essential oil market as merely an adulterated palmarosa oil. For once these suspicions were unfounded, for the oils unquestionably come from two different but very similar grasses.

### Germany's Trend Toward Economic Isolation

The following introduction appears in the essay on the above subject by Mr. John C. deWilde in the *Foreign Policy Reports* :

Under the Hitler government Germany seems to be gradually drifting into economic isolation. Exports have continued to decline in value, and the gold and foreign exchange reserves of the Reichsbank have dwindled to insignificant proportions. Payment on external debt obligations have been progressively curtailed and are now almost entirely suspended. The foreign exchange secured from exports has become insufficient to pay for all the imports needed to carry out the Nazi program of economic recovery. Raw materials have been rationed, and strenuous efforts are being made to reduce Germany's dependence on imports through development of substitutes and more intensive exploitation of domestic supplies. The importation of all goods has been subjected to complete government

control. Simultaneously with these developments the leaders of Nazi Germany have introduced a note of belligerency into the Reich's economic relations with other countries. They maintain that isolation has been forced on them by a hostile world, blaming Germany's present plight on the unwillingness of foreign countries to buy more German goods and to make a downward readjustment in the debt burden commensurate with the general decline in trade. Abroad these contentions have been received with scant respect. There Germany is generally held responsible for having aggravated, if not produced, its own difficulties. In foreign opinion the Nazis have needlessly provoked antagonism by their political methods, destroyed German credit by their debt policies, and promoted isolation by their predilection for autarchy.

### The Irish Proletariat

The Republican Congress and Ireland's Fight is the subject of an article by Mr. J. Shields in the *Labour Monthly*. The following extracts of the article are reproduced below from the *Young Ceylon* :

"The struggle of the Irish masses for a free, united and independent Ireland is rising to a new level. Under the leadership of the Irish working class, the only class which is capable of leading the revolutionary national struggle to success, the mass movement for Irish national freedom is being mobilized for vigorous assault against the stranglehold exercised by British imperialism.

Time and again the revolutionary national liberation fight in Ireland has risen to great heights, and time and again it has undergone betrayal at the hands of Irish capitalist leadership. Today, however, a new force—the Irish proletariat—is placing itself at the head of the movement, a force which, in alliance with the farming masses, can and will victoriously carry the struggle for the Irish Republic to its end.

An important step directed towards the building up of the united fighting front against the imperialists and the enemies of the Irish people on a nation-wide scale, was registered in Dublin on September 29 and 30, when the Irish Republican Congress assembled in the Free State capital.

From all parts of Ireland, delegates representing republican and working-class organizations on both sides of the imperialist border which separates the North from the South, attended this Congress. All told, 186 delegates were present. There came many Republican groups. Trade Union Organizations, Tenants' Leagues, Communist Party, the Irish Citizen Army, the Unemployed Workers' Movement and various other bodies, and they were widely representative of the working and farming masses.

They had come together in order to plan out how to develop and carry forward that struggle which Jim Connolly and innumerable other Irish martyrs had given up their lives for—the struggle for complete Irish independence.

### Unemployment Insurance Proposal

Every civilized country is fighting hard to minimize this deadly evil to society. In the New York State, unemployment insurance is proposed. To this effect *The Commonwealth* writes :

The general lines of an unemployment insurance



bill, to be introduced in the New York State Legislature, were agreed upon, November 26. Weekly unemployment benefits from \$10 to probably not more than \$15, continuing for not more than twenty weeks in a single year, will be made from a state-pooled fund built up by employers' contributions which will start October 1, 1935, if the bill is passed during the next few months. All workers earning \$2,500 a year or less are to be eligible for these benefits, which are to begin after three weeks of unemployment. According to the bill all firms employing four or more persons would be required to contribute to the state unemployment fund at the rate of 3 per cent of their payrolls. To be eligible for benefits a worker must have been employed for at least eight weeks during the preceding year. No one who is receiving workmen's compensation, who has refused a job for which he is fitted, or who is unemployed because of a labor dispute, will be eligible to receive these payments. Those unemployed because of misconduct must wait for ten weeks before their benefit payment begin. Farm laborers are not to be eligible.

### Military Training for Unwilling Citizens

*The New Republic* in an editorial writes :

The Supreme Court's unanimous decision that students with conscientious objections to war have no constitutional right to escape compulsory military training, where this is imposed by landgrant colleges, seems to us a long inference from the principle that the government can force unwilling citizens to fight in its defense. Far more important, however, than the specific case under review is the reassertion of the general conclusion. This, it seems to us, in spite of its denial of one of the most important kinds of liberty, is inevitable in the world as it is today organized. Those who are opposed either to war in general or to any specific war cannot expect that they can make their opposition count by refusal to fight, with the consent or protection of governments. They are themselves engaged in a warfare against the existing system, and they must accept the risks and casualties of that war. It is well to have this fundamental fact emphasized. It is naive to suppose that war can be ended by personal opposition to it and threaten not to fight. Governments will always be able to raise armies and suppress objectors, as long as those governments themselves are not upset by the opposition. The way to end war is not by a moral campaign aimed at non-participation, but by a reorganization of society such that war situations do not arise. And it is more than likely that those who want such reorganization will in the end have to fight for it, if they are to get it.

### Corporate State Matures in Austria and Italy

The following appears in *The Christian Century* :

Very recently two notable advances in political experimentation occurred in two countries. In Austria the "corporate state" came into being on November 1, with three councils in place of a parliament: a state council of fifty members, a cultural council of forty and an economic council of eighty. These members have all been appointed by the cabinet. In the future they will be elected, not from geographical electorates but from "corporative guilds," that is, bodies of voters organized by vocations. A few days later, the analogous "corporative state" of Italy reached a further stage of its

development by the convening of its first assembly, consisting of some 800 deputies representing 22 corporations, that is, major vocational groups such as banking, agriculture, metallurgy. Each deputy represents a still smaller sub-division such as wheat, coal, carpentry, teaching, and is responsible to the persons engaged in those vocations. Outsiders will see both these states in two lights: as experiments in a political form and as specific current governments. Viewed in the latter aspect, the Austrian government is very precarious. It may crack at any moment from the strain of its two parties—Christian social and heimwehr—which are so antagonistic as to make a corporate state, no matter how decked out with specious unity, little more than a shell. In Italy, the government is, of course, Il Duce, who now becomes president of each and all the 22 corporations, with such a paradox of strength and weakness, as that involves.

Between the two governments of Italy and Austria the consciousness of common interest which has been long growing, matured one more degree on November 17 when the premier and the chancellor met in Rome "to demonstrate to the world that the Austrian problem still exists." Their proposal for its solution is that Austria be made by a general European agreement the Switzerland of central Europe. This might be a very good thing, but it is unlikely to get German consent and its even greater peril lies in the centrifugal forces within Austria itself. Meanwhile some observers will feel that far more important to the world in the long run than any specific political arrangements is the corporate state as a political experiment. In Italy it is, and in Austria it tends to become, a fascist state but that is not its essence. Its essence is representative government by vocational units, and that is a form which democracy will soon be unable to pass by with indifference. The democratic principle is invincible. Many democratic forms are not, and among them geographical representation is certainly one.

### International Survey

*International Review of Missions* retrospectively surveys all the world issues of vital importance that were witnessed during the year 1934. Out of these, some problems of the Far and Near East are quoted below :

#### JAPAN

'The communist peril is over, fascism is the danger today,' wrote a resident in Japan in March, 1934. There may be some doubt about the first statement, judging from the news of arrests published from time to time—736 in May, 2,000 in June—of people suspect of communist activities. As to the second statement, Japan is certainly one of the countries attracting the uneasy regard of the rest of the world. Japanese policy in Manchuria and the claim to stand in a special position in regard to China, as set out in the statement to the press on April 18th, by a spokesman of the Foreign Office, show a struggle for power between the military and the civilian forces of government. There was a belief widely held during 1934 that war involving Japan was inevitable. But the belief was modified in the autumn, after the settlement of the long-continued bargaining with Russia over the transfer of the Chinese Eastern Railway appeared to be imminent. And Japan has declared her desire to be on peaceful terms with the rest of the world. This is particularly true as regards China, seen in the return to the Chinese of



Shanhaiwan in February, the agreement for through railway traffic between Peiping and Mukden, made in June by the establishment of the Oriental Travel Bureau (with a Chinese manager and a Japanese assistant), and the customs agreement governing Japanese imports into China. The enthronement of Pu Yi as Emperor of 'the independent State of Manchukuo' on March 1st may be taken as showing a lack of desire for annexation. But none of these things has begun to reconcile China to what is in effect the loss of a large part of her territory.

The policy of Japan in 'Manchukuo' has not had entirely happy results. The nominally independent State is actually under Japanese rule. Banditry has little if at all diminished—many aver that it has increased. Although regarded as a source of raw material, the country has nevertheless seen a decrease in its exports and a large increase in Japanese imports; the opium monopoly established in 1932 'to control cultivation and consumption' has failed to do either; and the country remains unrecognized as an independent State except by Japan and Salvador.

Cinematograph films are being more strictly censored. Many owners of licensed houses of prostitution are in financial difficulties. A series of conversations in 1933 between members of the Diet and the Brothel Keepers' Association of Tokyo led in March to the Association's agreeing to change the style of their business from geisha houses, where the inmates were practically prisoners, to cafes and low-class restaurants, where the waitresses would at least be free. Abolitionists regard this as the beginning of the crumbling of the system, and are also looking hopefully for some restrictive legislation.

Some ten organizations, including the Young Men's Buddhist Association, are co-operating in the endeavour to prohibit the sale of alcohol to those under twenty-five years of age. The Bill to that effect introduced into the Lower House in 1933 came to nothing, but a writer records that 'the yearly campaign is of great value as an educational medium.'

A Child Welfare Act, passed towards the close of 1933, protects some thirty thousand children under fourteen years of age. No such child may now, for example, take part in public performances or act as a waitress where alcoholic drink is served.

Several organizations are working for women's suffrage. Some years ago a Bill granting women local suffrage passed the Lower House but was defeated in the Upper. Since then more urgent matters have crowded out the question. However, in 1934 a large meeting convened in Tokoyo by six women's associations passed a resolution petitioning the Government to grant women's suffrage. Women, voteless, have yet made their influence felt, notably in the fight against municipal corruption in Tokoyo and against increased taxation.

Far less than one per cent (.4) of the population is yet Christian and there are three classes still largely untouched by the Church: the highest and the lowest strata in the rapidly growing industrial urban areas, and the student body, for whom the Church is not sufficiently militant nor realistic. It has been communism, rather, which has attracted youth.

#### TURKEY

New restrictions have been placed upon the employment of aliens in Turkey. In July, foreign subjects employed as chauffeurs, interpreters, hairdressers, tailors, hatmakers, shoemakers, moneychangers and musicians were compelled to cease work, and by May, 1935, other foreigners engaged in small trades will be similarly

treated. Those affected are chiefly Greeks, Italians, Persians and British Maltese.

The appropriation for national defence has decreased from over 64,000,000 Turkish Pounds in 1926 to 33,000,000 Turkish Pounds in 1933, while the appropriations for health and education have been maintained at a uniform level in spite of the depression.

A further indication of the westernizing tendency of modern Turkish culture is a decision taken in November by the Minister of the Interior that Turkish stations may not broadcast oriental music. The music hitherto broadcast was held by the Ghazi to be 'unworthy of the Turkish people,' and western music is to take its place. For a similar reason all civilian titles other than Bay and Bayan ('Mr.' and 'Mrs.') were abolished in November.

A remarkable increase in literacy is reported. Since 1928, when the Latin alphabet was introduced, the percentage who can read and write has risen from 22 to 45.

Turkish educational policy is both nationalist and secular. No religion of any kind may be taught to anyone below the age of eighteen years, though this does not exclude moral teaching. There are already signs of dissatisfaction with the result of a purely secular education. All participation in primary education in Turkey, as in Persia, is forbidden to foreigners, but private schools are still permitted to function at the high school stage. Special text-books have been provided by the Ministry of Public Instruction for use in the schools and mosques, and in these books it is easy to see an attempt to relate the religion of Islam to the ethical demands of a secular State. There is in Turkey, as in other countries of the Near East, an increasing insistence on close adherence to the government curriculum in education and on the teaching of cultural subjects, such as history, only in the mother tongue and only by native-born teachers.

During the past year the International College at Smyrna has been closed and certain American missionaries have had to leave, like the German missionaries whose removal was mentioned in the last Survey.

#### PALESTINE

Palestine, though, as will be seen, the tension between Arab and Jew is not much diminished, has profited so greatly by the incoming of Jewish capital and organizing energy that it presents economically a more hopeful aspect than almost any other country in the world. It is in fact one of the chief arguments used by the Zionists for an increase in Jewish immigration that there is actually a shortage of labour in the country.

#### PERSIA

The signs of social and cultural change in Persia continue to be obvious. In the capital, streets are widened and new government buildings erected, work is being continued on the railway which is to unite the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, and industrialization goes steadily forward, with factories for cloth, sugar, knitted goods and other things.

Towards the end of 1933, the Persian Parliament passed a law which, if enforced, will greatly lessen prostitution. It is thought that the visit of the League of Nations' commission of enquiry into the traffic in women and children in the East has contributed to the passing of this law, for Persia, being a member of the League of Nations, is anxious to be considered loyal to its conventions.

#### IRAQ AND ARABIA

The principal subject of interest in connexion with Iraq is the question of the Assyrians. No words can be strong enough to describe the treatment which has



been meted out to these unfortunate people. A writer in the *London Times*, in the course of an article friendly to the Iraqi Government, refers to 'the massacre of upwards of three hundred harmless and innocent Assyrians, without a single person being called to account for it, within a year of Iraq's entry into the League.' Friends of the Assyrians and leaders of the people themselves have been compelled to face the absolute necessity of evacuating the people from Iraq. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the past, Assyrians will never forget the massacre at Simel; and the Iraqis, in addition to their suspicion of Assyrian intrigue against the Iraqi Government, must, like all other people, hate those who are the subjects of their own injustice.

The Assyrians at present are living in conditions which may be tolerable for a period but which are intolerable as a permanent solution. Refugee conditions are mainly found in the Mosul area where the disturbances took place. A camp of refugees was formed near the cantonment at Baghdad, and a refugee camp was organized near Mosul by a British official on behalf of the Iraqi Government. This camp has a permanent population of about 1,500 people. The infant mortality in the camp has been high, though medical care has been provided both by a doctor and a dispensary in the camp and by the services of the government hospital at Mosul. In other parts of the country the Assyrians are living much as they were a year ago. Assyrian employees are mostly back at work, though it is somewhat harder for Assyrians to obtain employment than it was a year back.

The Assyrians themselves are divided on the wisdom of emigration. The mountain people are mostly ready to emigrate, but the Persian group and those who have connections with the Urumiya district are loth to leave. Up to the summer it seemed likely that the negotiations which had taken place at Geneva with regard to the settlement of Assyrians in Brazil would prove successful, and enquiries were made about a suitable part of that country for such a settlement and a favourable judgment was formed. Later, the negotiations broke down, and it may be that one element in the reluctance of Brazil to receive the Assyrians was the impression, for which Arab propaganda is not guiltless, that the Assyrians were a bloodthirsty people. Conscious also of the rapid growth of alien immigration, Brazil is beginning to call a halt.

At the time of writing it appears probable that a home for the Assyrians will be found in British Guiana. It is necessary to find land not only available but suitable for the people. The area now suggested, in the Rupununi district of British Guiana, is extensive, for the most part unsettled and has possibilities of development as a stock-raising area.

### **Making the League Universal and Effective**

Mr. Oscar Newfang in a monthly international review of political events in the *World Unity* states:

The entry of Russia into the League of Nations has been by far the greatest advance toward universality made by that organization since its foundation. There remain in the world at present only seven nations which are not fully identified with the League,—The United

States, Brazil, Costa Rica, Hedjaz, Egypt, Japan and Germany. Of these the last two are still officially members; since the withdrawal notice of Japan will not take effect until March 28, 1935, and that of Germany, until October 21, 1935. Two of the remaining five nations, Brazil and Costa Rica, are former members of the League; and although they have now withdrawn, it will be remembered that other nations (Argentina, for instance) have withdrawn and have later returned to the League fold. There would be no obstruction or necessity of voting on the part of the League, should Brazil and Costa Rica at any time decide to resume their memberships. Hedjaz is one of the nations to which the original invitation to membership was extended, and her acceptance of the invitation would automatically make her a League member without a further vote. Egypt has not yet been invited to membership in the League because of the attitude of Great Britain in questioning whether she is a fully self-governing country able to fulfill her international obligations, as required by the Covenant. While the United States received an original invitation to membership with a proffered permanent seat in the Council, this country has not yet seen fit to accept.

Even on the assumption that Japan and Germany will not rescind their notices of withdrawal and that neither Brazil nor Costa Rica will return to the League, the territory embraced within the League's membership comprises about seven-eighths of the earth's surface, the total area of the seven non-member nations being 7,271,000 square miles, as compared with the total land area of the world amounting to 57,510,000 square miles. In population the outside nations number 336,225,000, as compared with an estimated world population at present of about two billions, which would indicate that the League membership comprises about five-sixths of the earth's inhabitants.

### **Labour and Communism**

Mr. T. W. C. Curd writes in *The Month*:

Just as the selfishness and inhumanity of the Capitalist system during the nineteenth century created Socialism, so the class-legislation of the two traditional political parties, continued into the twentieth, finally provoked the entry into Parliament of a third body, the Labour Party, inspired by economic ideals and framed on class lines. In both cases a blind, one-sided insistence on undoubted rights produced a natural counter-challenge, with the result by the latter case of the distortion of the political system by the inclusion of an element whose aims are mainly economic. When that party attains power, we shall better realize the folly that opened the way for its existence. There are many indications, notably the result of the recent municipal elections, that we may have that experience when the present Coalition reaches its term. Its failure to pursue a genuine peace policy, to reduce unemployment, to reform financial conditions, even to attempt, as President Roosevelt is doing, the creation of a more equitable social order, has greatly weakened its prestige, and an electorate, the great bulk of which belongs to the working class, may easily do what it has always been able to do—put its own leaders into the saddle, when next it has the chance.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## The Problem of Language in Indian Education

The Scholar made extracts from a thought-provoking address of Dr. James H. Cousins as president of the XXVI Provincial Educational Conference of Anantapur, Madras. His remarks on the problem of language in Indian education deserve our attention. He says:

One of the first essentials of individual education, both as regards the receiving of information and the expressing of thought and feeling, is a command of language. Such language must naturally be that into which the individual has been born. From the point of view of educational fundamentals, which take into account such matters as the vocal instrument which heredity gives to the individual and the heritage of mental connotation and emotional colour which the past of his race or nation presents to the individual along with his code of speech, this is all that need be said on the subject. To fundamental education there is no problem of the medium of instruction. The problem only arises out of mixed circumstances in which one culture tries to impress its stamp on another.

This is what has happened in India. The coming of the English language into Indian education needs no telling. The situation today is that education in India is dominated by a language which, aside from its own unique qualities and immortal achievements, has little or no affinity with the vocal physiology, the temperament, the tradition or the attitude to life of any of the peoples of India. In the century of its domination, English has ruined the indigenous education and debased the traditional culture of India, by diverting the stream of creative literary energy into foreign channels, and has held back even the development of westernized education by reason of its unsuitability and difficulty, by reason also of the wrong methods of its teaching. And now nemesis is overtaking it in a rapid degeneration, noted all over India, which is reducing English to gibberish even among students in the higher college classes.

The situation calls for two reforms: the complete vernacularization of Indian education from Montessori to M.A., and a drastic change in the teaching of English as a cultural accessory in Indian education if it is to be saved in India from the fate that overtook it on the coast of China where it degenerated into *pidgin* English.

Difficulties will naturally arise in making the students' mother-tongue the medium of his and her education; but these will concern only a microscopic number in the vast mass of the at present illiterate population (90% of the total) to whose cultural enfranchisement an equal percentage of our solicitude should go, for on their liberation into possession and use of their incalculable riches of intelligence, imagination and skill depends the future wealth, happiness and peace of the country, not on the artificial eminence of the alleged educated few.

## Women and Social Service

Women all over India have taken up social work in right earnest. Srimati Hansa Mehta gives us a short account of their activities in the city of Bombay in *Drashti*. We read with interest:

It would not be out of place here to mention some of the constructive efforts that are being made in various directions in the city of Bombay for the benefit of the general readers. The Bombay constituency of the All-India Women's Conference has been experimenting upon a scheme of spreading literacy among women. It has been found difficult to induce adult women to attend any night school or any class outside their home. The scheme provides for an itinerant woman teacher who goes to the homes of these women and teaches them the rudiments of reading and writing. The new method introduced by the workers of the Dakshinamurti Vidyarthi Bhavan, Bhavnagar, enables the person to read and write within a short period of three months. When the teacher has finished with one group she takes up another group and so on. The scheme is still in an experimental stage. It will take time, before one can be sure of the result. In order that women may not forget what they have learnt it is also necessary to supply them with literature which they can follow with ease. This brings the necessity of a circulating library to the forefront.

The Bhagini Samaj, another organization of women in Bombay has prepared a scheme to supply this need. Besides a circulating library which they intend to start, they also intend to publish a small weekly paper written in easy language for the benefit of women. The paper will give them news of the day as information on useful topics.

Among the other useful activities that the Bhagini Samaj is carrying on, is a hostel for working women. A reference has been made in the column of "*Drashti*" about the need for a hostel in a city like Bombay. Women whose earnings are meagre, find it difficult to live in decent comfort when they have to pay high rents for even single rooms. It is to help these women, that the hostel was started over a year ago. The scheme requires to be still developed. The Samaj will welcome any help or suggestion for the furtherance of this cause.

Similar Institutions are working in various directions, educational and social in Bombay as well as other parts of the country.

## Gems from the Mahabharata

Mr. Nagendranath Gupta has presented some gems of the Mahabharata to *The Young Builder*. These prove as true now as they did in the days of yore:

As dogs fight over a bone so do kings fight for the possession of the earth.

Error is death and righteousness is deathlessness.

Wise men withhold the bitter speech that proceeds from the mouth like an arrow, that pierces nothing but



the human heart and leaves a wound that rankles for ever.

No gratitude is to be found among scholars for their tutors, among married men for their mothers, among successful men for the means of success, among people who have crossed a river for the ferry boat and among patients who have been cured for their physicians.

Jealousy is the strength of evil men, punishment is the strength of kings, nursing is the strength of a wife and forgiveness is the strength of the virtuous.

He who knows his own weakness and is ashamed is worthy of the reverence of all.

It is the poor that eat the most savoury food for the hunger, which is the best sauce for meat, is denied to the rich.

The body is the chariot, the soul is the charioteer, and the senses are the horses. The wise man calmly moves like a skilful charioteer with those horses under control.

A religion that has no truth is no religion, and the truth that wears a mask is no truth.

### Problems of the Cinema in India

Mr. A. K. Sharma, M.A., President, Film Appraisal Committee, Madras, writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

India suffers also from lack of a sufficient number of distributing agents. There are four big distributors, and two of them are combined having their own halls in various places in the country. These are the Globe and the Madan Circuits. Though the British pictures are on the whole more decent, and though British films enjoy a preferential tariff, there is yet no good distributor of British films. There are cinema halls in Madras which cannot get an alternative film if what they have proposed to exhibit is thrown out by the Board of Censors.

This makes censoring rather delicate. Even otherwise the censoring work is unsatisfactory. There are five Boards of Censors—Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Rangoon and the Punjab. These do not always agree. Since most of the films arrive through Bombay or Calcutta and are certified there, the other provinces feel awkward in the matter of re-censoring. The possibility of an All-India Central Board of Censors with necessary option to the provinces, has yet to be worked out. Nothing here can be done without legislation.

At present the Boards of Censors have no control over posters. They should have. For the posters are more dangerous than the undesirable films; while all see the posters, only a few see the actual film. It seems that legislation is pending with regard to this. As matters stand the police may take action if they receive any complaint from the public about indecent posters. The public do not seem to be aware of their right to object. Recently the Film Appraisal Committee issued appeals in the press, and they had good effect.

We need very badly a Film Institute for India. Every civilized country has such an institute, official or private. This body keeps a film library, makes researches into methods of production, encourages and introduces educational films—general and technical—and mediates between the public and the producers. The British Film Institute is an example. This again is a matter for legislation.

The public in India do not know the possibilities of films. It is, therefore, necessary that they should be educated by propaganda. The Film Appraisal Committee does this by writing, by lectures, and by review of films.

Lack of funds is the greatest difficulty of the Film Appraisal Committee.

### Help towards the Revival of Village Handicrafts

Mahatma Gandhi has ushered in the Village Industries Association. Paintings and illustrations of Indian handicrafts in the past serve as a guide to their revival and improvement. So *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* writes editorially :

How rich was the variety of the old village handicraft, was shown by Hubert Stowitts in a brilliant collection of paintings in *tempora* which he lately exhibited in Europe. The pictures were a record of things seen in the bazars, designed to illustrate what he called "Vanishing India." So described, his pictures are a challenge to all who love village India to resolve that these things shall not vanish, and that the conservation of village arts and crafts shall be part of the fight now being staged for the worth and dignity of the small community. Of such humble folk it was written by the Son of Sirach: "They will maintain the fabric of the world, and the handiwork of their craft is their prayer." Here is the opportunity for the new type of rural education. But we also can help. The spirit of handicraft can be fostered in our boys' work, and an outlet for the joy of making has been found in Hobbies Exhibitions such as the one held the other day in Lahore. If it is good to hitch your wagon to a star, it is good to link up our boys, hobbies with these larger aims.

### Does the term Yavana indicate Greek nationality?

Mr. O. Stein thus concludes his valuable paper on "Yavanas in Early Indian Inscription" in *Indian Culture* :

From a strict historical point of view, to sum up, there is little proof of Greeks in India besides some few clear instances like that of the Besnagar inscriptions (no. 2 and p. 15, n. 14), or the Theodoros inscriptions (no. 17f.). The term Yavana does not indicate Greek nationality, and it is remarkable that in inscriptions where that term appears no Greek names are to be found, except the instance of Besnagar, just mentioned. On the other hand, personal names of Greek appearance do not possess the attribute Yavana. It would be therefore, commendable to be cautious to infer anything from the term Yavana in early Indian inscriptions.

As the places from which the Buddhist Yavana-donors come have not been identified, it is difficult to say whether there existed Yavana-colonies in places like Dhenukakata, Umehakakata. And it agrees with the remarks, just made, that there, where we have to deal really with Greeks, they are either ambassadors or official (cf. *meridarches*) of Hellenistic States or princes. Finally, the occurrence of Indian names as *navakummika* on Buddhist monuments belonging to the Gandhara school may be a memento not to lay too great stress on the Greek nationality of Agisala (no. 24), all the less as the word *dasa* seems rather puzzling. From a social point of view one gets the impression that Yavanas, whoever they might have been, were absorbed by the Indian society, if we can infer from the Buddhist votive inscriptions; that these foreigners became also



adherents of Indian religious systems is clearly to be seen from their own confession. Nowhere, therefore, existed, according to these early inscriptions, Greek colonies in the last centuries before and in the first centuries after the beginning of the Christian era in India, with social or religious independence.

### The Aspect and Orientation in Hindu Architecture

Prof. P. K. Acharya writes in the same paper on the above subject, partly as follows :

Although there is no room for a detailed discussion it may perhaps be clear to the reader that in the layout of our towns, villages, and houses the ordinary rules of hygiene have not been followed and that as a result of that the health of the poverty stricken people has suffered even with regard to good air and water which are the free divine gifts. For the poor people the problem has been not to look for sanitary houses within a salubrious surrounding but to find enough room to lay one's head down like the wild beasts in order to protect oneself from the unbearable inclemency of weather. Thus we have been unaware how unconsciously we have been proceeding towards annihilation. The first aid to such a people suffering from an unknown malady would be to remove the appalling ignorance about the need for an improvement in the condition of our dwelling houses.

Many of our educated people are also not conscious of the need for a correct orientation of our houses and the proper aspect of the locality in which we reside, although they would constantly feel the inconvenience due to the want of abundance of air, light, and the sun. It would be clear, however, even to the casual reader of the *Manasa Silpasashtra*, the standard work on Hindu architecture, that the ancient authorities were very particular about these matters, not only for a particular quarter but for all residential quarters of a village, town or city. These matters were also kept in view in arranging the rooms in a dwelling house. Our ancient authorities even prescribed the direction towards which one should keep the head while lying in bed so that plenty of pure air can be inhaled in sleep also. For that purpose sufficient number of doors, windows, verandahs, and balconies were provided for all the rooms. Outlets for the smoke from the kitchen and insalubrious odour from the latrine and rooms for rubbish and domestic animals were ingeniously provided for, so that the residential rooms were not affected thereby. From the illustrative lists of rooms and their disposition in small, middle class and large houses quoted above from all classes of ancient literature, it would be clear that the best quarters were reserved for the residential rooms. It is also worth notice that not only a family chapel was an essential feature for all houses, big or small, but the room for the purpose of worship was located in the north-west corner, between the rising sun and the pole star which is always fixed to the north. This would imply that the religion in those days was not a matter of mere discussion but it was to be practised daily by everyone.

### Who are "Depressed Classes" ?

Mr. Dulal Chandra Mitra contributes an important paper on "Communal Injustice to Bengal" to *The Hindu Mission*. Part of it is given below :

There are backward classes in Bengal, as there are such classes anywhere else. These backward classes of Bengal had been trying to remove their backwardness in various ways with the help of the reformers; with this end in view, they had even begun to change the nomenclatures of their respective castes. But since the term "depressed classes" gained political significance with political privileges in the form of special representation in the legislative councils, the tide turned, and "those who were trying to rise up, hastily commenced climbing down" to snatch away the political privileges meant for the "Depressed Classes," though there are still some among them, who have seen through this game of the authors of the Award, and have refused to be classified as "Depressed Classes."

The Franchise Committee has specifically stated, as has been pointed out by Sir. N. N. Sarkar, that "depressed classes" exclude Mahomedans and Christians, and those Hindus, who are economically poor and in other ways backward, but not regarded as untouchables; and as regards the question—who are untouchables, "the Franchise Committee discussed in detail the various definitions, and ultimately accepted two tests, viz. :— (1) Those who are denied access to the interiors of ordinary Hindu temples; (2) and those who cause pollution (a) by touch, (b) within certain distance."

As according to this definition and finding arrived at by the Franchise Committee, the number of the Hindu 'Depressed Classes' in Bengal will be negligible for the purpose of disrupting and vivisectioning the Bengali Hindus, the authors of the Award have totally refused to agree with the Franchise Committee on this point, and have divided the Bengali Hindus, as pointed out by Sir N. N. Sarkar, "into socially and politically backward" and its negative, and have given the former the name of 'Depressed Classes,' and have provided for them special seats in the legislature.

This disruption and vivisection of population is meant for the Hindus only, and not for the Mussalmans, —though the Mussalmans also might be kept in two such compartments—socially and politically backward, and its negative, as is well-known to and admitted by all. Even if the above mentioned definition and finding arrived at by the Franchise Committee is accepted and acted upon, the Mussalmans also have got to be divided into such compartmental division, as has been so well discussed and proved by Mr. Jatindra Mohan Dutta in his article published in the "India and the World," June, 1934; therein S. J. Dutta has shown by quotations from undisputed authorities that there are, contrary to our general belief, such 'untouchables' amongst the Mussalmans. But we forget that the political purpose behind the Award is one thing, which has nothing to do with truth and fairplay.

### The Economic Recovery of India

Prof. P. J. Thomas of the Madras University has offered some valuable suggestions to the powers that be for the economic recovery of India in *The Mysore Economic Journal*. He writes in part :

In many ways the conditions of India are specially favourable for a forward policy in regard to public works expenditure. (1) In several Western countries, most of the essential works of public utility have been carried out, and there is little scope for remunerative new works, but in most parts of India there is a large scope for carrying out works which are directly or indirectly remunerative. The country is in need of roads,



bridges, irrigation works of all kinds, reclamation of waste lands and water-logged areas, and erection of earth works for protection against floods. Many parts of the country are still in need of drinking water, light, housing and drainage. In these circumstances public works will not only give a stimulus to economic activity, but will protect the country from debt, disease and drought. More village roads will increase economic equipment and improve marketing facilities, and will also enhance Government's revenue. (2) The leading Western countries are heavily burdened with dead weight of debt—a legacy of successive wars, but India's public debt is not too heavy, and the bulk of it is covered by first-rate assets. An unproductive debt of only Rs. 206 need not discourage India's efforts at increasing her outlay on capital works. (3) Those who are employed in such works will consume more food-stuffs and textiles, and this is specially true of India with its ill-fed working classes. A country where only 15 pounds of sugar (including *gur*) and 15 yards of cotton cloth are consumed, per head per annum, must have a large scope for the expansion of consumption, and consequently for an increase in production. Therefore the labourers first employed in public works will soon be absorbed by private industry and business. When employment increases in industry, there will also be more openings for educated young men in clerical services. (4) Prices will rise gently, but not sharply, and primary products will share in the rise and thus reduce an injurious disparity. (5) There cannot be a more opportune time than the present for undertaking works of public utility. Government's credit stands high: interests rates are low; there is plenty of idle money; and there is no lack of cheap labour. The depression has reached the bottom, and this is just the time for action.

### Sir James Jeans at the British Association

Mr. W. Whately Carington writes in the "Science Section" of *The Theosophist* :

Sir James Jeans's Presidential Address to the British Association at Aberdeen, on "The New World Picture of Modern Physics," is of outstanding interest, even though it contains no announcement of epoch-making discoveries in the physical domain. Its importance derives, rather, from the interpretation which Sir James finds himself constrained to place on facts which are now well-established, and in the general "philosophical" conclusions which he draws therefrom.

From a wealth of quotable passages I select for comment three which seem crucial :

(1) The first is somewhat technical, but must be borne. It is fairly well known to those in touch with modern science that it has been found necessary to think of an electron (believed to be one of the ultimate constituents of matter) sometimes as a "particle" and sometimes as a "packet" or group of "waves." In this connection Sir James reminds us that "... if electrons really existed as point-particles and the waves depicted the chances of their existing at different points of space ... then a gas would emit a continuous spectrum instead of the line spectrum that is actually observed." But also, the waves (of de Broglie and Schnodniger) are not "a superior model of an ... electron" but only "a sort of parable."

This sounds formidable; but the general reader may neglect the technicalities and substitute the following, which appears to contain the pith of the matter. It is known that the ultimate constituents of matter

behave in some respects like what, on the gross scale, we term "particles" and, in others, like what, on the gross scale, we term "waves." But it is demonstrably false to suppose *either* that they are "really" particles (in the sense that a speck of dust is really a particle) whose position we happen to be unable ever to specify precisely, *or* that they are "really" waves (in the sense that a ripple on a pond is really a wave) about the extent, etc., of which we are equally doomed to uncertainty.

(2) On somewhat the same topic: "If we ask the new physics to specify an electron for us, it does not give us a mathematical specification of an objective electron, but rather retorts with the question: How much do you know about the electron in question? We state all we know, and then comes the surprising answer: That is the electron." (My italics.—W. W. C.)

Sir James goes on to say: "The electron exists only in our minds—what exists beyond, and where, to put the idea of an electron into our minds we do not know. The new physics can provide us with wave pictures depicting electrons about which we have varying amounts of knowledges ... but the electron which exists apart from our study of it is quite beyond its purview."

This paves the way for my third quotation:

(3) "To [a certain] extent, then, modern physics has moved in the direction of philosophic idealism. Mind and matter, if not proved to be of similar nature, are at least found to be ingredients of one single system. There is no longer room for the kind of dualism which has haunted philosophy since the days of Descartes. This brings us at once face to face with the fundamental difficulty which confronts every form of philosophical idealism. If the Nature we study consists so largely of our own mental constructs, why do our many minds all construct one and the same Nature? Why, in brief, do we all see the same sun, moon and stars?"

### The Sort of Education needed for Indian Women

Mr. Govindlal D. Shah has given us a scheme for the education of Indian Women in *The Indian Ladies' Magazine*. He writes :

I shall now give a full measure of my scheme. At 7 years, a girl should go to school and for the first two years, be busy with her language. She may also be given some folk-lore. In another couple of years she may pick up just a bit of arithmetic. Thus at the end of four years study all that I require her to know is the three 'R's of education—reading, writing and Arithmetic, plus a good grounding in tradition. Then she should be initiated into English—the language of modern life—and she should, side by side with it, get acquainted with the broad outlines of history, geography, physics and epics. At the age of 13 or 14, she has thus obtained sufficient elementary knowledge on necessary matters. She should now discard the subjects for which she has no special aptitude, and be initiated into a study of hygiene, human anatomy, house-hold work and religion. This is the proper time when she should also be given knowledge about sexology. According to her own aptitude, she should also pick up any hobbies and pastimes, like music, painting, knitting, etc., for which she may have the gift and liking. Then, she should have a quarter of an hour every day for physical culture. Possibly, it may seem that she is heavily loaded and burdened, but one must bear in mind that at that age she is well able to shoulder the burden and



it is better that she leads a free life at the beginnings, so that she is neither a wreck nor a crippled soul, when her real life opens up its portals to her. By the time she is of a marriagable age, she will be well-equipped to be the life companion of any intelligent man, and well on her way to be a useful adjunct to the society in which she is born and an asset to the family into which she has been adopted by marriage.

### A Yankee Thinker on India

From an article by Swami Jagadiswarananda in *The Educational Review* we come to learn of a Yankee lover of India in Professor Ernest P. Horowitz. The Swami writes :

Professor Ernest P. Horowitz is a Lecturer on World Literature at the Hunter College of New York. He is an author, lecturer and educator and his works on "Vedic Religion and Philosophy," "Rose Petals and Gorse Bloom" and "The Indian Theatre" have been highly appreciated by the world press on both sides of the Atlantic. Professor Horowitz has a vast fund of knowledge of the esoteric and scholarly side of literature. He presents the subject in such a pleasing and poetic style that his contributions to some Indian journals have been widely read. Long years of study and stay in Eastern lands enable him to discuss oriental topics most intelligently. For twenty-five years, Professor Horowitz has lectured in three continents at the Universities of Dublin and Durham, in India and Burma, at the Institutes of Arts and Science of Columbia University, the School of Irish Learning of Fordham University and the Greenacre Conference. He has also examined for the British Civil Service Commission. His courses on world literature and universal culture given at Hunter College, New York, since 1922 are most popular. From 1927 to 1928, he toured the East from the Chinese to the Afghan borders lecturing at the Universities of Bombay, Rangoon, Aligarh, Nagpur, in the Baroda Palace at the Maharaja's request, in the Kashmir Government College, and at the national seminars of Mahatma Gandhi.

In 1928, Professor Horowitz was appointed Government of Bombay Research Scholar on Indo-Iranian Philosophy and Antiquities for that year. He met the illustrious Swami Vivekananda in America and became his disciple and since then he is an ardent lover of India. He interprets Indian thought and culture to the American people very sympathetically. In a recent letter to the present writer, he writes: "Many thanks for your letter and interesting enclosure. My mind, as you put it, runs along Sakti-lines; to separate it from its manifestation is fatal in Kali Yuga. I suggested to the young new Swami of the local Vedanta Society to link on Neo-Vedanta to cosmopolitan culture (say world literature) and current problems and make it dynamic as Vivekananda would certainly do if he were here, because static Vedanta would be suicidal . . . . If you could give your wide knowledge of comparative religion and philosophy a semasiological basis, you would gain a better hearing, I believe, at least among the intelligentsia of the West. Have you read the 66 pages pamphlet on Indo-Iranian Philosophy (History of Cultural Words) published by the Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, 1929? The perusal may be worth your while."

### Reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda

The following extracts from the diary of Sister Nivedita appearing in *Prabuddha Bharat* will prove illuminating :

One night he was in a great mood of devotion, and told us of Hrishikesh and the little hut that each Sannyasin would make for himself and the blazing fire in the evening, and all the Sannyasins sitting round it on their own little mats, talking in hushed tones of the Upanishads, "For a man is supposed to have got the truth before he becomes a Sannyasin. He is at peace intellectually. All that remains is to realize it, so all need for discussion has passed away and at Hrishikesh, in the darkest of the mountains, by the blazing fire, they may only talk of the Upanishads. Then by degrees, the voices die in silence. Each man sits bolt upright on his mat, and one by one they steal quietly off to their own huts." Another time he broke out with: "The great defect in Hinduism has been that it offered salvation only on the basis of renunciation. The householder was bound by his consciousness of an inferior lot. His part was Karma. Renunciation was nothing to him. But renunciation is the whole law. It is all illusion that anyone has been trying to do anything else. We are all struggling to release this great mass of energy. What does that mean but that we are hurrying towards death as fast as we can? The burly Englishman who thinks he wants to possess the earth is really struggling more than most of us to die. Self-preservation is only a mode of renunciation. The desire for life is one method of the love of death." Swami talked some time of the Sikhs, and their ten Gurus, and he told us a story of Guru Nanak, from the *Granth Sahib*: He had gone to Mecca, and lay with his feet towards the Caaba Mosque. Then came angry Mohammedans to waken, and if need be, to kill him, for turning his feet towards the place where God was. He woke up quietly, and said simply, "Show me, then, where God is not, that I may turn my feet that way." And the gentle answer was enough.

Swami says my great fault is attempting too much, in which he is emphatically right. I am to give up all thought of Plague-nursing and throw my whole heart and soul still deeper into the sanitation that we have now on hand. Won't I be just? This is an infinitely higher proof of self-sacrifice and obedience on my part, as you know well, than the delightful excitement or risking Plague would be. I say this out of a childish haughtiness, because a friend I prize well is grieved that I have not gone on. And I, too proud to give him a chance of overtly saying so, much less of vindicating myself, am still not proud enough to be beyond the doubts of conscience.

We have had two-hundred and thirty-five rupees subscribed for sanitation. It seems a great success, though, of course, we could do with a great deal more. When the monk who has the work in hand went over on Saturday to report, he said Swami was so touched by the news, that they had two hours of everything, from the Upanishads onwards, "There could be no religion without that activity, that manhood and co-operation. There was Nivedita living in a corner and English people helping her. God bless them all!" But to my great amusement, when I reported today, he just winked and said, "Plague, Margot, Plague." He told me, "Our men might be rough and unpolished, but they were the manly men in Bengal. The manhood of Europe was kept up by the women, who hated unmanliness. When would Bengali girls play this part, and drench with



merciless ridicule every display of feebleness on the part of man?"

### The Juangs and the Mundas and the Contact of Cultures

In an interesting paper in *The Calcutta Review*, Mr. Nirmal Kumar Bose writes about the changes that cultural contacts have brought about in the Juangs and the Mundas, thus :

In the case of the Juangs and the Mundas, economic necessity has brought about more fundamental changes in culture than in the case of Orissa. Formerly both of these tribes lived by hunting, jhoom-cultivation and the collection of jungle produce, just as the Pauri Bhuiyas of Keonjhar and Pal Lahara still do in some of the more sequestered valleys. In the jhoom form of cultivation, a piece of land is prepared by burning down trees and planting seeds in the ground with the help of a digging-stick. It is a wasteful method of agriculture and can support only a few men per square mile of land. The Juangs however practised it successfully in the extensive hills and valleys of Orissa into which they had been driven before the advance of Hindu colonists.

But soon after British rule was consolidated in Orissa, the forests were reserved and hunting and jhoom cultivation forbidden there. The little land into which the unhappy tribe was then pressed was insufficient to yield sustenance according to the old methods of production. The Juangs were thus faced by famine and forced to adopt the more efficient system of agriculture with the plough from their Hindu neighbours. But they have not always proved as skilful with it as the Savara or Oriya farmers, and have consequently been forced to take up supplementary occupations which are different in different parts of Orissa. In Pal Lahara, they weave baskets and sell them to their Hindu neighbours, while in Dhenkanal their women supply fuel to the surrounding population. Out of the money so earned, the Juangs either pay rent or buy salt, clothes and distilled wine for personal use. They have thus been forcibly hitched on to the Hindu economic system, and are practically on the way to the formation of another Hindu caste. They have already begun to worship deities like Lakshmi, Dharma and the like, but they do so with their own tribal ceremonies. Their language in Dhenkanal has been subjected to more disintegration than in Pal Lahara, and in this way, it will not be long before they will gradually give up their language like the Gonds of Orissa and eventually employ Brahmin priests to become a full-fledged Hindu caste.

The history of the Mundas of Chota-Nagpur must have followed a similar course before we come upon them in the beginning of the 19th century, when Christian missionaries first settled among them in the Ranchi district. Already the trouble between Hindu settlers and the Mundas had become so acute in the last decade of the 18th century that troops had to be called in to suppress uprisings among them. Things had continued in much the same way as before, until missionaries came forward to help the poor people to fight against Hindu zemindars in the law-courts. The help was greatly appreciated and led to a large-scale conversion of the Mundas to Christianity. The old culture is fast disappearing from among the converts; they are taking up numerous new industries like lace-making, tailoring, carpentry and corresponding changes are also taking place in their dress and personal adornments. The change which is more

deep-rooted than in outward form, has been so complete among some of the converts that they actually claim to be foreigners in the land, and say that they are descended from one of the ten lost tribes of Israel.

### The Roman Script for India

The agitation for introduction of the Roman Script in Indian vernacular is not new in India. It was started at least a century ago in *Sumachar Darpan* in Calcutta. It has been started afresh in India now. As the *pros* and *cons* of the movement should be brought home to our readers, we quote the following observations by no less an authority than Principal P. Seshadri, who is for its introduction from *The Twentieth Century* :

This measure of reform is therefore demanded by many considerations. It will provide India with a simple and efficient alphabet capable of revolutionizing educational reform; it will bring the benefits of up-to-date printing to Indian languages; it will have the additional advantage of furnishing a common medium of communication, at least as regards external symbolism, to all the parts of the country and it will bring India into line with a medium which is not the means of international communication all over the world and is prevalent in all writing, whether in scholarship, business or in politics, among the most advanced peoples of the world. It is true the Roman script is not indigenous to this country and a certain amount of prejudice against it exists in several quarters actuated largely by considerations of false patriotism. But it is unreasonable to demand that such sentiments should be waived in the spirit of true patriotism for the sake of national advancement?

### The Meaning of Mahatma Gandhi

We welcome in *The New Review* a valuable addition to contemporary journalism. From an interesting paper on the above subject we quote the following lines :

His greatest service to India is that he has brought politics to the doors of the masses. Politics, which in the days of the old Indian National Congress was the privilege of the leisured classes, has now become the concern of the masses. It is Mr. Gandhi that has taught rural India, which till recently had been ignorant of such things, to think of India, national progress, freedom, the Government and the State. He has made the village and the villager the *motif* of all political endeavour. The health of the village, the sanitation of the village, the economic prosperity of the village have been brought into the programmes of ministers and councils. He has also brought a note of sincerity, of directness, of seriousness into Indian politics. Asking nothing for himself, he has found it possible to insist on the essentials of progress in India. Not place nor power is his goal, as was the goal of the Indian National Congress before he came to dominate it. But rather the welfare of the rural masses is the objective of his political activities. To strengthen political life in and through the masses of India's countryside is his one memorable contribution to Indian politics. For the rest he has been very unoriginal in his political thought, though the originality of his political method no one may deny. Independence, Self-determination, Exploita-



tion of India by Europeans, India for the Indians are war-cries which he has heard from others, but to which he has given the undoubted prestige of his name and adherence.

### Moral and Physical Evils of Overtime

Mr. Louis Katin, himself a worker, speaks of the moral and physical evils of overtime in *Labour* thus :

Despite the immense amount of unemployment there are still many factories which consistently make their employees work overtime.

Part of such overtime, for instance, in connection with the production of newspapers and periodicals, is probably necessary. But we all know those factories where due to faulty management, and faultier plant and machinery, overtime is insisted on week after week up to the very limit of hours allowed by the unions.

Usually we find such places conducted in a slatternly and undisciplined way; the working materials poor and insufficient, and the employees mere discontented clock watchers.

There is little doubt that the constant pressure of having to put in night work does as much as anything else to destroy the vitality and morale of the craftsman. An eight—or nine-hour day should be ample for most trades, and all extra hours are an impingement on a tired brain and tired hands.

As experts have pointedly said it is in the evening, when the worker's vitality is at its lowest ebb, that

accidents most frequently occur. Furthermore, it is when artificial light has most to be used, that the eyes are most likely to suffer.

An unpleasant result of the consistent working of overtime is that ultimately the men accept it as an essential part of their income, and bickering goes on as to who shall work the most hours at the end of the day. All sorts of wire pulling and mean little subterfuges are resorted to in order to work extra hours, and "clikers" and foremen are even bribed to allow men to stop on after the rest have gone home. The resultant spirit of disunity and conflict does not tend to promote the quality or quantity of the work done.

Among these workmen who prefer to have the leisure they have earned, discontent is also aroused, because they are denied opportunities for study or recreation and for social life. They see a large number of their workmates thrown out of employment for many months at a time, and yet themselves must work longer than the normal hours.

The harmful effect which overtime has on morals is probably the worst aspect of the matter. However conscientious a workman might be, conscience will tend to get lax when he realises that he is forced to work extra hour merely from a mistaken policy on his employer's part. No workman worth his salt objects to putting in extra hours after the normal "cease work" whistle, if he knows that a job has to be got out to time or if an urgent and unexpected order has materialised. In common with other men I have on occasion worked twenty-four hours—yes, and thirty hours—round the clock, with only brief intervals for meals, because necessity demanded it.

## ATTRACTIVE EXHIBITION OF THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF ART, CALCUTTA

### EXCELLENCE OF INDIAN ART

THE annual Exhibition of paintings, drawing, sculptures and engravings by the students and staff of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, was opened by Mrs. J. M. Bottomley, wife of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, in the presence of a gathering of distinguished and admiring visitors numbering over a thousand. The Exhibition remained open free to the public every day from December 18 to 22, 1934 from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M.

The general public availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting the Exhibition and realized what great work was being done at the Government School of Art, Calcutta.

#### SPECIAL FEATURE OF THIS YEAR'S EXHIBITION

This year's exhibition was a distinct improvement upon the previous years' work in every branch of Art. It was an exhibition of work done entirely by the students and the staff and contained over 2000 exhibits of varying and interesting subjects, done mostly by 300 students now studying in the School. It was, however, a noteworthy fact that about 50 works by the students of the Government School of Art, done after the traditional Indian style, were exhibited in December last at the Burlington House,

London, receiving much appreciation from the British public. The present exhibition also shows enormous progress along all lines, and there was a variety of inspiration, subjects and treatments, which gave one a great surprise as one walked from one room to another in the exhibition.

#### ARRANGEMENTS OF THE EXHIBITS

The exhibits were arranged in different rooms as follows :

1. Indian painting done after the traditional style.
2. Oil painting from life and Nature.
3. Commercial Art in all its different aspects.
4. Clay-modelling, Casting etc.
5. Wood-engraving.
6. Lithograph.
7. Draftmanship.

Exhibits under each of the above subjects were arranged in separate rooms class by class and section by section helping the general public to make a comparative study of the work and judge the results achieved by the improved methods recently introduced in this premier School of Art in Bengal.

#### WORK BY THE STAFF

A representative selection from the work by





Plate I. 1. Rama, Sita and Lakshman in the forest. Design for a fresco :  
By Tarak Basu. 2. A Railway poster for Navadwip. By Bhudeb  
Mukerjee. 3. A Scene from Kalipuja By Radha Bagchi.





Plate II. 4. Mother and Child: Tempera painting By Susil Sen. 5. Marriage Scene: Lithograph By Abdul Moin. 6. Village Scene: Jute Cleaners (Tempera painting): By Tripureswar Mukerjee. 7. Ganges Scene, Calcutta: Water-Colour: By Chapala Mondol. 8. Boats on the Ganges: Water-Colour By Gobindo Mondol. 9. Poster for Good Companions, Calcutta: Water-Colour By Tripureswar Mukerjee.



WORKS DONE AT THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF ARTS & CRAFTS, MADRAS,  
EXHIBITED IN THE FOURTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION LAST MONTH

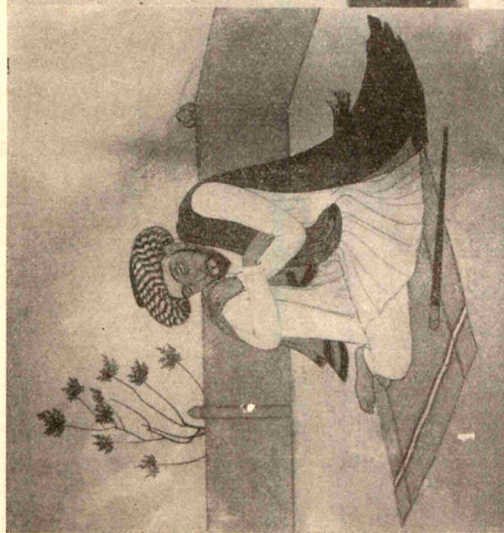






Plate II. 5. Nati : By D. P. Roy Chowdhury. 6. Red Sari : By Lokiah. 7. Holi Festival : By Venkatratnam. 8. Jalavarani : By M. Venkat Narayan Rao





Indu Rakshit (student, Indian Painting Dept.)  
making a fresco on the wall of the Govt.  
School of Art, Calcutta



Study from the Zoo. Clay-modelling  
By Rishikesh Ghose

the staff was exhibited in a separate gallery and greatly added to the success of the Exhibition.

#### SUBJECTS AND TECHNIQUE ENUMERATED

Each of the rooms where the exhibits were shown treated the visitors to an æsthetic feast of a delightful type and illustrated themes of diverse kinds, such as studies from Nature, stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharata, scenes from the circus, market places, street corners, also posters for Railways and Commercial Houses, designs for stained glass. In fact, among these exhibits one found expression given to every form of life in its various movements.

#### INDIAN PAINTINGS DONE AFTER THE TRADITIONAL STYLE

Indian paintings done after the traditional style were well represented in its different branches. There were fresco paintings executed on the wall of the School by Mr. Indu Rakshit, there were also many designs for mural paintings on a large scale which interpret the ancient traditions through modern treatments. From the works shown here one may get an idea of the kind of work which aroused great curiosity at the Burlington House Exhibition of Modern Art in London.

The work of Susil Sen, Purnendu Bose, Tarak Bose, Nirmal Mukerji, Tripureswar Mukerji, Satya Mazumdar, Manick Lal Banerji and Abdul Moin

sufficiently prove the success of the modern method of teaching arts.

#### COMMERCIAL ART SECTION

Posters and designs of varied subjects could be seen and they gave one an idea of how art can be utilized for the purposes of commerce, and the business people were sure to discover here promising young men whose talents can well serve the requirements of commerce.

#### WOOD ENGRAVING DEPARTMENT

This department also contained many representative works and contained pieces which were well executed. The visitor was struck by a great variety of designs. Maulvi Abdul Moin, a Muhammadan Teacher in this School, deserves all praise from his countrymen for the achievement of his students.

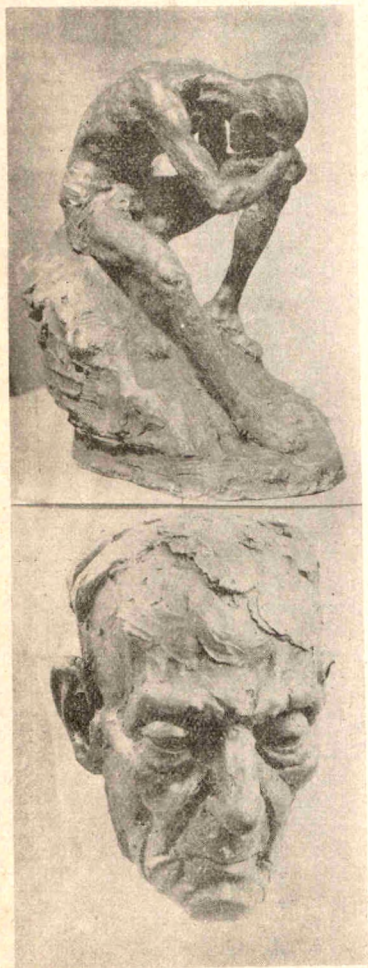
The students have undoubtedly shown assimilation of the best European Art methods without forgetting their own traditions which are not divorced from the life of daily experience.

At this exhibition it appeared that the Government School of Art has been able to indicate to our business men, industrialists and educationists how art education can be purely æsthetic as well as be a handmaid to commerce and industry, and the students of this School deserve the encouragement and support of the public.



## ARTS AND CRAFTS EXHIBITION IN MADRAS

AS usual, The Government School of Arts and Crafts, Madras, held its fourth annual exhibition last month. Credit for its success was mainly due to Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury, Principal of the School. An account of the exhibits presented there by himself and his students appeared in *The Hindu* of Madras, January 12, 1935. As our space is limited, we make only a few extracts from it:



Top : Fatigue by Prodosh Das Gupta  
Bottom : Mask by Kartikeya

"On entering the room of the Fine Arts Section one is attracted by the beautiful arrangement of sculptures. The touches of the artists and the energy expressed through the rigid and concrete form command attention. In this group of sculp-

tors Kalikinkar Ghose Dastidar, Prodosh Das Gupta and Venkatanarayana Rao, Miss Muthuvelu and Karthikeya stand apart from the rest in their respective execution and craftsmanship. If Kalikinkar is thoroughly versed with the knowledge of balance, Prodosh Das Gupta brings out the rigidity of sculpture closely following the footsteps of his master, Mr. Chowdhury. Kalikinkar has done full justice to his subject, 'Struggle,' whereas Narayana Rao enjoys himself with the lines of rhythm in his 'Temptation of Buddha.' It is a perfectly balanced group composition in bas-relief.

"Miss Muthuvelu's head study of a woman might be taken for the work of a man, so bold is its execution. The work is indeed a striking piece of portrait sculpture where construction of form has not been sacrificed for the sake of surface polishing. Another effective piece of wood-carving is by Tanikachalam, a 16-year-old boy.

"Besides Miss Muthuvelu there are other lady students, among whom Miss Kamala's name deserves mention. She has sent a beautiful group composition.

"Passing on we come before the screen where landscapes in Western style are hung. It brings us to an entirely different atmosphere. Contributions in this section from Rama Rao, Paul Raj and Khagendra Roy are outstanding.

"The next screen is devoted to miniatures in Indian style. Syed Ahmed and Kalikinkar are the two best exponents of this section. 'Pets' by Kalikinkar is a charming composition. Syed Ahmed has exhibited a number of paintings this year. His portrait of Mr. Chowdhury in line and wash is very refreshing and altogether a new departure in portraiture.

"Lokkayya has made considerable progress, this year. Khagendra Roy in 'Dreams of Parvathi' has shown considerable care in the attainment of originality.

"Among the large pictures in Indian style Doraiswamy Venkatanarayana Rao, Rama Rao, M. Venkatratnam, Kalikinkar and P. C. Raj have contributed beautiful work. Venkatratnam has this year surpassed all his previous work in his 'Holi Festival,' a charming composition in amber and grey. Doraiswamy's 'Indra Sabha' is a fine group full of rhythm and colour harmony. Rama Rao's 'Will He Not Come' is a class by itself where Eastern and Western style have met on the common ground of sympathetic expression.

"Venkatanarayana Rao in his life-size brush drawing on silk has shown courage in breaking away from the old tradition of miniature painter P. C. Raju well deserves congratulation for his mythological subject 'Jatayu Vadha.'





Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury receiving H. E. Lord Erskine and Lady Marjorie Erskine at the School of Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Madras.

"Mr. Chowdhury has, as usual, exhibited a number of pictures. We refrain from commenting on them as they are well known to the public.

Anyhow, 'High Tide', 'Monsoon Clouds' and 'The Girl from the North' deserve special mention."

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS MITHO BAI M. CHINNOY stood first among 18000 candidates in the Bombay Matriculation examination. She was awarded the Dr. Dadabhoy Naoroji Scholarship.

MISS AMIYA BANERJEA has recently arrived in India after completion of her education at Oxford, where she graduated last year and also took the Diploma in Education with distinction. Miss Banerjea was formerly a student of the Calcutta University, wherefrom she took her degree with Honours in Mathematics and later obtained a First Class in M. A. in English. For her brilliant achievements she secured the Government Scholarship for further study at Oxford, where she left an excellent impression as a keen student, with a very pleasant disposition.

DR. MRS. K. K. MAZUMDAR, who is a Corporation employee has recently returned from Europe after taking the M. D. degree of Berne University, Switzerland. She also completed the post-graduate course of Vienna University and received the University's "Golden Key"—a distinction not achieved by a Bengali lady before her. Mrs. Mazumdar has been in Europe several times and has worked in different hospitals at many important medical centres. It is to be hoped that the rare and high qualifications of Mrs. Mazumdar will be employed to the best advantage of her city and community.

SRIMATI KALYANI CHAKRAVARTY stood first in the last M. A. Examination of the Calcutta University in Indian Vernaculars, Bengali being her main subject.





Miss Mitho Bai M. Chinnoy



Dr. Mrs. K. K. Mazumder



Miss Amiya Banerjea



Srimati Kalyani Chakravarty



# NOTES

## *Elected M. L. A. Prevented from Attending Assembly*

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, barrister-at-law, who has been in detention, without trial, under Regulation III of 1818 since 1932, was duly elected a member of the Legislative Assembly and also received the summons of the Governor-General to attend the Assembly. But, being still under detention and not being permitted to leave the place where he is detained, he has not been able to attend. He has thus been prevented from exercising his right and doing his duty as a member of the Assembly, the constituency which elected him have been deprived for the time being of the right of being represented at the Assembly for no fault of theirs, the Assembly has been deprived of his services as a member, and the country of the advantage which it could have derived from such services. As a protest against these wrongs an adjournment motion was moved in the Assembly by Mr. Bardoloi, a member for Assam. It was carried by 58 votes to 54. The majority of 4 does not give a correct idea of the resentment felt by the public, for the group of 54 who voted against the motion consisted for the most part of official members and members nominated by the Government.

In the course of the debate on the motion it was discussed whether there had been any infringement of privilege. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, whose speech was very telling and instructive, said that Sir N. N. Sircar, Law Member and Leader of the House, had read out from Maye's *Parliamentary Practice* passages dealing with the growth of privileges.

He read to you, and I am glad he read to you, that the privileges of the House can arise by, what

he called, common law, the customs of the House and precedent; and of all I lay emphasis on precedent. In the previous case of Mr. S. C. Mitra, though the Government of India failed to respond to the vote of this House, a precedent has fortunately already been created by this House in that by its vote it expressed that the member who was then detained, ought not to have been detained.

Mr. Desai was able to convince the majority of members present that Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose had a privilege which had been infringed—in any case that such privilege for an M. L. A. should grow by custom and precedent.

It may be allowable to discuss the question apart from legal and constitutional principles.

If in the statute book or constitution of any country, as in ours, there be no declaration of fundamental rights, that does not mean that the people of that country do not possess the usual primal and fundamental rights of human beings. Similarly, the very facts that a man has been allowed to stand for a constituency, has been elected by the voters, and was summoned to attend the Assembly, show that he has the right to act as a member of the House. If the Government officials concerned knew or thought that a detenu could not act as an M. L. A., then his election was a farce, and they knowingly allowed this farce to be enacted. It is, of course, just possible that this was allowed to be done through ignorance or oversight, not deliberately. If so, then it does not speak much for their vaunted foresight, knowledge and wisdom, and in that case it is they who ought to be brought to book; there is no reason why Mr. Bose, his constituency, the House and the public at large should suffer for the fault of these officials. But, if these officials knew before-



hand that even if Mr. Bose were elected and summoned by the Governor-General to attend the Assembly he would not be allowed to do so, then they deliberately deceived him and his constituency and indirectly brought the slur of such deception on the Governor-General and his Government. In that case these officials should be dealt with very severely. If the officials concerned have deliberately played a trick, their action means that they wanted that for some time at least there should be one critic and opponent of the bureaucracy the less in the House. If such was the case, their conduct was unworthy of the servants of a powerful Government.

The Law Member asked whether it was suggested that, if a member summoned from his province committed murder in the train (by which he was travelling to New Delhi), would the officer who came to arrest him be warned off because the Governor-General had summoned the murderer to attend the House. But an imagined, a fictitious similitude is not an argument. In the case imagined by the Law Member the member is supposed to have committed murder *after* being elected and after being summoned by the Governor-General to attend the House. In the case of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, whatever his alleged offence, if any, it was committed *before* his detention without trial, and *before* he was allowed to be elected and *before* he was summoned in spite of his alleged offence. His worst official or non-official accusers cannot say and have not said that he has done anything *after* being elected and summoned to justify his exclusion from the Assembly. What sense, what force, is there then in the Law Member's analogy?

Some candidates for election to the Assembly were disqualified on various grounds. But as the Government of India Act, enacted by the British Parliament, does not disqualify a detenu, we must take it that it is not the intention of the British Parliament that a detenu should be disqualified. Nor is it anywhere said or implied in the Government of India Act that though a detenu may be elected he must not exercise the right of a member of the House. It is implied, therefore, that in the opinion of Parliament a detenu can be and can act as a member of the Legislative Assem-

bly. But some officials of the Government of India, which is subordinate to the British Parliament and Government, appear to be more powerful than the British Parliament; for executive arbitrariness in India has brought about a result which was not intended by the British legislature.

If, however, the British Parliament, that Earthly Providence of the Eternal Baby India, sometimes nods, and the omission of the disqualification of detenus in the Government of India Act at present in force as well as in the J. P. C. Report be an instance of such nodding, that defect (!) is sure to be made good in the next Government of India Act! For the real object of the draftsmen of the India Bill is to stop all the narrow avenues and loopholes through which freedom might even under present circumstances be sought and perhaps obtained and to make the Executive autonomous and supreme.

### *Calcutta University Foundation Day*

Of modern universities in India the Calcutta University is the oldest. But as it was founded only in January 1875, it is quite young, as universities go. Last month it celebrated its foundation day. As its present Vice-Chancellor is a young man in the early thirties, it was only to be expected that the celebration would be meant solely or mainly for the young alumni of the University and the affiliated colleges. It was carried out accordingly as follows:

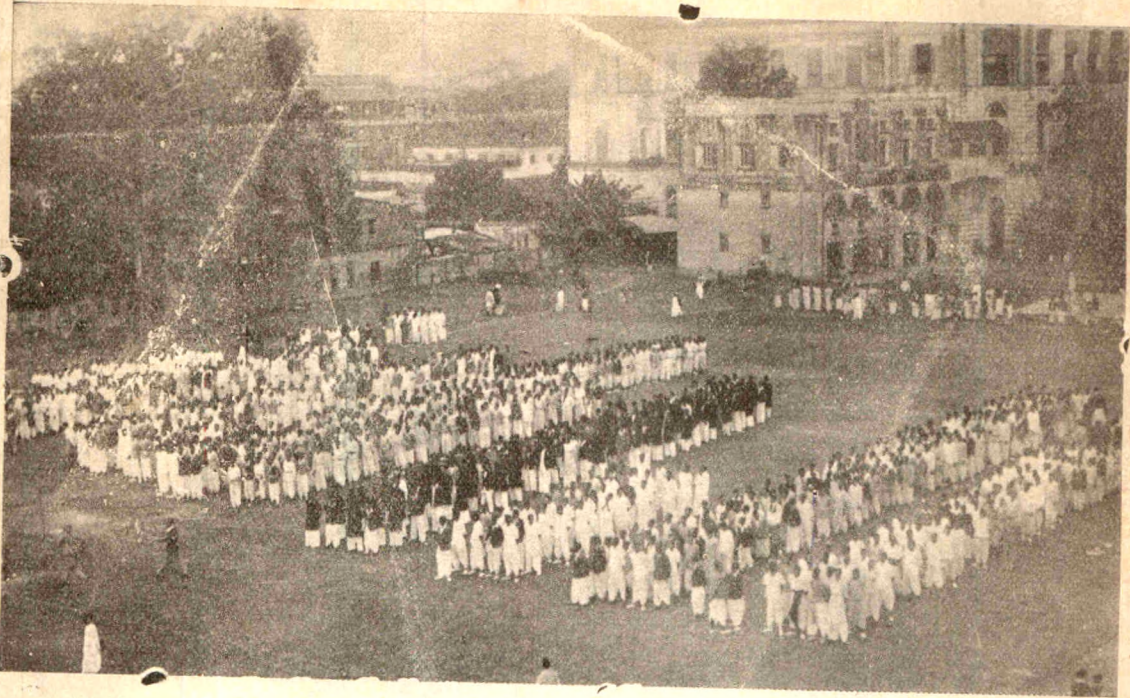
A stadium was erected on the Maidan on a portion of the ground bounded on the east by Red Road, on the north by the Esplanade on the west by Plassey Gate Road and on the south by the Hockey ground of the Women's Hockey Association.

The following was the programme for the celebration:

Morning: 7-30 A. M. Students from different colleges assembled at the ground attached to the Presidency College.

8 A. M.—Route March to Maidan began the University Band leading; the University banner being in front and each college bearing its own banner, with the name of the college thereon. The students in uniform were in front. Other students followed.



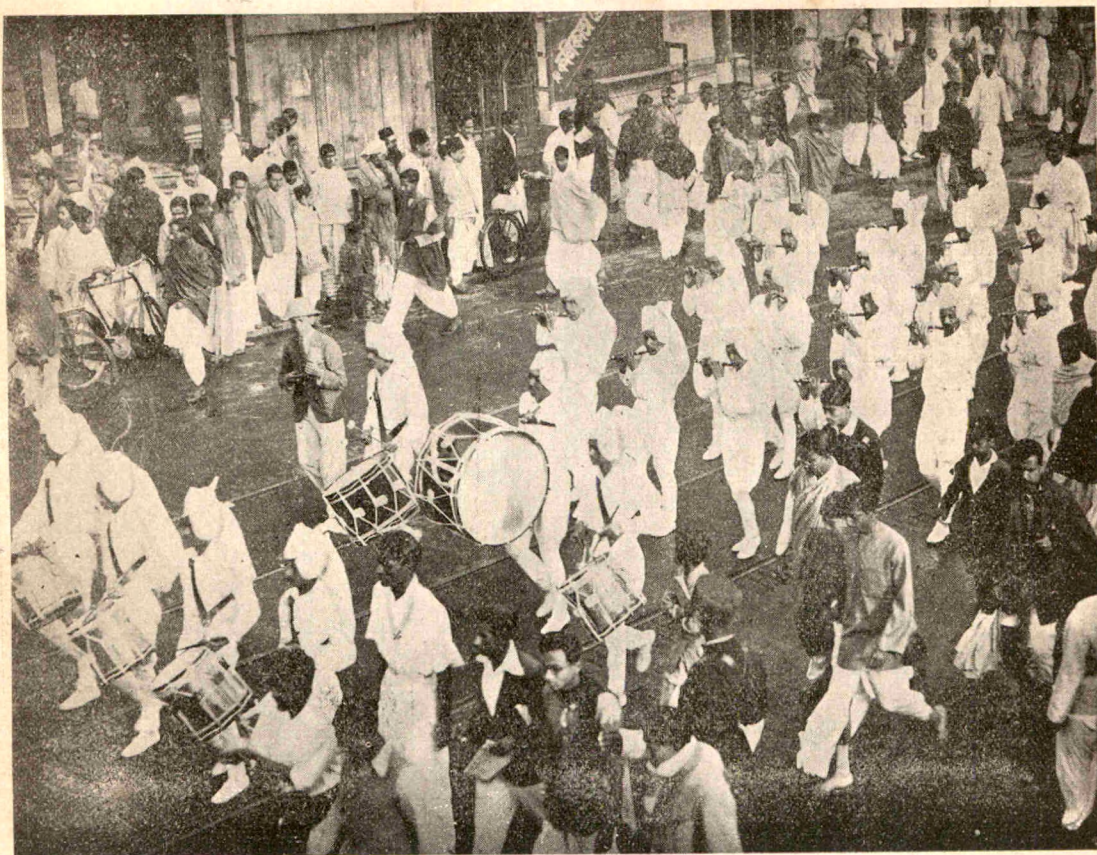


Just before starting for Route March, Students fall in in rows  
Photo by Prabhat Ghose

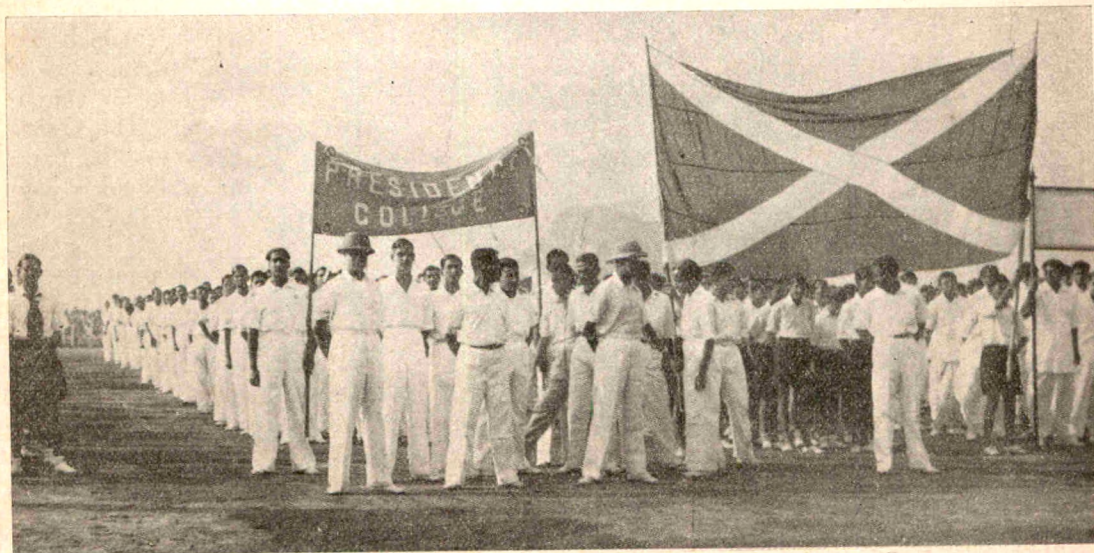


Boy Scouts and Girl Guides who rendered great help  
Photo by Prabhat Ghose





Calcutta University Foundation Day : Students' Band Leading Procession.



Route March of Young Collegians.

Photo by Prabhat Ghose





Calcutta University Foundation Day : Part of Girls' Procession.

The route taken was as follows :

The column emerged from the gate of the Presidency College (in columns of fours) to College Street, and passed successively through College Street, Wellington Street, Dhuramtollah Street, Chowringhee Road, Ochterloney Street, Red Road and entered the Maidan through the opening in front of the Cenotaph and proceeded to enter the stadium through the southernmost gate.

The column reached the stadium at about 9 A. M. and proceeded to take up their position and form a solid square in the area.

At 9-15 A. M.—The March Past began.

At the completion of the March Past, the Vice-Chancellor and the Chancellor addressed the students. The parade was dismissed at about 10 A. M.

The students reassembled at 2 P. M. and went through the demonstration of various forms of physical activities, which lasted from 2 to 4 P. M.

We want to suggest that next time even the Oldest Boys, *e. g.*, Emeritus Principal Girish Chandra Bose, Principal Herambachandra Maitra, etc., should be given a chance and be asked to lead the march for at least a part of the route. The Oldest, Older and Old Boys should have some part in the celebrations. And there should be intellectual treats in addition to speeches by the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor.

Future celebrations would evoke more enthusiasm and would have something substantial to show, if the Chancellor could announce some new educational facilities. One suggestion more. In connection with the Medical College Centenary endeavours are being made to raise funds for increasing the usefulness of that College and its hospitals. May not similar efforts be made, for example, to extend the grounds and add to the buildings of the University Science College ?

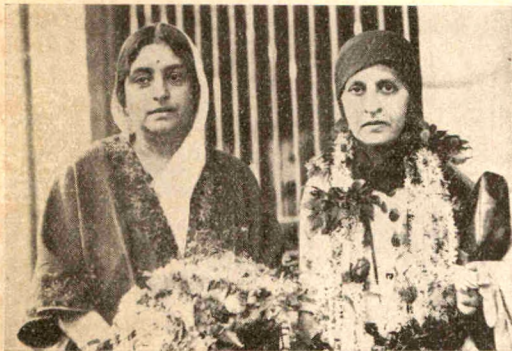
Of course, we do not in the least suggest



that the present year's celebration was lacking in enthusiasm. The boys and girls—particularly the girls—presented quite a smart appearance.

### *Madame Halide Edibe Hanum*

The visit of Madame Halide Edibe Hanum, the famous Turkish author and fighter in the cause of her country's freedom should be of considerable advantage to our people. Hers has been a life of intense



Madame Halide Edibe (right) and Mrs. Kamala Chattopadhyaya.

suffering and sacrifice. She has come to this country at the invitation of the Jamia Milia Islamia to deliver a course of lectures on what may be called reconciliation between the West and the East. She will deliver a course of lectures in connection with the Calcutta University also. The occasion should be taken advantage of by the local leaders of Indian womanhood to bring about close contact between her and Indian women and girls.

In her great book of Memoirs, as quoted in *Harijan*, she says :

"The individual or the nation, in order to understand its fellowmen or its fellow nations, in order to create beauty and to express its personality, must go deep down to the roots of its being and study itself sincerely. The process of this deep self-study, as well as its results, is nationalism. I believe with all earnestness that such a national self-study and the exchange of its results is the first and right step to international understanding and love of the peoples and nations. It is after I have loved my own people and tried to understand their virtues and their faults with open-minded humility that I begin to have a better understanding of other people's sufferings and joys, and of their personality expressed in their national life. I will also admit that there is a narrow, negative and destructive nationalism in the world, which has deluded itself with the belief that a nation can only grow and thrive by exter-

minating and oppressing the peoples under its rule, or by conquering and suppressing the nations around it. Both are forms of wrongly understood nationalism, which can be called by the names of chauvinism and imperialism. And the peoples who exercised them have themselves suffered materially and morally more than the people they have tried to hurt . . . . The hypocrisy and personal unworthiness of many of the world's leaders, whether national or international, can lead to a complete and final destruction of all that has been the outcome of infinite suffering and experience of thousands of years."

### *Subhas Chandra Bose Returns to Vienna*

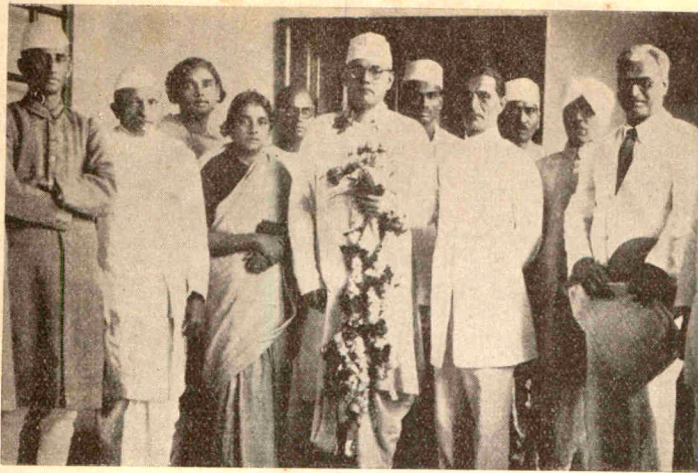
Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has returned to Vienna. We earnestly hope, after the surgical operation he intends to undergo he will recover completely and will return to his and our motherland to serve her with devotion for many a decade.



Mr. Subas Bose (facing the Camera) and Mr. Jamnadas Mehta

Before he embarked at Bombay for his voyage to Europe he was besieged by a whole host of press reporters. As he was allowed by the police to answer their questions, it was understood that he was going to Europe as a free man—of course to the extent that any Indian can be spoken of as a free man.





Bombay friends wishing Mr. Subas Bose  
*bon voyage*.

In answer to the questions put to him he frankly gave expression to his views on many topics. For example, he is reported to have said that no unity was worth having which had to be purchased by sacrificing principles of nationalism. Obviously this had reference to the sort of unity which the Congress leaders think they have established between some Hindus and some Muslims by "neither accepting nor rejecting" the Communal Decision of the British Prime Minister, accepted and blessed by the Joint Select Committee of the British Parliament.

Mr. Bose is also reported to have said that Mahatma Gandhi's retirement from the leadership of the Congress is not real, inasmuch as the Congress has accepted his plan of work, etc., *in toto* and the Congress Working Committee consists entirely of his close followers, not a single member of any other Congress group being in it, and because the Committee seeks, obtains and follows his advice in all important matters.

### *Subhas Chandra Bose's Book Proscribed*

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's book on India's struggle for freedom, of which a typed copy was seized and confiscated when he reached Karachi on his homeward journey by air, has been proscribed by the Government of India after its publication in England. What purported

to be a sort of outline or summary of the book was sent out from England and published in many Indian papers some days ago. If accurate, that gave their readers some idea of the book. But it would now be illegal to reproduce even that outline, as according to Government orders neither the whole of the book nor any portion, nor any translation thereof, may be republished in India. Of course, enthusiasts may travel to England and read the book there!

In the opinion of the British rulers of Britain and of India Mr. Bose's book appears to be less dangerous to British rule in India than the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland's *India in Bondage*. For, whereas no steps have been taken to prevent the publication of Mr. Bose's book in England, not only was Dr. Sunderland's book proscribed but its Indian printer and publisher were prosecuted and punished, and its publication in Britain, by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Limited, was stopped.

If a book published in England be so unlawful as to deserve proscription, why are its English publishers not prosecuted as the publisher of *India in Bondage* was?

### *The Saar Plebiscite*

The return of the Saar to Germany, to whom it rightfully belongs, on the result of the plebiscite, which was overwhelmingly in favour of Germany, should give satisfaction to all persons belonging to neutral nations and to all others who care to be impartial. If the reunion of the Saar with its Fatherland removes one cause of a possible European war, that should also be a source of satisfaction.

### *Sir Abdur Rahim's Election to Assembly Presidentship*

There were two names proposed for the presidentship of the Legislative Assembly *viz.*, Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. Sherwani. The



former having got the majority of votes, has been elected. Whatever their respective politics, so far as knowledge of things legal and constitutional is concerned, Sir Abdur Rahim is undoubtedly the better equipped and abler man. And he has also greater experience of council work. His election is, therefore, to be commended. The only thing to be regretted is that it was secured with the help of the official and nominated members for which a price had to be paid, in the form of the Independent party (to which Sir Abdur belongs) refraining from voting on the adjournment motion placed before the Assembly by way of protest against not allowing Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose to attend the Assembly. The explanation given by the Independent party for their neutrality is quite unconvincing.

### *Filipinos Fit for Independence*

Filipinos have been considered fit for independence within less than forty years of the American occupation of their island home, though their ancient, medieval or modern achievements in peace or war cannot bear comparison with those of the people of India.

Says *Unity* of Chicago :

It wasn't so long ago that we were told that the Filipinos were unfit for self-government. Indeed, this has been the song of the reactionaries ever since we broke faith and seized these islands from Spain, and never was it more loudly sounded than during the debates over the independence of the Philippines these last few years. Well, the independence bill was passed, and now the Filipinos are writing their constitution—and the job they are doing would seem to place them in the very front rank of self-governing peoples. It makes us mourn that right at the start we should ourselves be so far outdistanced by those whom we used patronizingly to call our "little brown brothers." The first section of the new constitution,



Sir Abdur Rahim

for example, asserts that "the Philippines renounce war as an instrument of national policy and adopt the generally accepted principles of international law as a part of the law of the nation."

### *The American paper proceeds :*

The constitution has an amazing passage relating to natural resources—"all agricultural, timber and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, game, fish," etc.—which it says "belong to the nation." Development of these resources is limited to persons owning permanent allegiance to the Philippines, or to corporations 75 per cent of the capital of which is owned by such persons."

It is added that permissions for the



development and use of these resources are not to be for more than fifty years and must not constitute a monopoly.

How different from the state of things in India! Here foreign persons and corporations of whose capital the major portions, if not the whole, belong to foreigners, practically have preference as regards permission to develop and use our natural resources. And a constitution is going to be thrust upon India which will lay down that anything like the above provision relating to natural resources, etc., in the Filipino constitution, is to be considered discrimination against Britishers and must be prevented by the British Governors-General and Governors!

The [Filipino] constitution-makers have followed Senator Norris's idea of a single legislative body, as recently adopted in Nebraska. [In India we are to have plenty of bi-cameral legislatures.—Ed., M. R.] They limit the president for an annual budget, restricted bills to a single subject without riders, and adopted *in toto* the American Bill of Rights. Not fit for self-government, eh? Well, if we had half the fitness these people seem to have, we would have brought our own Constitution up-to-date, in these and other matters, long since.

### *Lesson of the Indian Elections*

The big newspapers of Britain are almost all Imperialistic and, avoiding the truth, have been indulging in misleading propaganda regarding Indian opinion relating to the J. P. C. Report and the India Bill based upon it. Some of the small but by no means valueless newspapers are, however, publishing the truth. Here, for instance, is what Mr. Horace G. Alexander has written in *No More War*, the organ of the pacifist movement in Britain:

Was there ever an odder situation? Here is everybody talking about India, and yet forgetting the real India at the same time. There is so much being said and written in England about the Government's Indian proposals that it really seems unnecessary to say much about them here. But as almost nothing is said in this country about what is happening in India, I propose to devote these notes to that; and, indeed, Indian events form the most useful commentary on the proposals that are before Parliament.

The Indian Elections have resulted in an overwhelming victory for Congress, which is pledged to accept nothing less than full self-government, including Indian control of the army, foreign policy, and finance. Let us recall the background to this election. For the past two years the Government of India has been using all its power to smash the Congress Party. Its most trusted leaders have spent most of that time in jail. Its funds have been con-

fiscated. Its rich members have been heavily fined. At last, when very few volunteers were offering to return to jail, and when Mr. Gandhi felt from the reports that reached him that the volunteers were not being fully non-violent, or at least truthful, in thought (there is no question that they remained amazingly free from violence in the face of provocation so far as outward acts are concerned) civil disobedience was called off, and the Congress was allowed to function again. The Government, flushed with what looked like a great victory, believed, apparently, that nothing remained of the Congress but a few scattered remnants.

Out of the 106 elected seats, between 70 and 80 have been won either by Congress candidates or by parties that are in general agreement with its policy and programme. Those who put the claims of their religious community above the general interest of the country have been defeated; those who co-operated with the Government in the Round-table Conferences have been defeated. Several Congress Moslems have been elected, thus proving once for all, in spite of the fact that Moslems have to vote in separate constituencies of their own, that the two great religious communities of India, Hindu and Moslem, are not in complete antagonism to each other, as we are constantly told in England.

Pacifists ought to regard this as one of the most splendid vindications of our faith that has been witnessed in modern times. A party standing for a spiritual principle, and daring to employ only truthful and non-violent means in its conflict with one of the most powerful Governments in the world, has triumphed. India has proved once again that the power of the spirit is mightier than the arm of the flesh.

### *A Lynching in America Prevented*

News of horrible lynchings in America are not a novelty. What is rare and must, therefore, be welcome, is news of a lynching prevented. Here is one from *The New Republic*:

Shelbyville, Tennessee, was the scene last week of an attempted lynching that was met by treatment almost unheard-of in such cases. Governor Hill McAlister ordered out the National Guard, and when the lynchers attempted to storm the jail and get their victim—a Negro named E. K. Harris—they were met with bullets. Several of the mob are dead, others are wounded, and Harris has survived to experience due process of law. Those who died in Shelbyville did not know it, but by their deaths they probably helped the South move toward realization of an important principle—the principle that there should be justice before the law for both black and white. If the lesson is appreciated, they may have helped to save the lives of many innocent men in the future.

### *"The King Has No Politics"*

Perhaps in view of the approaching silver jubilee of His Majesty King George V the old saying that "the King has no politics" is being repeated in India.



As in Britain the King is guided by the advice of his ministers, he has no politics of his own. His politics are those of the ruling party in power and may be Conservative, Liberal or Labour in complexion according as the Government in power is Conservative, Liberal or Labour.

The case in India is different. As no British party in power has yet practically favoured the transfer of power in India from British to Indian hands, no British sovereign also, whatever her or his personal opinion, has practically supported such transfer. Therefore, it would not be unfair to say that up till now British sovereigns have not been supporters of the transfer of power in India from British to Indian hands. Hence, it cannot be said that as Emperor of India the British sovereign has no politics.

### *"British People Do Not Lightly Break Their Pledges"*

In the course of his speech at the opening of the January session of the Madras Legislative Council Lord Erskine, the Governor of Madras, is reported to have said:—"British people do not lightly break their pledges."

A Viceroy and Governor-General is a higher authority than a provincial Governor. The late Lord Lytton, when he was Viceroy of India, wrote to the Secretary of State for India:

"I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear."

Major D. Graham Pole, ex-M. P., vice-chairman and honorary secretary of the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs, quoting these words in his letter to *The Manchester Guardian* of December 13 last, asked: "Are these words not as applicable today as they were then?"

Lord Erskine has asserted that "British people do not lightly break their pledges." Does he lay stress on the word *lightly* and mean thereby to say that, though they break their pledges, they do not do so *lightly*?

### *Lord Erskine on Powers Like the Crown's Powers*

In the course of the same speech from

which we have quoted above Lord Erskine said:

If the legal powers of the Crown in England were to be set out on paper in the form of a Bill they would appear to be of most formidable dimensions and from a perusal of them it might well appear to anyone not acquainted with the facts that there was no real responsible Government in Great Britain. Indeed, the powers of the Crown have never been repealed. They have merely fallen into abeyance through long disuse, but that does not at all mean to say that if need for them were ever to arise, they could not be used again. It is more than unlikely that such an occasion will ever arise in England, but the powers are there in reserve to tide over some supreme crisis in the nation's affairs. I would also point out that a change from autocratic to democratic Government did not come quickly, but took a considerable period to accomplish, and in the present conditions in India there are very few who do not admit that some safeguards are necessary.

Similar arguments are to be found in the Joint Select Committee's report and they have been more recently repeated by many British politicians and British men in authority in India. Those who use these arguments forget one thing. If the British king ever uses his (century-long; unused and unusable) autocratic powers (it is well known that he will not, as practically he cannot), he will do so in British interests. On the other hand, Governors-General and Governors in India have often exercised and will often exercise their autocratic powers (as they do not and need not care for public opinion), and they have done and will do so for keeping power in British hands and for safe-guarding and promoting British interests. In any case, to take the most charitable view, whereas the British king has to take care of British interests only, the British rulers of India have to take into account both British and Indian interests, and when they clash Indian interests must and do go to the wall.

Britishers who speak of the practically obsolete autocratic powers of the British king also sometimes say that the President of the United States of America possesses some such powers. But he must be an American, not a foreigner, he is amenable to American opinion, and he must use what powers he possesses for the good of the American people, not for that of foreigners; else his political career would be ruined by the power of American public opinion. In the case of India, the British rulers are British, not Indian. They are not amenable to Indian.



opinion. In fact, the more they flout Indian public opinion and conform to Anglo-Indian (old style) and British opinion, the greater are the chances of their future career being bright.

In addition to the check imposed by public opinion on arbitrary conduct on the part of the American President, his veto can be practically vetoed by the people's representatives. For there is a provision in the American constitution that "Every bill which passes Congress must have the president's signature to become law, unless after he has returned it with his objections, two-thirds of each house support it and pass it over his veto." Will any British imperialist support the insertion of any such provision in the Indian constitution?

Some safe-guards are certainly necessary; but they must all be entirely in the interest of India. But the safe-guards proposed and recommended in the J. P. C. Report are not of that description.

### *"Rome Was Not Built in A Day"*

Lord Erskine's argument that a change from autocratic to democratic government in England took a long time, and, therefore, by implication it must take as long a time in India, too, is in reality the stock argument of all Britishers who want to put off what to them is the evil day of India's self-rule. It is a perfectly irrational argument.

It is not necessary here to discuss whether the British Parliament is the mother of parliaments. But it is a fact that many legislatures of independent countries have come into existence later than the British Parliament, some of them in the 18th and 19th centuries and some within the last two decades. In all these countries, has the passage from autocratic to democratic Government taken a millennium, or some centuries, or one century, or even a generation, or a decade? No. The framers of their constitutions have taken advantage of the best that they could find abroad and adapted them to their countries' needs. We also want to do the same.

The sophistry of the opponents of Indian self-rule within any measurable distance of time may be summed up in the familiar saying, "Rome was not built in a day."

From the historical primers which we read at school and which our children now read we did indeed learn that it took Rome centuries to grow from the collection of huts, which Romulus and Remus are fabled to have built, into a city of palaces and cathedrals with magnificent suburban villas. But in later times, it did not take quite as much time to build Washington, Melbourne, Sydney, San Francisco, Tokyo, or New Delhi.

The present up-to-date steam-engines of various sorts can trace their descent to Hero's apparatus, constructed in Alexandria in B. C. 130. If a student of mechanical engineering now wants to learn to make a steam-engine, he does not begin with making Hero's apparatus and finally make an up-to-date steam-engine after the lapse of  $130 + 1935 = 2065$  years. On the contrary, he becomes a finished mechanic in a few years.

The marvels of modern chemistry have grown from the days of the alchemists in the course of centuries. But the modern student of chemistry learns the science not by toiling for centuries through a hundred births and re-incarnations, but in less than a decade of his life.

The youth apprenticed to the ship-building trade does not begin with building dug-outs or canoes, but with the most up-to-date vessels, mastering the art of building the latest merchant-vessels and super-dread-noughts in a few years during his own lifetime.

The modern mechanic who wants to manufacture all sorts of weapons for army, navy and air-fleet, does not go to a museum to learn how palaeolithic and neolithic men made their stone hatchets, flint spear-heads and flint arrow-heads. He learns in the course of a few years to make the latest machine-guns and big cannon and shells and torpedoes. The modern Japanese did so learn from the West, and are now teaching their masters in some cases.

When about the middle of the last century the Japanese young men who subsequently came to be known as the Elder Statesmen went to all the most civilized countries of the world to learn the art of government, they did not bother their heads through centuries with the *witenagenot* and *eorls* and *ceorls* and



*enichts*, but at once set about to learn and did learn in a few years all that there was to learn about the latest representative institutions and their working; and the school of experience made them during their own lifetime what they became.

The art of statesmanship, like all other arts, is and can be learnt in a single lifetime. The British baby who afterwards grows up into a statesman is born just as ignorant as the Indian baby. All the famous British statesmen combined did not physiologically transmit their statesmanship to British infants in general for making these children accomplished statesmen at birth. British infants are no more born with the general's baton or the statesman's portfolio than are Indian babies born with the coolie's spade or stone-breaking hammer, or the clerk's pen. Given the same opportunity and facilities, the Indian baby is sure to equal the baby of any other country in development. If statecraft were entirely or mainly inherited, all or most of the descendants of all or most statesmen would have become statesmen, and few boys whose fathers were not statesmen could have become statesmen. Abraham Lincoln would then have been impossible. A Gladstone or a Lloyd George learnt what he did, in his own lifetime. So did Count Okuma, Asoka, Chandragupta, Samudragupta, Skandagupta, Sher Shah, Akbar, Aurangzib, Shivaji, Guru Govind Singh, etc. Their ancestors did not for generations pile up knowledge and experience of statecraft for them and physiologically transmit it to them. It is not our purpose here to affirm or deny hereditary talent or racial characteristics. What we want to point out is that everywhere it has been a conscious or unconscious trick on the part of the few in possession of power and privilege to try to persuade the many outside the pale to believe that race and birth are the sole or most dominant determining factors in the making of the destiny of nations and individuals.

The evolution of a thing or the discovery of a truth or a method takes a long time, involves great labour and may require much genius; but to acquire a knowledge of them is a very much shorter and easier process.

At no period of the history of India have the people of this country been unacquainted with or inexperienced in the democratical method of managing their affairs. All along in the affairs of villages, in some ages in the affairs of the states, and always again in social matters, the democratic method has been followed, wherever and whenever Indians have been left to themselves.

The successful management of the affairs of a country is neither so mysterious nor so intricate and complicated a matter as to be beyond the powers of Indians to tackle and master. Says the historian Lecky:

"Statesmanship is not like poetry, or some of the other forms of higher literature, which can only be brought to perfection by men endowed with extraordinary natural gifts. The art of management, whether applied to public business or to assemblies, lies strictly within the limits of education, and what is required is much less transcendental abilities than early practice, tact, courage, good temper, courtesy and industry.

"In the immense majority of cases the function of statesmen is not creative, and its excellence lies much more in execution than in conception. In politics possible combinations are usually few, and the course that should be pursued is sufficiently obvious. It is the management of details, the necessity of surmounting difficulties, that chiefly taxes the abilities of statesmen, and those things can to a very large degree be acquired by practice."

It will be clear from these observations that it does not require centuries or generations *to learn* statecraft, though it may have taken centuries *to evolve and perfect* the art, just as it does not take centuries or generations to learn any other art, science or craft, though they may have arrived at their present state of perfection or maturity after centuries. In the case of all the other arts this fact has been expressly or tacitly admitted; in the case of statesmanship or statecraft, however, it seems to be denied—owing, no doubt, to the vested interests of powerful nations and classes.

But facts, with their incontrovertible logic, have come to the rescue of all struggling and aspiring nations. Many European peoples who had been under Turkish rule for centuries began to manage their affairs successfully in the last century as soon as they became free. We mean peoples like the Serbians, Bulgarians and Rumanians. Some other European peoples have become free, in the present



century, after long subjection. They are also managing their own affairs. The Turks themselves have become self-governing in a republic after living under despotism for centuries. In Asia Japan is a shining example. Persia and Afghanistan have become partly democratized in more recent times. The latest accession to the ranks of democratically governed countries is Siam. The Philippines, as stated in a previous note, are going soon to have an independent republic of their own, and are themselves drawing up their own constitution, embodying some of the latest high political and economic ideals.

It cannot be urged that all these peoples are more intelligent and braver than the Indians, or that their civilizations are of older date than that of India.

Is it then to be urged that our only disqualification is that we have been under British "trusteeship" and "tutelage" for more than a century and a half?

Or, when we are reminded that the passage from autocracy to democracy took long centuries in Britain, are we to understand that we must first taste the bitter cup of autocratic rule as the Britishers did before we can have democratic government and that therefore the J. P. Committee have prescribed the due dose of autocratic rule for us?

He is the ideal sanitarian and hygienist who will not make for people or allow them to make for themselves good bathing arrangements until they have suffered long from skin diseases!

### *The Saar Plebiscite and Indian Constituent Assembly*

The object of the Saar plebiscite was to find out which government the people of the Saar would like to live under, and they have chosen that of Germany. As the League of Nations was a consenting party to this plebiscite and Britain, the leading member of the League, supported the idea, the British nation should agree elsewhere, too, to the application of the principle that a people should be allowed to choose its own government. The Indian National Congress wants a Constituent Assembly. In the debate on Indian Constitutional Reform in Parliament on December 10 last, Sir Samuel Hoare said that the proposal was quite impracticable.

But Mr. Horace G. Alexander has shown in an article in the January number of *India Bulletin*, the organ of "The Friends of India" that it is not so impracticable as it appears. He writes in the course of his article:

"Supposing such an Assembly were formed, would it ever come to an agreement? If unanimity is asked for, probably not. What Constituent Assembly in any country ever agree unanimously? Apart from that, the chances of agreement would depend mainly on one condition. If the Constitution made for India in India was liable to be rejected by the British Parliament, probably there would be no agreement. If on the other hand the British Government and Parliament had made it clear in advance that whatever was agreed to by, say, a two-thirds or three-quarter majority in India would be accepted here without changing a comma, then at once I believe we should see Dr. Moonje and Dr. Ambedkar (High caste Hindu and untouchable of untouchables), the Aga Khan and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and all the rest tumbling over each other in their haste to agree. The moment they knew that Britain was proposing to part with power, their differences would decrease to almost vanishing point."

There is sense in that.

Mr. Alexander concludes his article thus:

Later in the speech of December 10th, that I have quoted, Sir Samuel Hoare said: "I do not believe that it is a choice between a Bill founded upon the broad lines of the Committee's Report and a more advanced Bill at any near future date . . . I do not see, within any reasonable compass of time, any other Government, Conservative, Labour, or Liberal, giving the time and the trouble and incurring the unpopularity in this country of introducing another scheme." Certainly, any Labour or other left wing Government will want to give most of its time to social legislation. But we do not ask it to produce another Indian Constitution Bill. We only ask it to get the necessary resolutions passed through Parliament for setting up a Constituent Assembly in India, and for accepting the measure India agrees upon. That will not take up much Parliamentary time.

But when, if ever, will there be such a justice-loving, philanthropic and pro-Indian Parliament in Imperial Great Britain?

### *"Dominion Status" and "Nationhood"*

Britishers are an Imperial Nation and they have a language which is famous for its wealth of words, diplomatic, conciliatory or minatory. When they want to please without committing themselves, the resources of their language can come to their assistance. So some Britishers say, "Why not insert the words *Dominion Status* somewhere in the India Bill? That will please the Indians." These dear delightful people are very much mistaken if they think all Indians can be deceived all the time in this



way. Those who want Dominion Status want the thing, not the words. They do not want any mere promise or pledge. They have had enough of these and to spare.

And at present earnest and courageous nationalists in India want full freedom and independence. The other day, on returning home from her Indian tour, Dr. Maud Royden told her people, "India to-day is not more interested in Dominion Status than Ireland was in Home Rule once the Republican Movement began." In India the Independence Movement began years ago.

It does not in the least matter whether the words Dominion Status occur in the India Bill or do not occur. Let the constitution be one which self-ruling countries have. That is what is wanted. If the Bill based on the J. P. C. Report remains unaltered and if the British Parliament declares that by it India is going to be given Dominion Status, that would be farcical. As a British Secretary of State, named Mr. Wedgewood Benn, once declared that India already possessed Dominion Status *in action* (not in name merely, mind you!), some Britishers there may be who are capable of saying that the India Bill already introduced in Parliament is an *Indian Independence Bill* similar to the *Filipino Independence Act*. But Indians, in spite of their prolonged misery, have a sense of humour still left. So the British people may rest assured that Indians will enjoy the farce of the India Bill being called a Dominion Status Bill, and it would be still more excruciatingly funny if it were called Indian Independence Bill. We are waiting for this free treat.

But perhaps we are in for a different kind of treat.

*The Times*, taking its cue perhaps from the Archbishop of Canterbury, has said in a recent issue that "the Government of India have ignored the demand from India for inclusion of the words 'Dominion Status' in the new Bill," because "Dominion Status is not susceptible of definition in a precise constitutional document." It adds :

"Dominion status in its fullest form is synonymous with nationhood, which is perhaps a better word, and that is what everybody who used it with authority—from Royal Instructions in 1919 to Lord Irwin's

speech a decade later—has always intended as the goal of Indian progress and this is what is intended still."

So the world must accept *The Times* as the authoritative and infallible "intention-interpretor" and conscience-keeper of all British persons from Royalty downwards who have ever used the expression 'Dominion' or 'Dominion Status' in relation to India's political goal. And one must also admit that 'Dominion Status' being something undefinable in a precise form, all these august persons indulged in *vague* phraseology for the *enlightenment* of a foreign people. One must further admit that neither the British sovereign nor the other persons who used the aforesaid vague expression had any idea that in the British lexicon there was the better synonymous word 'nationhood' waiting for them all the while, though they all *intended* it!

But let us follow the infallible *Times*. Is 'nationhood' more precisely definable than 'Dominion Status'? Perhaps not.

To-day perhaps the most familiar combination in which the word 'nation' occurs is 'The League of Nations'. What does the word mean there? Every school boy knows or ought to know that of the fifty odd member-states of that body the vast majority are independent countries, next come the half a dozen or so British Dominions, and last comes the only subject country included in it, namely, India. So, if one wants to ascertain what significance attaches to the word 'nation' in the expression 'League of Nations', one must not think of the subject country India (which was included in that body at the instance of Britain to give the latter one more vote), nor must one turn to the status of the British Dominions, but one must think of the political status of the vast majority of the states, independent countries which are members of the League. Nationhood, then, implies independence. Did all the British persons who have ever used the expression 'Dominion' or 'Dominion Status' in relation to India intend that India should be independent? The Indian National Congress must then warmly thank *The Times* for its interpretation or intention-reading.

Evidently, the people of a subject country, those of a British Dominion, and those of an



independent country, can all be called nations popularly. And, therefore, nationhood does not connote any one definite kind of political status. On the other hand, Dominion Status does signify something more definite and, therefore, can be defined precisely. If British statesmen had seriously set themselves to the task of defining Dominion Status, they could have received light from the following description of the mutual relationship of the United Kingdom and the Dominions, to be found in the report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 :

"They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The Statute of Westminster, passed in 1931, would have given them further guidance. It has given power to every Dominion to make laws in abrogation of both the English common law and Acts of the British Parliament. Every Dominion Parliament, as defined in the Westminster Statute, is fully competent to make laws having extra-territorial operation. The Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 no longer applies to any Dominion law, order or regulation. Many constitutional authorities believe that it is implied in the Statute that a Dominion has the right to secede from the Empire.

### *"Poorna Swaraj" or Independence Day.*

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution calling upon the people all over the country to observe the 26th January as the Poorna Swaraj Day.

"The public should not need any reminder that the 26th of January has been observed since the Lahore Congress as the Poorna Swaraj Day."

"As civil disobedience has been suspended by the Congress, the proceedings for the day should not be in the breach of ordinances or other laws or order promulgated by the local authority."

"Consistently with this precaution silent processions should be taken to the previously announced meeting places and at the meeting the following resolution worded in Hindusthani and in other local languages should be read out by the chairman and without any speeches be passed by the audience standing. Where meetings are prohibited every household should meet at the appointed time and pass the resolution and inform the nearest Congress Committee of having done so."

"The resolution shall be as follows:—

"We shall strive to the utmost of our ability to observe truth and non-violence in thought, word and deed. As a token of the expression of two essential qualities of truth and non-violence we shall seek—

(1) to adopt and promote unity among the different communities and to establish complete equality of status amongst all, irrespective of caste or creed or race;

(2) to adopt and promote complete abstinence from intoxicating drinks or drugs;

(3) to promote hand-spinning and other village industries and to adopt for personal use khaddar and other products of such industries to the exclusion of such other products;

(4) to abolish untouchability;

(5) to serve the starving millions in every way we can; and

(6) to engage ourselves in all other national and constructive efforts."

"It is recommended that the national day will be devoted in so far as it is possible to some special constructive effort. There should be no hartal observed."

Poorna Swaraj Day was duly observed in numerous towns and villages in the country on January 26 in accordance with the above resolution.

### *Mr. Andrews on Indian Attitude Towards J. P. C. Report*

Throughout his long and intimate connection with India, Mr. C. F. Andrews has had opportunities of coming into close contact with Indians of all communities and classes which no official Englishman, whatever his position, could have had, and which only a few non-official Europeans have, perhaps, enjoyed. Therefore, his broadcast talk in London on January 22 last on the Indian attitude towards the J. P. C. Report should be regarded as more trustworthy than the opinions on the opposite side of all official and non-official Englishmen in India and Britain combined. Our personal opinion is that Mr. Andrews has correctly gauged the position. He rather understates the resentment, bitterness, distrust and hostility roused by the Report than otherwise.

The necessity of Britain getting rid of her hateful superiority complex so as to meet the psychology of India rather than impose on India what Englishmen in England think good for her, was stressed by Mr. Andrews, broadcasting on the Indian series. He said he was painfully aware that playing the part of Cassandra, when people were hoping for the best, was not an enjoyable occupation, and yet he was returning direct from India where he



had seen day after day the hostile reception to the report.

Mr. Andrews said,

'I am unable to share either the breezy optimism of Sir Samuel Hoare or the more cautious expectancy of Sir John Thompson. Both of them appear to think that all will go smoothly, but I bring back from India the authentic news that the Indian opinion, which I wholly share, is adverse. It finds the report reactionary and the bitterness against the reactionary clauses which run through the report, is daily increasing. The Congress altogether rejects it and the Liberals are fully inclined to do likewise. The great Muslim community, while condemning its reactionary character has not yet defined their own ultimate attitude towards it. In a word, ill-will and not good-will towards the report is the predominant factor.'

The most prominent Muslim leaders outside the Congress have pronounced their opinion since the delivery of Mr. Andrews' talk. It will be found in a subsequent note.

Proceeding, Mr. Andrews said :

'When Sir Samuel Hoare says he has heard from the Governors that the Indians will work the constitution, it leaves me cold, for I have just heard not at second or third but at first hand what people really think. The one very serious argument advanced in India is that the report very nearly amounts to what some people would even call a breach of faith. It does not mention the goal of Dominion Status, though the whole Round Table Conference process was clearly started on the assumption that this was the real issue.'

Mr. Andrews emphasized that this did not imply in any manner that Indian opinion sided with Lord Lloyd and Mr. Churchill.

'On the contrary, all responsible Indians with a united voice think that the report did not go far enough.'

Mr. Andrews quoted in this connection the opinion of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and proceeded to give typical repercussions in India.

'We shall leave England aside, for English opinion seems to have loomed too large in this debate. After all the constitution is for India and not for England and it is in India that the real test is to be applied. An Indian is entitled to say: "We know much better than you where the shoe pinches." Here is the clearest psychological distinction and in this matter it is psychology and not politics that counts.'

Proceeding, Mr. Andrews said :

'I sometimes thought that India's strongest objection to British rule is that we are always so horribly patronizing and so certain that we are right and India is wrong. We have an incorrigible superiority complex. In all other matters we go by the formula 'trust the man on the spot,' but in Indian affairs we never say 'trust Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Sastri and Mr. Jinnah, but trust his Excellency

the Governor, etc.,' forgetting that Governors after all are Englishmen living in Government houses who cannot possibly get close to the people and know personally at first hand what they are really thinking, but have learnt it through several intermediary channels.'

Mr. Andrews pointed out that India's status and racial equality must be settled not only with Britain but with South Africa and Canada, and he quoted the case of an Indian Christian professor of comparative religion who had been lecturing in the United States for the Carnegie Foundation who was refused permission to cross to Canada because though a British subject he was an Indian. Mr. Andrews asked the people of England to understand what it meant to the Indian gentleman to be turned out from Canada or told to sit in a special compartment for non-Europeans when he travelled in other parts of the King's dominions.

Mr. Andrews proceeded to refer to the sense of humiliation caused by the preamble of the 1919 Act laying down that the time and the manner of each advance was determinable only by the British Parliament on which the responsibility rested for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples. He said that it was high time that this clause should be modified, India herself and not the British Government sponsoring.

'India is a member of the League. India must clearly herself be responsible for the welfare and advancement of Indian peoples. That point was really conceded when the Round Table Conference method was adopted. India did not come to London begging favours. She came as an equal.'

Mr. Andrews added :

'We must revert to the treaty idea, the idea of mutual agreement and the idea of freedom won through negotiation and not through violence. India cannot any longer hand over any of her responsibilities to Britain. Whenever she does, things go wrong. It was a fatal mistake for the Prime Minister, for instance, to accept the responsibility of giving the communal decision. The intention was good. He was almost driven to it, but the result had been simply disastrous. There has been bad blood ever since.'

Mr. Andrews proceeded to take up Sir Samuel Hoare's challenge that the constitution was framed to protect the poor. He said that every one in India knew he (Mr. Andrews) stood for the poor and if the Bill was really the best way to help the Indian masses he would look with more sympathy on it.





Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose



Mr. Andrews admitted the increased representation of the poor in the provinces and Indian women who would always be on the side of the poor would also be represented, but he was filled with doubt, hesitation and suspicion when he looked to the Centre from where all larger social legislation must in the first place come. He pointed out that one-third of the members would be nominees of princes and none of others would be directly elected.

But what would the representation of some poor people and some women in the provinces matter when the Executive have been practically made all-powerful? Even adult suffrage, if granted, would be of little use in the face of an autocratic Executive.

'The more I have studied the report, the more I felt certain that with the centre so wooden, reactionary and entrenched with prejudice the true interests of the masses are bound to suffer.'

Mr. Andrews declared that the recent elections showed what the masses thought. The Congress who swept the polls fought on one issue, *i.e.*, the rejection of the White Paper. In a new election, if held tomorrow on the report, Mr. Andrews said that every seat, not earmarked as special or communal, would return an adverse verdict.

Mr. Andrews declared Government nominees might be induced to work the report. Others might be won over but good-will would be lacking, and if Mr. Baldwin was right in saying that good-will was the only safe-guard needed, then the absence of good-will must surely lead to disaster.

Mr. Andrews referring to youth of India said :

'Old evils, such as communalism, and untouchability are being thrown aside by the younger generation with amazing rapidity. This leads me to be more hopeful about the coming years, provided that these old evils are not irremovably entrenched in the new constitution. At the same time the ruinously vicious circle in which the natural impatience of youth leads to, violence, then violence leads to repression and repression to the burning sense of injustice, must be avoided at all costs.'

Mr. Andrews referred in this connection to Bengal and said that no safe-guarding of law and order and the exempting of the secret service from ministerial control would do any good. The evil was too deep and was curable only by love and not by force. Mr. Andrews confessed that he had reached an age when he

had lost the touch of India's ardent younger generation. Some phrases he used such as Dominion Status had already been discarded.

'But if full freedom to nationhood and complete equality are accepted by us as basic principles, there is little quarrel about the terms. For it is the psychology of India that matters most. We have never yet touched India's heart and, therefore, despite good intentions we have blundered.'

### *Golden Jubilee of Sir J. C. Bose's Professorship*

The occasion of the 118th anniversary of the Presidency College, which was celebrated on the 21st January last by its present and past students with much *eclat*, was taken advantage of to celebrate also the 50th anniversary of Sir J. C. Bose's connection with the College. He was given an enthusiastically written address and some appropriate presents. Speeches were made before a crowded house by Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huq, Minister for Education, who was in the chair, Mr. J. N. Basu, Prof. S. C. Mahalanobis, and Babu Ramananda Chatterjee. Dr. Bose said in the course of his reply :

He deemed it a rare good fortune to be invited to the celebration of the golden jubilee of his uninterrupted connection with the Presidency College, of which he had been gazetted Professor Emeritus. It was a matter of gratification that, so far back as 42 years ago, some of the most important problems relating to the properties of electric waves had been solved for the first time at his laboratory in the College. It would be difficult for any one of the present generation to conceive the almost insuperable difficulties under which the pioneer work had to be carried out at that time. He had, however, persisted in the belief that it was not for men to complain about circumstances but to dominate them. Students could best serve their country by observing the necessary discipline enforced in a place of learning, for the most irresistible force was that which was held in restraint and husbanded for the accomplishment of some great constructive work. In this pursuit they could not be helped by ignorance, but by the patient acquirement of knowledge.

### *Muslim League on J. P. C. Scheme of "Reform"*

At the concluding sitting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at New Delhi on the 27th January last under the presidency of Mr. Jinnah, thirty-six members were present, including among others Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Mian Ahmed Yar Khan Daulatana and Maulvi Shafi Daoodi. The following resolutions were passed :



The All-India Moslem League Council has given its most careful and earnest consideration to the J. P. C. Report and is of the opinion that the constitutional proposals embodied therein are more reactionary than the White Paper proposals which were considered by the Council last April 1.

The Council reiterates its opinion that it accepts the Communal Award so far as it goes until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities concerned and on that basis it expresses its readiness again to co-operate with any community or party with a view to securing such future constitution for India as would satisfy the people.

According to the Associated Press,

The Council informally discussed a letter from Mr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, inviting Mr. Jinnah for a talk on the communal question. The members gave expression frankly to their views both in favour of and against the utility of such a conversation with the Congress President. It was, however, not considered necessary to record any resolution on the subject.

The opinion of any community or group which accepts the so-called communal award "so far as it goes" is not worthy of approval. Every community should reject it on the ground that it divides the nation into many groups, such division being calculated to disintegrate the nation and being based on the false notion that different communities and groups have different, divergent and mutually opposed political interests. The words "so far it goes" appear to suggest that the Communal Decision does not go far enough. If so, far enough in which direction? Is it meant that there ought to be further division and sub-division of the nation, or that the Muslims ought to have greater weightage wherever they are in a minority, or that where they are in a majority they ought to be given an absolute majority of seats in perpetuity by statute, and that separate representation of communities by separate electorates should be a perpetual feature of the Indian constitution?

The truth is, in a self-governing India each community, even the poorest and most insignificant, will be on the whole better off and in a more advantageous position than if it sought and obtained favours from the dominant alien rulers of the country.

Let us give one example of what we mean.

The American Negroes are descendants of people in Africa who had no literature or even alphabet of their own and who were carried off to America and lived there as slaves. So long as they were not emancipated

it was a criminal offence to teach them or for them to receive education. But after their emancipation in December 1865, after 65 years, *i. e.*, in 1930, only 16 per cent of them were found illiterate, and 84 per cent were literate. This in spite of the facts that the U. S. A. Government has not done as much for them as for the whites and that there are lynchings in America.

Look at the picture now in India. Indians are heirs to civilizations more or less ancient and have literatures more or less ancient. And they have been under the "trusteeship" of Britain for more than 150 years. Today *ninety-two* per cent of them are *illiterate*. No community in India is literate to the extent that American Negroes are, and the favoured Muslims are far, far inferior to them in education and economic enterprise.

If each community understands the greater advantage to itself of national self-rule than of British favour, then there can be real co-operation on the part of all communities with a view to the attainment of self-rule.

All communities should stand up for the application of a common principle to all communities in every province, each giving up notions of its special importance and fondness for "weightage" for itself, which cannot be gained without injustice to others.

If this is done, there can be unity.

### *Calcutta Medical College Centenary*

The Calcutta Medical College is older than the Calcutta University. The former was founded in 1835 and the latter in 1857. The former is the oldest institution of its kind in the country. It celebrated its centenary on the 28th January last. Something substantial was done on the occasion. The Governor of Bengal laid the foundation-stone of a new casualty ward in the hospital. Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh-Roy said as president of the Centenary Committee:

To-day this Institution completes its full hundredth year of existence. On the 28th. of January, 1835 orders were issued by the Government of Lord William Bentinck abolishing the Native Medical Institution, as it used to be called, together with the medical classes in the Sanskrit College and at the Madrasa and decreeing that a new college should be established in Calcutta for the instruction of a certain number of Indian youths in various branches of medical science.



The exhibition of medical and surgical appliances, drugs, sera, etc., opened by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Mayor of Calcutta, the reunion, and the various lectures and demonstrations, were useful and interesting features of the centenary.

### *Communal Educational Institutions*

Separate educational institutions for different communities keep up and foster the idea of their separateness and produce a kind of parrowness—particularly when such institutions exclude from them pupils of other communities. This is undesirable and should be prevented, in the interest not only of the nation but of the communities themselves as well.

Some time ago the Bengal Government appointed a Committee for advising it as to the means to be adopted for the furtherance of education among Muslims. That committee has, *inter alia*, recommended the further continuation of special schools for Muslims, *Makhtabs* and *Madrasahs*, that is to say. Perhaps there is Muslim preference for their own special schools in all provinces. If Hindus say anything against them, Muslims may impute bad motives to them. So it is best to quote the opinions of English educational officers. This Professor Ramesh Chandra Banerji has done in an article printed in our present issue. We invite the attention of our Muslim readers to it.

### *A National Museum for Indian Works of Art*

Our Magazine, for December last, published by the Calcutta Government School of Art, contained the following paragraphs with reference to Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, rightly called the father of modern Indian art:

It is high time for us, that we should give proper honour and respect to the works of the great artist. How could it be done? Certainly the best way we can pay homage to his works, is by erecting a museum for them, which will be a glory to the country. Cannot our municipality take the initiative in this direction? Art lovers in our country should do their best in this affair.

The best way to admire him and his works will be erecting a museum, which will house all his works. We appeal to the Indian public to take interest in this direction.

This suggestion has our hearty support. We are glad an attempt is being made to

establish a national museum to house the works not only of Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore but of other leading Indian artists as well.

### *British Rulers in Canada and in India*

*The Indian Social Reformer* writes :

Lord Willingdon claimed that he never once used his powers as Governor-General of Canada. His Excellency could not have chosen a more inappropriate precedent. Lord Willingdon's predecessor in Canada, Lord Byng, had got into hot water with Canadians by refusing a dissolution to his Prime Minister. "The effect of the episode," writes Professor Berriedale Keith, "was seen in the fact that the Imperial Conference of 1926 stressed the position of the Governor-General as the counterpart of the King and to emphasise this took away from him the function of agent of the British Government." ('*The Constitutional Law of the British Dominions*,' page 150). Naturally Lord Willingdon did not wish to have a repetition of his predecessor's experience. . . .

Proceeding, our contemporary observes :

The Canadians have no great respect for the Governor-General. Last year His Excellency Lord Bessborough was kept waiting at the front door for ten minutes, while the Mayor and other notables, who had invited him to open some function at Toronto, were participating in a grand reception to Mary Pickford, the cinema actress, a fellow-townsmen, in another part of the hall. When His Excellency protested, the Mayor virtually advised him not to make a fuss about nothing. One Canadian paper wrote that to earn his keep a Governor-General has only to attend the functions to which he is invited and to keep his temper. There can be no comparison between the Governor of an Indian Province (or the Governor-General of India?—Ed., *M. R.*) and the Governor-General of Canada. For one thing, the latter is selected on approval by the Canadian Minister.

### *All-India Library Conference*

The last session of the All-India Library Conference was held at Madras under the presidentship of Kumar Munindradeb Roy Mahashay, M. L. C. It was attended by delegates from a good many places. An exhibition was held along with the conference. It was opened by Dewan Bahadur G. Narayana Swami, ex-Mayor of Madras. The inaugural speech was delivered by Mr. Asad Ullah, Librarian, Imperial Library, Calcutta. The president in his instructive address briefly narrated the history of the library movement in India and made some valuable suggestions. He observed that for the promotion of culture there should be co-operation between libraries and other local cultural institutions. For conducting libraries properly there should be





Kumar Munindradeb Roy Mahashay

arrangements for teaching library management. There should be at least one library in each union board and municipality. There should be arrangements for mutual loans between libraries and for the Imperial Library to meet the needs of small ones.

### *Pandit Rajendranath Vidyabhushan*

By the death of Pandit Rajendranath Vidyabhushan the Benares Hindu University and the local Bengali community of Benares have lost an experienced educationalist, a Sanskrit scholar and a gentleman well known for his sociability, conversational powers and eloquence. He was head of the department of Bengali in the Benares University, formerly a professor in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and was also connected with the Calcutta University. He was the author of some Bengali books.

### *Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy*

The late Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy belonged to a distinguished family of Bengal Muslims. He was a very learned and cultured man, an experienced educationalist connected with the Calcutta University, and member for some time of the Central and of the Bengal legislature. In the earlier part of his career



Pandit Rajendranath Vidyabhushan

he was a pronounced nationalist. He received his education in Bengal, England, and in the oldest Muslim University in Egypt. One of the articles which he contributed to *The Modern Review* was the unsigned character-sketch of Moustafa Kamel Pacha which appeared in this journal for April, 1908. The subject of the sketch was not the present dictator of Turkey but an enthusiastic Egyptian patriot who died young and who was a friend of Sir Abdullah. Sir Abdullah was the founder of the Pan-Islamic Society in London and is believed to have been connected at that time with the Young Turk Party. More than a quarter of a century ago he presided over the fourth session of the Bengal Muslim Education



al Conference at Purnea and there delivered a very broad-minded and patriotic speech. A long extract from it appeared in *Prabasi* for Jyaishta, 1315 Bengali Era, which concluded thus :

"I for one am proud to declare that the blood of the Aryans flows in my veins with that of the Semitics. A greater and a wider heritage becomes mine when I feel that I owe allegiance not only to Moses, Christ and Muhammad, but also that Zarathustra, Srikrishna and Gautama claim my homage. The Gita as much as the Gospel of Islam, belongs not to this race and that, but to whole humanity."

### *Mr. Abhyankar*

The Central Provinces and Berar have sustained a heavy loss by the death of Mr. Abhyankar. He was a barrister-at-law by profession, which he gave up in 1921 to join the Congress non-co-operation movement, of which he became one of the leaders. He was elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1926, and again this year also. How great his popularity was can be measured by the fact that he defeated such a distinguished leader as Dr. Moonje in the electoral contest.

### *Acharya Gidwani*

The Congress party has lost another leader in Acharya Gidwani of Sindh. We had the pleasure of meeting him at the last Karachi session of the Indian National Congress and were struck by his simple dress and geniality. He was a distinguished educationalist and enthusiastic Congress worker.

### *Government Alarmed at Gandhiji's Village Work Programme !*

Whether Gandhiji *intended* to use the revitalized villagers for a future wider civil disobedience campaign at the time when he established the All-India Village Industries Association, need not be discussed. For, according to the (meant-to-be) secret Government circular, "Gandhiji has himself stated that this is non-political"; and more recently Mahatmaji has stated that it is not his habit to do things indirectly—if he wants to start a civil disobedience campaign in future, he will do it independently, without making use of the Village Industries Association. But the circular does not want that any statement of his should "be accepted at its face value."

We are, however, for accepting Gandhiji's statements at their "face value." But if the bureaucracy disbelieve him, let them.

The real question is, will the Government, can the Government, thus revive the village industries and revitalize the villagers? If they can and will, we shall, with Gandhiji, rejoice, even though they may thereby succeed in taking the wind out of his sails. For what is of supreme importance is not Gandhiji's personal triumph or the success of his Association, but the salvation of the villages.

We are not in the least afraid that if the revival of the villages takes place through Government agency, nationalist politics will receive a set-back. For, in the first place, Government's success would require a nationalistic outlook as its condition precedent, and such a Government outlook and success would be an indirect triumph for nationalism. In the second place, whatever agency may bring about the material and educational advancement of the masses, that advancement cannot but make them more politically-minded than now.

If for this reason official circles refrain from enthusiastically promoting the material and intellectual welfare of the masses, they will find themselves between the horns of a dilemma. They know that hunger and squalor and ignorance among the masses have in the past produced revolutions in many countries. And they also know that the spread of education and unemployment among the literate classes make them political agitators of various kinds which need not be specified. Which alternative will the official world choose?

### *What Government Have Done For The Masses*

In the course of the debate on the Hallet Circular in the Assembly Dr. Pramathanath Banerji, M. L. A., referred to the poor achievement of Government in the villages. In reply Mr. G. S. Bajpai came out with a long list of what Government have done and are doing for them. One need not quarrel with him. He is welcome to produce even a much longer list of Government endeavours.

A tree is known by its fruit. The result



of Government endeavours for the amelioration of the material and intellectual condition of the masses is to be found in the statement in section 132 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report to the effect that

"The immense masses of the people [of India] are poor, ignorant, and helpless far beyond the standard of Europe."

Should it be said that this was written years ago, we would bring forward the following statements from the J. P. C. Report published on November 22, 1934 :

[In India] "the average standard of living is low and can scarcely be compared even with that of the more backward countries of Europe." Paragraph 2.

"Literacy is rare outside urban areas, and even in these the number of literates bears but a small proportion to the total population." Paragraph 2.

92 per cent of the population in India are illiterate.

An indication of the material and educational condition of the people of a country is afforded by their "expectation of life" at birth in years. A table of such expectation in different countries is reproduced below from the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, pages 171-72.

EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH IN YEARS.

Country.	Males.	Females.
Australia .. ..	55.20	58.84
Denmark .. ..	54.9	57.9
England .. ..	48.53	52.38
France .. ..	45.74	49.13
Germany .. ..	44.82	48.33
Holland .. ..	51.0	53.4
<b>India .. ..</b>	<b>22.59</b>	<b>23.31</b>
Italy .. ..	44.24	44.83
Japan .. ..	43.97	44.85
Norway .. ..	54.84	57.72
Sweden .. ..	54.53	55.98
Switzerland .. ..	49.25	52.15
United States of America	49.32	52.54

### *Calcutta Legal Opinion on J. P. C. Proposals As To High Courts and Subordinate Judiciary*

The representation made by the Calcutta Bar, the Bar Association and the Incorporated Law Society regarding the proposals of the Joint Parliamentary Committee as to the High Courts and the Subordinate Judiciary in India is a weighty document. The reasons given therein in support of their opinions are very strong. The opinions expressed are, briefly, as follows :

1. The administrative machinery of the High Courts should be under the control of the Government of India.

2. In particular it is emphasized that in the case of the Calcutta High Court, the existing arrangement whereunder the administrative machinery of the said High Court is under the control of the Government of India ought not to be disturbed.

3. Not less than two-thirds of the Judges of every High Court, including the Chief Justice, should be drawn from members of the Bar (Barrister and non-Barrister).

They are opposed to the proposal that Indian Civil Service Judges should be eligible for permanent appointment as Chief Justices.

4. All appointments to the Subordinate Judiciary and the Criminal Magistracy and all questions relating to postings, promotion and dismissal of members thereof should be solely in the hands of the High Court.

5. With regard to qualifications for judicial appointments, whether superior or subordinate and whether civil or criminal, the sole standard in all cases should be character, merit and ability and no considerations, political, communal or otherwise, should be allowed to influence such appointments.

They are entirely opposed to the suggestion made in paragraph 339 of the report that certain general regulations should be framed as to the observance of communal proportions in judicial service. The principle of any such regulations will be wholly objectionable. Judges are expected to administer the law as it is, and administer it impartially between man and man; and any Judge, owing his appointment solely or mainly to his membership of a particular community, will almost surely be influenced by extra-judicial considerations in judging between members of that community and another. Similar will be the attitude of a Judge, appointed for political reasons, in judging between a subject and the State. To introduce political or communal considerations in appointments to the judiciary will thus foul the springs of justice.

6. As regards the appointment of the Advocate-General for Bengal, the *status quo ante* should be maintained.

### *All-India Women's Conference*

The ninth session of the All-India Women's Conference held at Karachi from the 29th December to the 2nd January last transacted important business.

Among the important educational, social and labour resolutions adopted by the Conference were those relating to Rural Uplift, Legal Disabilities of Women, Birth-Control, Co-education and Mass Education, Prevention of Immoral Traffic, Woes of Beluchistan Sisters, Restriction of the sale of Opium, Woman Labour in Mines, etc.

The use of contraceptives, advocated in India by a small number of fashionable upper class women, is a debatable question.

### *The First All Burma Indian Conference*

The resolutions passed at the first All-Burma Indian Conference, held at Rangoon on



December 29 and 30 last, are very important and have our support. The following resolution is practically a summary of all the main demands of the Indians residing in Burma :

"This Conference claims for British Indian subjects and for the subjects of the Indian States the same unrestricted rights to enter, travel and reside in any part of Burma, to hold property of any kind in Burma, to carry on any trade, business, profession or avocation in Burma as have been recognized and laid down by the Joint Select Committee in the case of British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom with one possible exception and one exception only, namely, that the immigration of Indian labour into Burma may be regulated if such regulation is conceived in the interests of Indian immigrant labour, as suggested by the Royal Commission on Labour, and is settled on the basis of a convention between the Governments of Burma and India."

### *Mr. Subhas Bose's Message to Bengal Congress Workers*

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, President, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, has sent from Genoa on the 21st January last a frankly expressed message to fellow Congress workers in Bengal which should receive the attention of all public men in Bengal, whether Congressists or not. He thinks the Government has wronged Bengal by the Premier's Communal Decision and the incarceration without trial of over 2000 public workers, and the Congress has wronged Bengal by refusing to condemn and reject the Communal Decision and by leaving Bengal unrepresented in the Congress Working Committee. Both these wrongs should be fought, he urges, by closing up the ranks of Bengal workers and standing up for self-respect and self-dependence in all Bengal affairs, instead of appealing to Congress to settle our domestic squabbles. A session of the Bengal Provincial Conference should also be convened very early.

Mr. Bose considers the new Congress constitution a change for the worse. He thinks the formation of the All-India Village Industries Association should be warmly welcomed. He does not approve of the proposed change in the creed of the Congress.

### *New Taxation Proposals for Bengal*

An extraordinary issue of the Calcutta Gazette published on January 28 last published the texts and the details of the objects and

scope of the following Bills : (1) Bengal Electricity Duty Bill, (2) Bengal Tobacco (Sales Licensing) Bill, (3) The Court-Fees (Bengal Amendment) Bill, (4) The Indian Stamp (Bengal Amendment) Bill, (5) Bengal Amusements Tax (Amendment) Bill.

Whilst a far larger proportion of the taxes collected in Bengal are taken away from Bengal than from any other province, thus artificially making the Bengal Government an insolvent Government, the people of Bengal must be further taxed, as if they were in a flourishing condition! A larger amount than what Government expect to raise by these taxes could have been obtained by carrying out the retrenchment proposals of the Swan Committee, without touching the Nation-building Departments.

### *"Squeezing Out" Indians*

"I feel constrained to remark that the cumulative effect of the legislation discussed above is the squeezing out of the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith," says Mr. K. P. S. Menon, i.c.s., in the course of his report on the recent legislation passed by the Government of Zanzibar on Indian interests. Mr. Menon was deputed by the Government of India on August 6 last to proceed to Zanzibar and enquire into and report upon the effect on Indian interests of the following decrees passed by the Zanzibar Government:

1. The Alienation of Land (Restriction and Evidence) Decree, 1934.
2. The Moneylenders' (Amendment) Decree, 1934.
3. The Clove Growers' Association Decree, 1934.
4. The Clove Exporters' Decree, 1934.
5. The Adulteration of Produce, Decree, 1934.
6. The Agricultural Produce Export Decree, 1934.

### *Mr. S. Sinha opens Indian Press Exhibition*

In opening the Indian Press Exhibition at Allahabad, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha said :

I should have thought that the organizers of this exhibition could not have done better than invite my very talented friend, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the chief editor of the LEADER, to have inaugurated today's function, but it appears that they have, for some reason or other, a partiality for the editors of monthlies rather than dailies. Last year the first session of this exhibition was opened by that renowned journalist, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, editor of the *Modern Review*, which first saw the light here, at Allahabad, so far back as 1907. It probably seemed to the organizers in the fitness of things that, whatever my limitations and disqualifications, I should be asked to inaugurate this second session today, for as the editor of the *Hindustan Review*,



I followed in the wake of Mr. Chatterjee himself in that capacity. So far back as 1899, as the principal of the Kayastha Pathshala College, it was Mr. Chatterjee who started an English monthly, at Allahabad, called the *Kayastha Samachar*; and it was only when he resigned the editorship at the end of the first year, that I was called upon by the then president of that institution to carry on the work of the editor, in addition to my work as Secretary of the Pathshala. After the journal had received an invitation to Lord Curzon's Delhi Durbar of the first January, 1903—the only monthly to have been honoured with an invitation to that great ceremonial, its name was changed into the *Hindustan Review*, which it still bears. In the circumstances, I have thankfully accepted your cordial invitation to act as Mr. Chatterjee's successor, and I am here at your service for better or for worse.

Mr. Sinha then went on to dwell on the need of a central organization and on the unsatisfactory character of press directories, suggested the holding of the annual sessions of the press exhibition in different cities and the establishment of a permanent press museum at Allahabad, rightly observed that all publications which appear at fixed intervals, from annals to dailies, were really periodicals, regretted the absence of high-class weeklies in the country, and, in conclusion, maintained that "progress in the Indian press, though slow, is none the less sure and steady."

Some of the Indian periodicals, specially the monthlies, may challenge favourable comparison with the British or the American periodicals of the same type—while some of our old established dailies, which have long developed into great political institutions, will not compare unfavourably with the great dailies of London or New York.

### *Exhibition of Indian Art in London*

We published in our last issue some opinions on the exhibition of Indian Art in London. A few more opinions are printed below.

Mr. Tatlock, editor of the *Burlington Magazine*, wrote in the *Daily Telegraph* :

What astonishes the English visitor is not any discernible differences in expression between one part of India and another, but an essential unity of æsthetic feeling.

The most surprising impression is that the inhabitants of a country so vast as India have contrived so splendidly to "pull together."

The population of India is roughly equivalent to that of extra-Russian Europe. But if we were to envisage an exhibition of European art we should take it for granted that there would be many "clashes." This exhibition gives the impression very distinctly that, so far as art is concerned India is much more closely knit than Europe. It is true that Bombay, best seen in Gallery I., attracts the

occidental eye most insistently; but that may be due to Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon's power of organization.

Those who deny India's fundamental national unity should take note of the last sentence but one quoted above. Mr. Tatlock proceeds :

The best pictures are undoubtedly the most Indian. On the one hand we have a tendency to hark back to the remote past; on the other hand we have a tendency to emulate British academical art. The true form of expression seems to me to lie between these extremes.

"Our Art Critic" of *The Morning Post*, after enumerating "three main sources of inspiration" which "Indian artists of today have," went on to observe :

"In the end, there resulted two main currents, one loosely identified with Bengal—the other which has its great centre in Bombay," Bengal art representing more or less the continuity of Indian technical methods, Bombay demonstrating the value of the Western study of anatomy in helping to free form from formality, thereby giving Bombay artists a greater range in the expression of their own Indian ideals.

Bengal also is active in the renaissance of Indian art throughout the Peninsula. The thirty odd years' revival in Calcutta based upon a continuity of India's artistic traditions, has been inspired by the lead of the Tagore family, and spread by Bengalee artists who removed to other parts of the country. Moreover, young students came from distant places to the School of Oriental Art at Calcutta, and the Institute founded by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore at Shantiniketan.

Poetry, vigorous romance, and somewhat timid Western realism characterize Bengalee art. . . .

Mr. Frank Rutter, the distinguished art critic, wrote in *The Sunday Times* :

The great lesson taught by the current exhibition at the New Burlington Galleries is that Indian artists are far more fruitfully inspired when following the noble traditions of their own country, than when they seek to imitate the superficial realism of Western academic art. This exhibition, organized by the India Society, is the largest and most comprehensive display of modern Indian painting that has yet been shown in London, and it is not possible to comment in detail on individual exhibits which come from all parts of India. While much from elsewhere also commands our admiration, it is most instructive to compare the work of the two principal Schools, that of Calcutta and of Bombay. For of these two the latter has been far more influenced by European art; and its products have far less charm and distinction than those of the former which has remained loyal to the Hindu and Moghul masters of the past.

The renaissance of Indian art dates from rather more than a generation ago, when, under the sympathetic guidance of Mr. E. B. Havell, the students of the Calcutta School of Art were persuaded to base their practice on the style of India's indigenous masterpieces rather than on that of imports from



the West. London became aware of the rise of a new Calcutta School when the work of those two fine artists Abanindranath Tagore and J. P. Gangooly was seen in the first London Salon of the Allied Artists in 1908; and it is a pleasure to see the first so well represented in the present exhibition. There are many of his name among the exhibitors, and there is a very beautiful wash drawing, "Devatatma Himalaya" (384), by the poet Rabindranath Tagore; but just as he was one of the earliest leaders of the revival, so Abanindranath Tagore remains the outstanding modern master of Bengal.

Whether on the smaller scale of miniature painting or on the larger scale of such a decoration as Sarada Ukil's "Shiva's Grief" (115), the superiority of the traditional linear style is incontestable in this exhibition. The best of the Westernized paintings, H. Mazumdar's "Cast Out" (162), for example, rises little above the mediocre, and it is comforting to note that even in the Bombay section there are a few artists like Y. K. Shukla (77) and J. M. Ahivasi (35) who advantageously remain loyal to the fine traditions of the East.

### *"Scheduled Castes" in Bengal*

The Bengal Government have published a list of "scheduled castes," i.e., those castes which are "socially and politically backward." 77 castes have been so listed. Objections to being included in this list reached Government in relation to 17 of these castes. But Government remained obdurate, though when a provisional list was previously published Government stated that castes like the Telis and the Kalus were excluded as they objected to be classed as depressed. This inconsistency receives an illuminating comment from the fact that all the largest castes, each of whom numbered more than 100,000 souls, in the provisional list, except two, have been included in the final list in spite of protests. That seems to show that the officials entrusted with the work of preparing the list worked under a conscious or unconscious urge to include in the list as large a number of Hindus as possible, so that

a large number of persons might be ranged against the "high-caste" Hindus.

### *Burmese Support for Continued Association With India*

"If India with enormously larger resources than Burma has not been able to secure her political aspirations, it is inconceivable that Burma as a separate entity with a small population of 14 millions can ever hope success in her struggle of political and economic emancipation. Our only hope lies in identifying ourselves with the struggle of the people of India towards the objective which inspires both countries," says U Paw-Tun, ex-Mayor of Rangoon and the vice-president of the Hlaing-Myat-Paw anti-separation party.

#### **ELECTORATE AND COUNCIL AGAINST SEPARATION**

After quoting the Prime Minister's declaration made at the Burma Round Table Conference in January, 1932, leaving the question to the electorate of Burma to decide whether or not they favour separation from India, U Paw-Tun points out that at the general election the separation of Burma was rejected by an overwhelming majority of votes inasmuch as the anti-separationists polled over five lakhs of votes, while separationists got only two lakhs and seventy thousand. It was a signal victory in favour of the anti-separationists, despite malicious misrepresentations. At all events, it must be amply clear that neither the electorate nor the Burma Legislative Council ever voted for separation from India, but that as a matter of fact both voted against separation on the basis of the Premier's announcement.

#### **CONTINUED ASSOCIATION WITH INDIA**

M. Paw-Tun continued: 'We, who represent the anti-separationist movement, are convinced that the best interests of Burma would be served by her continued association with India, and that separation, if forced upon them against the wishes of an overwhelming majority of people, would be disastrous to her, both politically and economically.'

### *Indo-British Trade Pact*

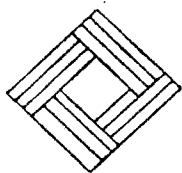
We are glad the Indo-British Trade Pact, which is 100 per cent British and "0" per cent Indian, has been condemned by the Legislative Assembly.





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## TO A FRIEND

BY SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Where darkness is beheld as light  
And sorrow understood as joy,  
Where sickness masquerades as health  
And but the new-born infant's cry  
Tells one it lives, O wise one, say,  
Seekest thou satisfaction here ?  
Where strife and battle never cease,  
And even the father, pitiless,  
Turns out his son, and the sole note  
Is self and ever self alone,  
How dost thou hope, O sage, to find  
The mine of everlasting peace ?

Who can escape this wretched world,  
A very heaven and hell in one ?  
Say, where can the poor slave, constrained  
With karma's fetters in his neck,  
Find out at length his freedom here ?  
Practice of Yoga, sense-delight,  
Householder's and monastic life,  
Prayer, hoarded wealth, austerity,  
Dispassion, vows, asceticism,  
These have I fathomed through and through  
And so at last have come to know  
That not a grain of joy is here,  
Embodied life is mockery ;  
The nobler grows thy heart, be sure,  
The more thy share of pain must be.

O selfless lover, great of heart,  
Know thou within this dismal world  
There is no room at all for thee :  
Can a frail marble bust endure  
The blow an anvil's mass can bear ?

Be as one slothful, vile and mean,  
With honeyed tongue but poisoned heart,  
Empty of truth and self-enslaved,  
Then wilt thou find thy place on earth !

For knowledge, staking even my life  
Have I devoted half my days ;  
For love, like one insane have I  
Clutched oft-times at mere lifeless shades ;  
And for religion many a creed  
Have sought, along the Ganges' banks,  
In burning-grounds, by sacred streams,  
Or deep in mountain caves have dwelt,  
And many a day have passed on alms.  
Friendless and clad in scanty rags,  
Begging for food from door to door  
To fill my belly, and with frame  
Broken beneath tapasya's weight,—  
But what the treasure I have earned ?

Friend, let me speak my heart to thee,  
One lesson have I learned in life :  
This dreadful world is tossed with waves  
And one boat only fares across.  
Study of scripture, sacred words,  
Restraint of breath, conflicting schools,  
Dispassion, science, philosophy,  
Sense-pleasure,—are but freaks of mind.  
Love ! Love ! That is the only jewel !  
In soul and Brahman, man and God,  
In ghosts and spirits without shape,  
In angels, beasts, birds, insects, worms,  
Dwells Love, deep in the heart of all.



Say, who else is the God of Gods ?  
 Say, who else moves this universe ?  
 The mother dies to save her young,  
 The robber steals ; yet are these twain  
 By that same Love divine impelled.  
 Beyond both speech and mind concealed,  
 In grief and happiness dwells Love ;  
 Kali, all-terrible, it is,  
 Death's own embodiment, who comes  
 As kindest mother to us all.  
 Grief, sickness, pinching poverty,  
 Vice, virtue, fruits of deeds alike  
 Both good and ill, Love's worship are  
 In varying guise. For whom else, say,  
 Does any creature labour here ?

Foolish is he who seeks alone  
 His own delight ; mad equally  
 Whoever racks his flesh with pain ;  
 Insane is he who longs for death ;  
 Eternal life,—a hopeless quest !  
 However far and far you speed,  
 Mounting the chariot of the mind,  
 The selfsame ocean of the world  
 Spreads out, its waves of bitterness  
 And pleasure ever plunging on.

Hearken ! thou bird bereft of wings,  
 That way lies no escape for thee.  
 Times without number beaten back,  
 Why seek this fruitless task again ?  
 Renounce blind knowledge, feeble prayer,  
 Vain offerings, petty self-esteem ;  
 For the sole jewel is selfless Love.

Behold, the insects teach us so,  
 Embracing swiftly the bright flame !  
 The tiny moth is blinded quite,  
 Charmed with its beauteous, fiery form.  
 So, too, thy heart is mad with Love.  
 O lover, cast upon the fire  
 The dross of all thy selfishness !

Say, can a beggar live content ?  
 What profits one cold pity's glance ?  
 Give ! if within thy heart resides  
 The slightest treasure fit to share !  
 Look not behind for recompense !  
 Ay, to the Infinite born heir  
 Art thou ! Within thy bosom swells  
 The ocean of unbounded Love.  
 Give ! Give ! Whoever asks return,  
 His ocean dwindles to a drop.

From highest Brahman to the worm,  
 Even down to the least atom's core,  
 All things with Love are interfused :  
 Friend, offer body, mind and soul  
 In constant service at their feet !  
 Thy God is here before thee now  
 Revealed in all these myriad forms ;  
 Rejecting such, where seekest thou  
 To find Him ? Whoso worships these,  
 Worships almighty God indeed.\*

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\* An English translation by John Moffitt of the  
 Bengali poem by Swami Vivekananda, entitled  
 "Sakhār Prati."





## THE POETRY OF THE GOND

By VERRIER ELWIN

**H**ERE is an entirely non-literary and non-religious poetry : a poetry of earth and sky, of forest, hill and river : a poetry of the changing seasons and the varied passions of men : a poetry of love, naked and unabashed : a poetry of dance and drum and rhythm, free of all convention and restraint. Wordsworth says that in humble and rustic life, "the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they can attain their maturity, are less under restraint, and speak a plainer and more emphatic language ; because in that condition of life our elementary feelings co-exist in a state of greater simplicity . . . and the passions of men are incorporated with the beautiful and permanent forms of nature." This is an exact description of the poetry of the Gond.

Gond poetry finds expression in the *Dhanda*, or riddle, the *Dadaria*, the short song which is chanted by the woodcutter as he goes about his business in the forest or by a party of friends sitting round the fire by night, but chiefly and supremely in the *karma*, the songs which accompany the famous dance which is said to symbolize the bringing of the green boughs from the forest at the beginning of spring.

There must be thousands of these *karma* : I have a collection of some two hundred, laboriously collected and still more laboriously translated, for many of the Gonds themselves do not understand the meaning of all they sing, and it needs the help of experts to elucidate the obscurer songs. Some are worthless as poetry or even as sense, but in many there are "gleams like the flashing of a shield", while some rise to the heights of poetic thought and expression. There are a great variety of metres according to the *raga* that is to be sung, every *karma* having its appropriate tune. Rhyme is not usually employed, the effect of the poem being gained by the rhythmical movement of the words. The form of the *karma* is normally a refrain at the beginning, which

is sung over and over again in the course of the dance and concludes the whole, followed by the burden of the poem, which may or may not be related to the refrain and which may be very long or sometimes as short as only two lines.

The *karma* dance is formed as follows : a group of men with the drums stand in the centre, while a line of women, varying in strength from two to a dozen or more, dances in front of them. Sometimes the swaying line of women moves to and fro, sometimes it circles round and round the men : sometimes when the circle is very large, a few girls will detach themselves from the rest and will go round the men very fast in the opposite direction to the larger slow-moving dance. The best dancers attain the most delicate and intricate movements of the hands and feet, but especially the feet, and after the dance has continued half the night, even the least expert become inspired and the entire company is possessed by the very spirit of rhythm. Sometimes the women will begin the songs, and the men have to pick up the tune and the words and answer them—it is an amusing sight to see a few trained women confounding a group of men—and sometimes the men begin and the women answer. It is notable that there are a great many women poets, and incomparably the best *karma* have been given us by women. Here then we have a dance poetry, a living poetry recreated day by day, a poetry of rhythm and delight, sung under the bright moon, to the crash of the drums, the music of anklet and bangle, and the delicate movements of the feet. There is a Gond riddle—"A dumb bird sits on a beautiful tree : shake the tree and the bird awakes and sings." To which the answer is, "The anklets on the feet of a girl who goes to the dance."

These poems are a window into the forest mind. It is very hard for the educated



to think of the multitudes of the peasantry as real people, or at least as people as real as themselves. The efforts of anthropologists to elucidate the customs and superstitions of the villager only serve to accentuate the difference: he seems more bizarre than ever. He becomes an object of interest, often also an object of pity, but it is hard to think of him as a man of like passions with ourselves. These poems will show that even the 'aboriginal', with his strange knowledge and weird customs, his utter poverty and ignorance, is of the same common stuff of humanity, interested in the same essential things. I believe that after reading their poetry carefully no one could again think of the forest people as mere cyphers in the population of India.

The *karma* range over a wide variety of subjects, and reveal a close attachment to and observation of nature. Among their themes are the copper-tinted border of a girl's dress shining in the sun like fire; a stream flowing beneath a plantain tree: hens scratching for food in the forest, a goat munching in a thorny bush: the rain pouring down on the deserted lover by the road-side, washing the mud off the walls of houses, flooding the rivers. We see the peasants washing themselves in the river damming it up to catch fish, working till their backs are aching and they must go and sit in the cool shade to rest, then planting chili or guava in their courtyard while outside the mangoes ripen and the tamarind bears fruit.

The mangoes grow in clusters.  
O laden is the tamarind;  
As near as seed to fruit,  
So close should be our love.

Several poems describe the village girls going for water to the well.

A fair and slender girl has gone for water  
to the well. O!  
Lift the pot from her head for fear she may be hurt.  
That cloth, what is it made of? And what kind of  
pot is this?  
The cloth is made of silver, the pot is made of gold.

We see the wall of cactus round the village, the peacock spreading its fanlike tail on high, the carts going along the road, a dog barking at the moon and keeping everyone awake. The dance itself is often described.

The dancers are dancing and the people gather round.  
How beautiful are feet adorned with silver.  
How lovely are the ankles with their sounding rings.  
So the dancers are dancing and the people gather round.

But especially as we might expect—the forest and the forest road have captured the imagination of these poets. The forest is the place of love: the road the scene of separation and longing.

Before me is a mountain: behind it is the forest.  
Where are you going, beloved? Take me with you  
to the forest.

For as dry leaves flame in the forest fire,  
So my life burns for you.

The forest is dangerous—"O the jungle full of tigers! How can we escape? Ho!"—and even in the narrow mountain pass choked with mud, the tiger's footprints may be seen. But in one poem, the girl is proud that her lover braves its dangers. "My life is alone, cutting bamboos in the forest, and he is not afraid." For the forest is the *madhuban*, the sweet forest, the forest of beauty and delight.

O forest-bird! O forest-bird!  
You want anklets for your feet, O!  
You want a necklace for your throat, O!  
But where will you get their price, here in the  
beautiful forest?

O forest-bird!

But the forest-road is the place of separation. The dread of separation and death casts a sombre shadow over these poems.

Death will make entry into thy body which is  
so beautiful.  
O brother, separation will come to this sweet  
life of ours.  
Every part of my body weeps for thee.  
My mind repeats, Death is near,  
And my heart broods on this sadness.  
O, Death will come to thy body, thy body which is  
beautiful to me.

There is no escaping death: just as a man who is trying to cross a flooded river, or one who has fallen from a tall tree is sure to die, so death is certain for all who live. And after this life of two days is over we must travel onwards along the road alone. Life is a sad business, haunted by tears and separation.

The depths of sorrow in tears have not been  
measured.  
The mountains and the hills will pass away.  
Like flooded rivers and streams tears may flow.  
Brother, were I a tear-drop I would fall like  
flooded waters,  
For the deep limits of sorrow's tears are not yet found.



But it is in their love poetry that the Gonds excel. This has received scant justice from writers hitherto. Russell, who translates a few songs (one at least of real beauty) says that they are "with a few exceptions of an erotic character" and Trench remarks piously that "unfortunately, though many of the marriage songs have a distinct beauty of their own, the outlook of the Gond on the subject of marriage severley restricts any attempt to print them in full, and I have made no attempt to do so." Does the outlook of Shakespeare on the subject of marriage restrict any attempt to print his plays in full? And do we snuff out thus condescendingly the whole of Elizabethan and Jacobean lyric literature as "erotic"? Some of the Gond *karma* are coarse and indecent, but I have a hundred love-poems, every one of which could be printed and enjoyed by all but the most conventional and Puritan. These poems are, as



I have said, naked and unabashed : they are frank, bold, intense : there is nothing Platonic about them. The Gond would agree with Donne :

Whoever loves, if he do not propose  
The right true end of love, he's one that goes  
To sea for nothing but to make him sick.

Again and again I am reminded of the Elizabethan love-poetry, the most direct and the finest love-poetry ever written. These Gond *karma* are what Milton said poetry should be : they are simple, sensuous and impassioned—and their passion does not condemn them : it redeems them. These songs are not usually marriage songs ; though the love they describe not infrequently leads to what in the West would be called “companionate marriage.” The most striking thing about the Gond outlook on marriage is that men and women usually marry because they love one another and not simply because their parents want them to, and that they often dispense with the formal and expensive luxury of a marriage ceremony. Nearly all Gonds are married once in their lives officially ; but many girls live with two or three men before they finally settle down and so as likely as not they will not be married to the man whom they choose finally as a life-partner. Once they have chosen him and had children by him, they are loyal, faithful and devoted, loving and tender mothers, and companions and life-long lovers of their men.

Romantic love is necessary to the Gond : he cannot live without it.

In every little lane there is a garden.  
In every village there are flowering trees.  
Let me rest in your garden for a little while.  
You may eat and drink, but life without a girl is  
wasted.

So let me rest in your garden of flowers.

There is complete frankness.

Short hours have passed for me.  
But the long hours of night for you remain.  
So let us sleep together all night long.  
For without you my bed is savourless.

And again,

O come, my love, come home with me and sleep.  
How can we spend the night of God in empty  
dance and song ?  
Whose is that bed, whose is that splendid bed ?  
Come rest, my love, the time for sleep draws near.  
There's a bed for your mother, a seat for your  
father, but for my love the noblest bed of all.  
O come, my love, come home with me and sleep.

This love is truly an intense and wonderful thing.

She is drying her clothes in the backyard of her house.

O how I remember the passion of our love.  
O the love that stirs my heart,  
O that wonderful love,  
I can never forget it.

We can almost see the following scene.

I am looking out of my house.  
The sun is but a bamboo's length above the hills,  
Where can you go now it is grown so late,  
O lover, in whom my life is enwound ?  
Like a dry leaf in the wind, you are ever blown  
to and fro away from me.  
Where can you go now it is grown so late ?

This is a pretty song.

You have built a house of stone, O !  
You have made a door of stone, O !  
For a few nights let me stay with you,  
And then I'll go to a far distant land.

And this is vivid and realistic.

At dawn of day the lovely girl implores her love  
to let her go.  
Give me my *sari*, lover mine, give me my jacket too.  
Come, kiss me, only let me go for dawn is coming  
soon.

There is room for only two more out of many.

O my beloved, a sword ever flashes above my head.  
I have not stolen, I have not stolen love.  
Save me the sinless lover, save me from the sword.

And this

Come by this road : go by that road.  
As you journey, hold in your mind the image of  
your darling,  
And let that love be seen in your eyes.

Yet once again we are brought back to sorrow and rejection—the pains which must inevitably assail those who seek the intense and passionate in life. Here is a song of rejection.

As in a pot the milk turns sour,  
As silver is debased :  
So the love I won so hardly  
Has been shattered since you have betrayed me.

And here another—

Your teeth are like silver,  
How beautiful is your face,  
My man of wonder !  
But in your life there is no truth,  
And my heart is full of pain.

But others are happier than this : we must not leave this poetry on a note of sadness—rather on one of expectation.

O cuckoo, take my message.  
My love awaits me in the garden.  
O how shall I send a message to him ?



My love awaits me in his garden.  
 I will send my message by a parrot.  
 I will send my letter even with a crow.  
 My love awaits me in his garden.

Here then we have a corpus of poems, as yet little explored, which not only give

us a unique picture of the life and thought of the forest people but are in themselves, I venture to think, a not inconsiderable addition to our literature. May they serve to deepen our love for this wonderful, romantic, tragic, heroic and forgotten race !

## SOME FACTS CONCERNING EDUCATION IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

By N. K. SIDHANTA,

*Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Lucknow University*

IT is part of the stock-in-trade of every critic of the Indian Government to point to the appalling illiteracy of the masses and argue that it is due to the apathy of the authorities which leads to the spending of such a small sum on education as compared to what is spent for other purposes. It is not our concern here to show the justice (or injustice) of this criticism nor to suggest that much higher sums should be available for education though we would certainly welcome it. What some of us regret is that the money which is actually being spent is not producing the results that it should and that there is no uniformity in the methods adopted or means utilized to remove illiteracy and spread education in general. This is specially our regret as in U. P. the State has perhaps contributed more towards this end than in other provinces without achieving anything like what should have been achieved. The total educational expenditure in U. P. for 1932 did not compare favourably with Madras but was practically the same as in Bengal\* or in Bombay, in lakhs it was 389 as against 400 in Bombay, 422 in Bengal and 567 in Madras. What is instructive is however this that out of this total only 33 per cent. was contributed by the Government in Bengal about 48 per cent. in Bombay and Madras whereas in U. P. it was over 55 per cent., the actual amount being more than that in Bengal

and Bombay and only a little less than what it was in Madras. If again we think of the proportion of Government expenditure on education to the total provincial expenditure we find U. P. most praiseworthy : 16.89 per cent. as against 10.2 in Bihar, 12.4 in Bombay, 13.1 in Bengal and 15.7 in Madras. Thus we have practically no "unaided" High School in U. P. whereas in Bengal half of the High Schools are of that type.

But if we look to the results we find no grounds for satisfaction : the percentage of male population of school-going age receiving instruction in the primary classes is 30 in U. P., whereas it is 48 in Bengal, 49 in Bombay and 59 in Madras. If again we think of the percentage, of that population receiving instruction in the various provinces we find it is only 3.1 in U. P. as against 5.5 in Bengal, 6.1 in Bombay and 6.2 in Madras. The positive results are perhaps even worse than what these figures suggest for a good many of the students enrolled in primary classes remain there only for a year, attending school in a most perfunctory fashion and gaining nothing from their enrolment in an institution. The number of such casual and irregular students is far too large in U. P. and looking at the figures of the last few years we find that of the 537000 students who joined class I in 1927 only about 87,000 continued to class V, just about 16 per cent. of the original entrants : as a matter of fact in class IV, it was only 23 per cent. while even in class II it was less than 50 per cent. Thus more than half of the money spent on primary

\* This in spite of the fact that the number of High Schools in Bengal is over 1,000 while in U. P. they number about 200, and Bengal has about 2000 middle Schools as against U. P.'s 100.



education is absolutely wasted and might have been utilized in a far better fashion. Another point about this waste is evident from the number of pupils who are over-age in secondary as also in primary schools. Taking any pupil above nine as over-age for class I (twelve for class IV) we find that in these four primary classes 27.8 per cent. are over-age as against only nine in Bengal and 17.9 in Bombay. Or again taking pupils above 17 as over-age in the class immediately before the Matriculation (or High School) examination we find that in the four highest classes of the secondary schools 69.8 per cent. are over-age in U. P. as against 36 in Bengal and 59 in Madras. Such students have certainly stagnated, remained in the same class for more than one year and been casual about their work. Their presence in an institution is not usually helpful either to themselves or to their companions and the quality of instruction would be improved if they were weeded out of the higher classes though they cannot be removed from the lowest. In the latter case however parents and guardians of irregular students might be penalized as also those who prevent their boys from continuing in a school for more than a year. We hear a good deal about compulsory primary education, an experiment which has been undertaken in some areas without as yet showing the results that they were confidently expected to give. In U. P. this has been partly due to the choice of unsuitable areas and the lack of competent supervisors, in the Panjab to the machinery for enforcing compulsion having proved cumbrous and ineffective in Bengal and Bombay to financial stringency. But it seems certain that no compulsion can be effective where there is so much of waste and stagnation due to the apathy of guardians on the one hand and the lack of trained and efficient teachers on the other. If compulsion has to be started it should first be with the pupils who have already had one year in the lowest class, it should be to make them continue for four years and gain the minimum that can be attained out of the educational system. At a later stage when it is possible to force the great majority of boys to attend school, those who are over-age will have to be left out and

compulsion started only with those within a certain age-limit. There must also be greater facilities for the adequate training of teachers for even now with a smaller number of teachers required we find far too many untrained men though the state of things in U. P. is here far better than in other provinces : 66% of the teachers in primary schools are trained in U. P. as against 28% in Bengal, 46% in Bombay and 59% in Madras. But as soon as we have compulsion, the number of teachers must be multiplied several times and it will be extremely difficult for the training schools to keep pace with the increase unless the authorities are careful from the very beginning. In the words of the Hartog report : "There is little hope of real progress in primary education unless a definite break is made with the policy of inconsiderately multiplying schools, and of hastily expanding or improvising new ineffective arrangements for training the additional teachers required. As matters stand in India, effective arrangements for training vernacular teachers must, generally speaking, precede the expansion of primary schools, as the training of vernacular teachers itself depends upon a good supply of recruits from middle vernacular schools."

There are other directions in which it is necessary to work before we can ensure our fully utilizing the amount of money at our disposal. Multiplication of schools in the same areas due to competition frequently along communal lines leading to the segregation of pupils of the different communities is not healthy for the social order and ruinously expensive for the authorities if the State is responsible for a decent fraction of the money required. While schools are multiplied in some districts others are starved and we have accentuation of a difference between one portion of the province and another as backward or advanced leading perhaps ultimately to an upsetting of educational balance in the province and the creation of favourable and favoured areas. The segregation of boys and girls again at the elementary stage cannot be supported in any way. It means the duplication of expenses and often to a lessening of efficiency, for increased numbers up to a certain limit mean more of a competitive spirit in the class and





Swami Vivekananda



greater attention paid to the prescribed work.

Such wasteful schools are at least partly responsible for the fact that the average annual cost per pupil to Government is highest in U. P. among the major Indian provinces. For primary schools it is a little less here than in Bombay, though more than what it is in Madras and much more than that in Bengal. For middle schools however it is Rs. 23 per head in U. P.

as against Rs. 14 in Madras, Rs. 11 in Bombay and Rs. 2 in Bengal, while for high schools it is Rs. 39 as against Rs. 12 in Madras, Rs. 21 in Bombay and Rs. 9 in Bengal. If care is taken to eliminate over-lapping and duplication where there are not sufficient students the scale of costs might be brought down considerably and the limited sum available for education could go much further than what it does now.

## INDIAN WOMEN IN SCIENCE

By ROBINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc.

[Editor's Note. This article having reached us rather late, we have not been able to try to obtain photographs of the ladies mentioned in it. As we do not know their addresses, we shall be much obliged if they or their friends will kindly send us their photographs.]

**I**NDIAN educated and cultured women, devotees of the Arts subjects for the last so many years, are taking keen and lively interest in scientific subjects now-a-days.

During the first week of January last many women scientists from all parts of India not only joined the meetings of the Indian Science Congress in Calcutta, but also contributed original papers and took part in the discussions.

In the Chemistry Section, Miss Olive Joseph along with Prof. S. M. Mehta of Bombay contributed a paper, *viz.*, "Studies on Titanium Dioxide Sol." Miss K. D. Gavankar along with Prof. N. W. Hirwe of Bombay read a paper on "Studies of Chloral-Nitro-Salicylamides." In the Psychology Section, Miss S. Ghosh, B.A., N. F.W. (Lond.), of Mayurbhanj, not only read a very valuable paper on "Child Psychology", but was also the Recorder of this Section. Miss S. B. Gupta of Rangpur also read an interesting paper, entitled, "Application of Binet, Simon, and Piaget Reasoning tests to a group of 55 children, aged 7 years."

In the Botany Section, Mrs. A. Craker along with Mr. H. P. Naskar and Mr. K. P. Biswas, the first Indian Curator of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Sibpur, contributed

a paper on "Botanical Collections in the Sikkim Himalayas." She collected some very rare specimens from such a high altitude as 18,000ft. A paper entitled "A Preliminary Study on the Physiology of Sugarcane" stands in the name of Srimati Usha Chatterjee of Allahabad. Besides these, Mrs. S. Datta, M. Sc. (Manchester), of the Bethune College, Calcutta, Dr. Miss E. K. Janaki Ammal, Ph.D. (Michigan), of Madras and Miss Sally Myer, an undergraduate Honours student of the Calcutta University, were also present throughout the sittings and joined in the discussions.

It is gratifying to note in this connection that Dr. Miss Janaki Ammal was also unanimously elected the Secretary of the Indian Botanical Society this year.

Mention may be made of the following who have been elected members of the Indian Science Congress:—Mrs. Sarojini Datta, Miss Swarnalata Ghosh, Miss Suniti Bala Gupta, Miss Rachel P. John, Miss P. M. Kanga, Mrs. S. R. Kashyap, Miss Maneck M. Mehta, Miss Nirupama Sen, Dr. E. K. Janaki Ammal, Mrs. S. L. Hora, Mrs. R. B. Lal, Mrs. H. Krall, Mrs. B. Sahni, Mrs. V. Sethi, Miss K. D. Gavankar, Miss Sally Myer and Miss Joseph Olive.

We hope to see in the near future Indian women submitting original papers in other branches of Science, and taking more and more prominent part in the discussions and proceedings of the Indian Science Congress.



# SOME ASPECTS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE REPORT

## II. ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS\*

By D. N. BANERJEE,

*Head of the Department of Economics and Politics, Dacca University*

### I

I propose to consider in this paper the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee for the prevention of commercial discrimination in India. The importance attached in the United Kingdom to this aspect of the Indian constitutional question has, observes the Committee, been much misunderstood in India. It, therefore, feels that its first duty is to define it in such a way as to remove this misunderstanding. The problem of commercial discrimination is divisible in its view into two entirely separate issues: (i) the question of administrative and legislative discrimination against British commercial interests and British trade in India, and (ii) the question of discrimination against British imports into India. The White Paper dealt with the first issue only; it said nothing regarding the second.

### II

In regard to the question of administrative and legislative discrimination against British commercial interests and British trade in India, I may state here that the Joint Committee has generally endorsed the relevant White Paper proposals as elaborated by the Confidential Memorandum on the same question, dated the 3rd November, 1933, which the Secretary of State for India submitted to the Committee on the 6th of November, 1933. As I have already dealt with the question fully in two previous issues† of this *Review* I do not propose to discuss it here. I shall refer, however, to the few additional observations which the Committee has made in this connection.

In the first place, the Committee has recommended that the general declaration as to British subjects, as suggested by the White Paper (and the Confidential Memorandum) should provide that no British subject, Indian or otherwise, domiciled in India, shall be disabled from holding any public office or from practising any trade, profession or calling by reason only of his religion, descent, caste, colour or place of birth; and that it should be extended, as regards the

holding of office under the Federal Government, to subjects of Indian States. The italicized words have been added by the Committee to the relevant White Paper proposals.

It may be noted here that, under the existing Constitution of India no native of British India, nor any subject of His Majesty resident therein, is, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, disqualified for holding any office under the Crown in India.

Secondly, in regard to Bills discriminatory in fact, although not so in form, the Committee has suggested that the royal Instrument of Instructions to be issued to the Governor-General and the Governors should make it plain that it is their duty, in exercising their discretion in the matter of assent to Bills, "not to feel themselves bound by the terms of the statutory prohibitions in relation to discrimination, but to withhold their assent from any measure which, though not in form discriminatory, would in their judgment have a discriminatory effect." The Committee has further observed:

"We have made, we hope, sufficiently plain the scope and the nature of the discrimination which we regard it as necessary to prohibit, and we have expressed our belief that statutory prohibitions should be capable of being so framed as generally to secure what we have in view."

It is conscious, however, of the difficulty of framing completely water-tight prohibitions and of the scope which ingenuity might find for complying with the letter of the law in a matter of this kind while violating its spirit. It is, therefore, in its view, an essential concomitant of the stage of responsible government which its proposals are designed to secure "that the discretion of the Governor-General and of the Governors in the granting or withholding of assent to all Bills of their Legislature should be *free and unfettered*"; and in the difficult matter of discrimination in particular, it would not regard this condition as fulfilled if the Governor-General and the Governors regarded the exercise of their discretion as restricted by the terms of the statutory prohibitions. It has also recommended that

"The Instrument of Instructions of the Governor-General and the Governor should require him, if in any case he feels doubt whether a particular Bill does or does not offend against the intentions

\* Substance of a lecture delivered on 20th January, 1935, before the Economic Society, Mymensingh.

† Vide *The Modern Review* for October and November, 1934.



of the Constitution Act in the matter of discrimination to reserve the Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure."

It is, I think, needless to state that the object of these recommendations is to ensure an additional safeguard for the protection of British commercial and industrial interests in India.

Finally, the Joint Committee has expressed its "concurrence with the statement in the British-India Joint Memorandum that 'a friendly settlement by negotiation is by far the most appropriate and satisfactory method' of dealing with the question of discrimination." Further, it has observed that, since the conventional is preferable to the statutory method, and since agreement and goodwill form the most satisfactory basis for commercial relations between India and the United Kingdom, there should be nothing in the Constitution Act which might close the door against a Convention. It has accordingly recommended that His Majesty, if satisfied that a Convention has been made between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the new Government of India covering commercial matters, and that the necessary legislation for implementing it has been passed by Parliament and by Indian Legislature should be empowered to declare by order in Council *that the statutory provisions in the Constitution Act should not apply so long as the Convention would continue in force* between the two countries. The Committee continues,

"It may be said that the practical result will be exactly the same, and this no doubt is true: but the merit of the proposal, as we see it, is that it would enable the Indian Government and Legislature, if they so desire, to substitute a voluntary agreement for a statutory enactment, and would therefore give to the arrangements for the reciprocal protection of British subjects in India and the United Kingdom respectively the conventional basis which in our judgment it is most desirable that they should have."

It is clear, however, from the italicized words above that the statutory provisions will apply as soon as the proposed Convention ceases to be in force.

### III

#### FISCAL AUTONOMY CONVENTION

I shall now deal with the second issue, namely, the question of discrimination against British imports into India. In regard to this question the Joint Committee has made a recommendation which was not even contemplated by the White Paper. As is well known the fiscal relations between India and the United Kingdom have been regulated ever since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms by what is commonly known as the Fiscal Autonomy Convention. Now, if we are to appreciate properly the nature and object of the Committee's recommendation for the prevention of discrimination

against British imports, we should know the origin and the present position of the Fiscal Convention. I, therefore, propose to deal with that question first before I examine the particular recommendation of the Committee.

The Parliamentary Joint Select Committee which was appointed to consider the Government of India Bill, 1919, and which was presided over by Lord Selborne, made the following observations, while dealing with clause 33 of the Bill, on the question of the future relations between the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India :

"The Committee have given most careful consideration to the relations of the Secretary of State with the Government of India, and through it with the provincial governments. In the relations of the Secretary of State with the Governor-General in Council the Committee are not of opinion that any statutory change can be made, so long as the Governor-General remains responsible to Parliament, but in practice the conventions which now govern these relations may wisely be modified to meet fresh circumstances caused by the creation of a Legislative Assembly with a large elected majority. In the exercise of his responsibility to Parliament, which he cannot delegate to any one else, the Secretary of State may reasonably consider that only in exceptional circumstances should he be called upon to intervene in matters of purely Indian interest where the Government and the Legislature of India are in agreement.

"This examination of the general proposition leads inevitably to the consideration of one special case of non-intervention. Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear. India's position in the Imperial Conference opened the door to negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire, but negotiation without power to legislate is likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government of India to devise those tariff arrangements which seem best fitted to India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. It cannot be guaranteed by statute without limiting the ultimate power of Parliament to control the administration of India, and without limiting the power of veto which rests in the Crown; and neither of these limitations finds a place in any of the statutes in the British Empire. It can only therefore be assured by an acknowledgment of a convention. *Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa.* In the opinion of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should as far as possible avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement, and they think that his intervention, when it does take place, should be limited to safeguarding the international



obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party."

On the 23rd of February, 1921, the Council of State adopted a resolution\* recommending to the Governor-General in Council that His Majesty's Government should be addressed through the Secretary of State with a prayer that the Government of India should be granted full fiscal autonomy subject to the provisions of the Government of India Act. The resolution, says the Indian Fiscal Commission, was duly forwarded by the Government of India to the Secretary of State with the request that it should be laid before the Majesty's Government.

As will appear from what follows, the principle of fiscal autonomy for India was practically definitely accepted by the British Government. In the course of his reply to a deputation from Lancashire on the Indian import duties on cotton goods, Mr. Montagu stated on March 23rd, 1921, as Secretary of State for India: "After that Report by an authoritative Committee of both Houses and Lord Curzon's promise in the House of Lords, it was absolutely impossible for me to interfere with the right which I believe was wisely given and which I am determined to maintain to give to the Government of India the right to consider the interests of India first, just as we, without any complaint from any other parts of the Empire, and the other parts of the Empire without any complaint from us, have always chosen the tariff arrangements which they think best fitted for their needs, thinking of their own citizens first." This speech, writes the Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission, was followed up by a Despatch dated the 30th June, 1921, written with reference to the resolution passed by the Council of State on February 23rd, 1921, in which the Secretary of State stated that he had on behalf of His Majesty's Government, accepted the principle recommended by the Joint Select Committee in its report on Clause 33 of the Government of India Bill, 1919. His words were:

"The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are in agreement, and it is considered that his intervention when it does take place should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party."

Although there was a sting in the tail, this was a fairly clear and definite pronouncement. In September, 1921, again, the Honourable Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay declared in the Council of State on behalf of the Government of India, with reference to the Honourable Mr. V. G. Kale's resolution regarding fiscal powers under constitutional Reforms:

\* *Vide* the Council of State Debates, 23rd Feb., 1921.

"I am perfectly prepared to state that the Government of India have every intention of exercising, in concert with the Indian Legislature, and in what it believes to be the best interests of the country, the fiscal powers which have been conferred on it under the recent constitutional reforms."

On the 29th of March, 1922, however, Lord Winterton, Under-Secretary of State for India, acting on behalf of his Chief, Lord Peel, made the following significant remarks\* on the question of fiscal autonomy for India, in reply to representations made by another deputation representing Lancashire cotton textile interests:

"I should like first of all to deal very briefly with the constitutional point that has been raised. I will at once say that of course the *ultimate financial responsibility* under the Government of India Act rests with the Secretary of State, but I think it will be generally admitted that the Government of India must have wide latitude in deciding the steps to be taken in particular instances.... If you accept my argument, real, complete, self-government must always be based on fiscal autonomy. However, do not let us raise that point at this moment. I would only venture to say with all respect that sooner or later, when this question comes to be the subject of public controversy and public debate, not perhaps in this Parliament but in a future Parliament, when the advance is again made, which, I suppose, we all hope, will be made as anticipated by Parliament—then *Parliament will have to make up its mind when the question is most emphatically brought up of the cotton interest of Lancashire, with all its magnificent record of service and devotion to the Empire, on which leg it stands, whether it is prepared to say it will grant complete fiscal autonomy to India or not.*"

As I have stated elsewhere,† this statement indicated rather a change of attitude on the part of the Home authorities, and was against the spirit of the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee on the question of fiscal autonomy for India.

The true significance of the convention of fiscal autonomy came in for a good deal of discussion in the Legislative Assembly in connection with the consideration of the Cotton Textile Industry (Protection) Bill which had been introduced into Assembly on February 28th, 1930, by the Honourable Sir George Rainy (Member for Commerce and Railways).

Previously to the introduction of the Bill Sir George Schuster (Finance Member) had said on the same day in the course of his Budget speech, in reference to the proposed increase in the import duty on cotton piece-goods and the message§ from His Majesty's Government relating thereto:

\* *Vide The Indian Annual Register*, 1922-23, vol. II, pp. 197-98; also Dr. Banerjee, *Fiscal Policy in India*, pp. 121-22.

† *The Indian Constitution and its Actual Working*, 3rd Ed., p. 341.

§ In this message, His Majesty's Government



"Let me make it clear at the outset that the *fiscal autonomy convention is a reality, and that decisions on matters of this kind are left to the Government of India*, and it is on this basis that our deliberations have proceeded throughout."

Again :

"We felt, in fact, that this method of approach from the British Government had a special significance. It affords striking evidence that the fiscal autonomy convention has become an integral part of the constitution, and that, even when British interests are most profoundly affected by tariff changes in India, the intervention of the British Government is restricted to representation and appeal. Complete freedom was accorded to the Government of India to take the final decision in whatever manner they thought right for India. It appeared to us that, subject to our paramount duty of considering Indian interests first, no Government of India could ignore such an appeal, for, to any statesmanlike view, it must be clear that India must be vitally interested in maintaining a spirit of co-operation with Great Britain. We felt, moreover, on every ground, that no member of any Government of India, be he British or Indian, would desire to introduce measures likely to inflict serious injury on British interests unless such measures were necessary for India's development."

As against this view of the Finance Member that the fiscal autonomy convention is a reality, Mr. K. C. Neogy (Dacca Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) said in the Legislative Assembly, on March 25th, 1930, in the course of his speech on the Cotton Textile Industry (Protection) Bill, 1930 :

"I maintain that this Convention of fiscal autonomy is a sham and a fraud."

This remark of Mr. Neogy and the remarks of some other members of the Assembly regarding the true nature of the Fiscal Convention led the Hon'ble Sir George Rainy to make the following important statement in the Assembly on behalf of the Government of India on March 27th, 1930\* :

"Much has been said, Mr. President, during the course of the debate on the subject of the fiscal autonomy convention, and it is right that I should attempt to explain clearly what exactly the convention is and how it operates....

"Mr. President, all I can do in this House is to explain the view which the Government of India take of it and leave it at that....

"The fiscal autonomy convention means this, that while there is always previous consultation with the Secretary of State, the final decision as to the proposals to be placed before the Legislature rests with the Government of India and with no one else. In this respect, apart from the previous consultation with the Secretary of State the

asked the Government of India to take into account both the reactions of the latter's proposals (for increasing the import duty on cotton piecegoods) in India and their serious effects in England.

\* *Vide* the Legislative Assembly Debates March 27th, 1930.

position of the Government of India is that of a Dominion Government which decides for itself what proposals it will place before the Legislature. To that extent the Government of India are independent, but for how long does this position of independence continue? For exactly the same period as it continues in a Dominion, namely until the Legislature pronounces upon the proposals placed before it. As soon as the Legislature arrives at a decision, one of two things happens. Either the Government of India and the Legislature are in agreement, and in that case everything proceeds as in a Dominion and no outside interference can affect the decision. But when the Government of India and the Legislature fail to agree, there is a difference. In a Dominion if the question is of real importance, the difference results in a change of Government which restores harmony. In India, under the present constitution, no such result can follow. The actual effect is that the convention ceases to operate and the Government of India come once more under the control of the Secretary of State, for as soon as the Government of India and the Legislature are not in agreement, the convention is at an end. And if the question be asked, in what sense does the Government of India come again under the control of the Secretary of State, I would say this, that clearly the Members of the Government of India are responsible to the Secretary of State for establishing harmonious relations with the Legislature in this region, so far as it is in their power to bring about that result. That is one of the duties of our position.

"Now, on this point, Mr. President, I should like to refer to what was said by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State in the House of Commons. The three sentences I shall quote are as follows :

"Nor would any Secretary of State attempt to lay a finger upon this principle of tariff autonomy which has been established in practice for ten years in Indian affairs. There is Dominion Status in action ; there is a Dominion attribute. It has now become part and parcel of the right of India."

"Now, it will be clear from the actual words I have quoted, that the Secretary of State is not referring to any new convention or any new interpretation, for he spoke of something which had been in existence and in practice for ten years. What has been the uniform practice throughout these years in respect of the tariff? The Government of India have framed their proposals and have placed them before the Legislature and the Legislature has passed judgment. Where there has been agreement, the Secretary of State has consistently refrained from interference, either at the preliminary stage when the Government of India decided what their proposals were to be, or at the final stage after the approval of the legislature had been secured. But if the Government of India and the Legislature are not in agreement, what then? Is there no means of resolving the dead-lock? None, I fear, under the present constitution, save the influence of time and persuasion which may induce one side or the other to modify its attitude. For, while in the sphere of tariffs, India already possesses Dominion Status ; she does not as yet possess a Dominion constitution. But if the differences between the Govern-



ment and the Legislature remain unadjusted ought not Government, many will ask, to give way and accept the opinion of the Assembly as decisive? I realise how naturally that view must appeal to those who sit opposite, but it is one which Government cannot accept. Duties and responsibilities are placed upon us by law, and we cannot divest ourselves of these even if we would. A suggestion of this kind would mean that, whatever changes in the tariff commended themselves to a majority of this House, or perhaps some of my friends opposite would say, to a majority of the non-official Members of this House, or to a majority of the elected Members should be brought into force whatever view Government might take. That would mean nothing else than the abnegation of their functions by Government in a very large part of the financial sphere. The message of the Cabinet has made it clear that the convention applies not only to duties imposed for protective purposes, but also to those imposed for revenue purposes, and from the constitutional point of view, that would be an intolerable position. In a sound constitution, each organ must discharge its appropriate functions, and the function of one cannot, without grave disorganisation, be transferred to another.

"I have tried, Mr. President, to put clearly the view of the Government of India as to the interpretation to be placed upon the fiscal autonomy convention. Let me pass on to what has been said on the lines that the fiscal autonomy convention is a sham. Now, is that seriously urged? How could the policy of protection have been adopted at all in India without that convention? Where would the steel industry in India have been today but for the fiscal convention? And as regards cotton, are memories indeed so short? Some speakers have referred to what took place in 1894 or 1895, when the cotton duties in India very nearly led to the downfall of the Liberal Government in England, but have Members also forgotten that, as late as 1917, when the customs duty on cotton piece-goods was raised from 3½ to 7½ per cent., it seemed not unlikely for two or three days that that change would bring down the Coalition Government in England, then in the very plenitude of its power. And, apart from the fiscal convention, how could the duty have been raised to 11 per cent. in 1921, or the excise duty removed in 1926, or, indeed, the duty raised to 15 per cent., as has been done in the current year? The answer is, because the Government of India and the Legislature were in agreement and the convention once having been fully and frankly accepted by His Majesty's Government in England, we have no reason now to apprehend interference from that quarter. But the indispensable element which must be present in order that the convention may operate, is that the Government of India and the Legislature should be in real agreement: and if it were proposed that the Government of India's agreement must be assumed whenever a majority of the Assembly took a particular view, that would be an interpretation of the convention entirely novel and something quite different from anything that has existed since 1921".

The importance of the statement will I hope excuse the length of the quotation. It is clear however from the statement that the Fiscal

Convention ceases to operate and the Government of India comes once more under the control of the Secretary of State as soon as the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are not in agreement. The argument is that "while in the sphere of tariffs, India already possesses (?) Dominion Status, she does not as yet possess a Dominion Constitution"; and that if the Government is required to bring into force against its will whatever changes in the tariff commend themselves to a majority of the Assembly, that will mean nothing else than 'the abnegation of its functions in a very large part of the financial sphere'.

When Mr. M. R. Jayakar asked whether the view which the Government of India took of the fiscal convention had secured the approval of the Secretary of State, Sir George Rainy replied that there was every reason to think so.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Leader of the Opposition, put, however, a different interpretation on the Fiscal Convention. He stated in the Assembly on the 28th of March, 1930:

"The reality of the fiscal autonomy convention demands that, though the initiative for putting forward proposals of a legislative character, particularly proposals of taxation, rests with the Government of India, as it rests with the executive in every country, once the proposals have been laid before the Assembly the Government of India should consider themselves bound to defer to the opinion of this House, even though it has not been laid down by the statute, because this convention has been established to prevent a dead-lock arising on such an occasion."

But the Government did not take this view.

Finally, the Indian Statutory Commission also maintains that the Fiscal Convention suggested by the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill of 1919 has been adopted. But in the course of discussion it was found that the position required clearer definition. As a result, therefore, of correspondence between two Secretaries of State (Lord Peel and Lord Olivier) and the Government of India, it is, says the Commission, "now a settled policy that the Secretary of State does not interfere with the enactment of any tariff measure upon which the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are agreed."

The Commission continues,

"But as a member of His Majesty's Government he cannot divest himself of responsibility for ensuring that no such measure cuts across general Empire policy or is so unfair to any constituent part of the Empire as to bring India *into conflict with it*. This responsibility he can, in the last resort, fulfil by exercising his right of advising the Crown to disallow the measure, if passed. But in order to avoid such a conflict if possible, he is kept informed in advance of the Government of India's intentions in regard to such legislation before the Legislature is consulted and, therefore, before the Convention operates. Any observations which he offers on the proposed legislation receive



the fullest consideration from the Government of India; but it is at liberty to accept or reject any suggestions made or advice given in deciding on the proposals to be placed before the Legislature."

The Commission did not suggest any modification of the convention itself, but thought it desirable that any extension of the principle of the "fiscal convention" should only be made with the approval by Resolution of both Houses of Parliament.

It may be said on the basis of what has been stated above that, on the whole, the Fiscal Convention has produced some moral effect on the fiscal relations between England and India and that India has enjoyed, ever since the introduction of the Mantagu-Chelmsford Reforms, a certain amount of freedom in respect of fiscal matters. It is quite true that if the Government of India insists, rightly or wrongly, on a particular course of fiscal policy which the Indian Legislature is unable to agree to, then the convention is at an end. But it must also be borne in mind that there have been, ever since the Government of India Act came into force, three Indian members on the Executive Council of the Governor-General; and ordinarily we may assume that their views must have considerably influenced the policy of the Government in regard to fiscal questions. It may be argued that under the existing Constitution of India the Governor-General may overrule his Council and that, therefore, the presence of three Indian members may not have been an adequate safeguard for the protection of Indian interests. Theoretically speaking, this point may be conceded, but in actual practice the Governor-General is not likely in these days to overrule his Indian colleagues, particularly on fiscal issues.

I have so far stated the present position. I shall now examine the specific recommendation of the Joint Committee for the prevention of discrimination against British imports into India.

The Committee makes a few general observations by way of preface before it makes its recommendation. It remarks that it is a commonplace that the exact scope and effects of the Fiscal Convention have afforded much ground for discussion, and that the Convention has not—as indeed could hardly have been expected—succeeded in placing beyond controversy the rights and duties of the two parties (i. e. the United Kingdom and India) to it. But, with the passing of a new Constitution Act on the lines of its own recommendations, the Convention, in its present form at all events, will necessarily lapse, and, unless the Constitution Act otherwise provides, the Federal Legislature will enjoy complete freedom, with little in the nature of a settled tradition to guide its relationship in fiscal matters with the United Kingdom. The difficulties likely to arise from this uncertainty would find, in the opinion of the

Committee, a fruitful source of increase in that atmosphere of misunderstanding to which it has alluded.

The Committee continues,

"It is suggested in India, that, in seeking to clarify the fiscal relations between India and themselves, His Majesty's Government are seeking to impose unreasonable fetters upon the future Indian Legislature for the purpose of securing exceptional advantages for British, at the expense of Indian, trade. The suggestion is without foundation.....On the other hand, statements of a very disturbing character have been made from time to time by influential persons in India which have aroused suspicions and doubts in the United Kingdom. In these circumstances, appropriate provisions in the Constitution Act may serve the double purpose of facilitating the transition from the old to the new conditions, and of reassuring sensitive opinion in both countries."

In making however its recommendation to this end, the Committee affirms that it contemplates no measure which would interfere with the position attained by India as an integral part of the British Empire through the Fiscal Convention. It is aware of the fears that, on the other hand, have been expressed lest the exercise by the Indian Legislature of the powers contemplated in the Convention might result in the imposition of penal tariffs on British goods or in the application to them of penally restrictive regulations with the object not of fostering Indian trade, but of injuring and excluding British trade. As thus there is a real ground for the apprehensions entertained on either side, there is a strong case in the opinion of the Committee for a declaration through and under the Constitution Act of the principles that should govern the relations between the two countries. The machinery of the Governor-General's special responsibilities, supplemented by his Instrument of Instructions, offers, according to the Committee, to the two countries the opportunity of making such a declaration of principles.

The Committee has, therefore, recommended that to the special responsibilities\* of the Governor-General enumerated in the White Paper

\* They are :

(a) The prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof.

(b) The safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federation.

(c) The safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities.

(d) The securing to the members of the Public Services of any rights provided for them by the Constitution Act and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests.

(e) The prevention of commercial discrimination.

(f) The protection of the rights of any Indian State.

(g) Any matter which affects the administration of any Department under the direction and control of the Governor-General.



"there should be added a further special responsibility defined in some such terms as follows: the prevention of measures, legislative or administrative, which would subject British goods, imported into India from the United Kingdom, to discriminatory or penal treatment." But, as it is important that the scope which it intends to be attached to the special responsibility so defined should be explained more exactly than could conveniently be expressed in statutory language, it has further recommended that the Governor-General's Instrument of Instructions should give him full and clear guidance. It should be made clear, however, says the Committee, 'that the imposition of this special responsibility upon the Governor-General is not intended to affect the competence of his Government and of the Indian Legislature to develop their own fiscal and economic policy; that they will possess complete freedom to negotiate agreements with the United Kingdom or other countries for the securing of mutual tariff concessions; and that *it will be his duty to intervene in tariff policy or in the negotiation or variation of tariff agreements only if in his opinion the intention of the policy contemplated is to subject trade between the United Kingdom and India to restrictions conceived, not in the economic interests of India but with the object of injuring the interests of the United Kingdom.*' It should also be made clear, continues the Committee, 'that the discriminatory or penal treatment covered by this special responsibility includes both direct discrimination (whether by means of differential tariff rates or by means of differential restrictions on imports) and indirect discrimination by means of differential treatment of various types of products; and that the Governor-General's special responsibility *could also be used to prevent the imposition of prohibitory tariffs or restrictions, if he were satisfied that such measures were proposed with the intention already described. In all these respects, the words would cover measures which, though not discriminatory or penal in form, would be so in fact.*'

Finally, the Committee has expressed in the following words its own conception of the principles upon which the future trade relations between India and the United Kingdom should be based:

"We think that the United Kingdom and India must approach their trade problems in a spirit of reciprocity, which views the trade between the two countries as a whole. Both countries have a wide range of needs and interests; in some of these each country is complementary to the other, while in some each has inevitably to look rather to a third country for satisfactory arrangements of mutual advantage. The reciprocity which, as partners, they have a right to expect from each other consists in a deliberate effort to expand the whole range of their trade with each other to the fullest possible extent compatible with the interests of their own people. The conception of reciprocity does not preclude either partner from entering into

special agreements with third countries for the exchange of particular commodities, where such agreements offer it advantages which it cannot obtain from the other; but the conception does imply that, when either partner is considering to what extent it can offer special advantages of this kind to a third country without injustice to the other partner, it will have regard to the general range of benefits secured to it by the partnership, and not merely to the usefulness of the partnership in relation to the particular commodity under consideration at the moment."

One really cannot withhold one's admiration for the manner in which the Joint Committee has stated its views! As an example of diplomatic language, the wording of paragraph 346 of its Report, from which the above extract has been taken, can hardly be surpassed. In spite, however, of all that has been said by way of palliation, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the additional special responsibility proposed to be conferred upon the Governor-General is a definitely reactionary departure from the spirit of the report of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on clause 33 of the Government of India Bill and of the reply of Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India, to the deputation from Lancashire on March 23rd, 1921. It certainly contrasts very unfavourably, from the Indian point of view, with such passage in the report of the Joint Select Committee, 1919, as:

"Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufactures, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa."

Now, what are the implications of a special responsibility as contemplated by the White Paper? If, says the White Paper, in any case in which in the opinion of the Governor-General, a special responsibility is imposed upon him, it appears to him, after considering such advice as has been given to him by his Ministers that the due discharge of his responsibility so requires, he will have full discretion to act as he thinks fit, subject to any directions contained in his Instrument of Instructions or issued\* to him by the Secretary of State for India. And it has to be borne in mind in this connection that it will be for the Governor-General to determine in his discretion whether any special responsibility is involved by any given circumstances. Further, under the relevant White Paper proposals, wherever the Governor-General's special responsibilities will be involved, he will have power 'not only to act without, or, as the case may be, contrary to the advice of his Ministers,' but also, *positively*, 'to take action notwithstanding an adverse vote of

\* The directions to be issued by the Secretary of State for India cannot be inconsistent with anything contained in the royal Instrument of Instructions.



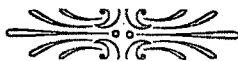
the Legislature whether such a vote relates to the passage of legislation or to the appropriation of funds', and, *negatively*, to prevent such legislation as he may consider to be undesirable. It will also be for the Governor-General to determine in his discretion what is "discriminatory or penal treatment" or what constitutes "prohibitory tariffs or restrictions". Moreover, it is he who will be empowered to decide whether any particular tariff policy or any proposed tariff agreement is 'not in the economic interests of India but with the object of injuring the interests of the United Kingdom'. In these circumstances, the position of the Minister in charge of the tariff questions will often be, unless he becomes a pliant instrument in the hands of the Governor-General, extremely difficult, and his responsibility will be largely unreal. Much will necessarily depend upon the personal qualities of the Governor-General. If the Governor-General is not a very sympathetic person, the additional responsibility may be discharged in a manner which may seriously retard the growth of Indian industries. Even if he is himself a sympathetic person, pressure, not easy to resist, may be brought to bear upon him with similar consequences to Indian industries. Besides, the Committee has in this, as in many other matters, taken the view that whenever a conflict will occur between Indian interests and British interests, the decision of the Governor-General must inevitably be right. Further, it may be legitimately asked why there should be such a departure under the new constitution from the principles of the Fiscal Autonomy convention. Does it not really imply distrust of the proposed Federal Legislature of India and the future Indian Ministers? Why should not the British Government and the British people have confidence in the goodwill of the Federal Legislature? These are questions which naturally suggest themselves to an inquisitive mind. Moreover, it has to be borne in mind that it is trust and goodwill, and not the requirements of law, that can alone evoke trust and goodwill.

So far as the argument of partnership is concerned, there is an important flaw in it. Partnership implies an equality of status between the partners. There can be no true partnership when one partner is politically superior and another

is politically inferior. In such a partnership the likelihood is that the partner who is politically superior would gain at the cost of the other partner. Thus the argument of partnership is to my mind meaningless and wholly misleading, if not mischievous in the existing circumstances. It is also liable to the interpretation that it is only a device for giving an appearance of fairplay to what may otherwise seem to be a form of economic imperialism.

It may be argued that as under the present Constitution of India the Governor-General may over-rule his Executive Council, the decision of the Government of India on a tariff question may really mean sometimes the decision of the Governor-General alone, and that, therefore, there will be no material difference as contrasted with the present position, if tariff questions become a special responsibility of the Governor-General under the new Constitution. It may be pointed out against this view that we have got so far only one recorded instance of the Governor-General over-ruling the majority of his Executive Council in respect of a tariff question, namely, the action of Lord Lytton in 1879, and that it is extremely unlikely in these days that the Governor-General will over-rule his Executive Council which now includes three Indian members, in regard to fiscal matters. But making tariff questions a special responsibility as contemplated by the White Paper, is an altogether different thing. Since the Governor-General will have the power of veto in respect of all laws to be passed by the Federal Legislature, there is no necessity of the additional special responsibility as suggested by the Joint Committee. Any provision for it in the Constitution Act will, instead of allaying apprehensions on the Indian side, deepen suspicion and create further misunderstanding in this country. The provision for veto power referred to above, should be regarded as a sufficient safeguard against illegitimate interference, during the transitional period, with British interests, and should, therefore, 'reassure sensitive opinion' in the United Kingdom.

In conclusion, I should like to state that the position in regard to fiscal questions will in reality be, on the whole, worse under the proposed new Constitution of India than what it is today.





## A CRITIQUE OF THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE'S REPORT II \*

By NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, HIRANKUMAR SANYAL,  
BENOYENDRA NATH BANERJEA AND SUDHIRKUMAR LAHIRI

### VI

#### "REPRESENTATIVE" LEGISLATURES

**R**EPRESENTATIVE government is the universal device by which it is attempted in modern states to make the machinery of administration an efficient instrument for the execution of the popular will. Representative government enables a small number of delegates deputed by a large number of people to meet together in order to discuss and decide on the policy to be pursued by their accredited agents, called technically, 'the executive'. Representative government comprises two factors. One is representation, *i.e.*, the task delegated to their agents by the people to speak and act not in their own behalf but in behalf of their principals—the people themselves. Representation, therefore, necessarily involves the process, known as "election", by which the people choose their deputies. The other factor, government, relates to the power of these deputies to 'legislate', *i.e.*, to lay down the policy which shall guide the executive and their administrative subordinates in the performance of the task which they are entrusted to carry out. Representative government in the real sense, therefore, implies that, in the first place, the community shall have representatives and, in the second, that these representatives shall guide rather than follow the executive. This control of the executive by the legislature is what is known as 'responsibility'—a principle which both the White Paper and the Joint Committee Report very loudly announce as the basis—partially in the centre and fully in the provinces—of the future government of India.

How far do the actual recommendations of the Joint Committee, which are mainly based

on the White Paper proposals, embody the recognized principle of 'responsibility'? In order to ascertain this, we must start with an examination of the system of representation proposed, for 'responsibility' without adequate representation is not only not enough in the way of an advance towards democratic government, it may be positively harmful by creating a barrier of vested interests between the popular will and the executive.

The popular will is, in the main, ascertained by the device of election and the proportion of the number of people who are admitted to the legal right of voting to the total population of the country is the only measure of the extent of representation. In India, under the present constitution, this proportion is 3 p.c. The Simon Commission proposed to increase it to 10 p.c. and the First Round Table Conference suggested a maximum of 25 p.c. Since then a special Franchise Committee has toured this country and made recommendations which form the basis of the White Paper proposals which have been accepted, in their main substance, by the Joint Committee. The resultant provincial electorate is estimated to be about 14 p.c. of the total population of British India—a figure which the Committee claims as being nearly midway between the Simon Commission's 10 p.c. and the First Round Table Conference's maximum of 25 p.c.

The arithmetic of the Committee, being evidently of the esoteric kind, leaves us puzzled, but arithmetic apart, the question may pertinently be asked: Does 14 p.c. constitute a large enough proportion of the total population of the country to serve as an adequate basis for a really representative government? The answer of the Joint Committee is that the percentage of educated people in India is yet too small to warrant giving the vote to a larger number. One could hardly improve upon it.

\* Further papers read and discussed at the Politics Club, Calcutta.



as an eloquent summing up of what British rule has achieved during a period of a century and three-quarters. One may, however, relevantly ask : Has education spread so rapidly since 1919 as to justify a sudden jump from 3 to 14 p.c. ? If not, then, does not the same consideration which justifies the proposed increase, not only justify but call for a much bigger increase so as to make the electorate broad enough for a really representative government ?

If the size of the proposed electorate is found to be a drawback, it is after all a quantitative shortcoming. But the manner of election contemplated goes one better, for it seriously threatens so to affect the quality of the entire governmental machinery as to make it not an instrument controlled by popular will but by cliques and coteries, party factions and vested interests, all sorts of influence, in fact, which make for the perpetuation of those very evils as a remedy against which democratic government has been devised. For proof, one may cite the acceptance by the Joint Committee of the notorious Communal Award as modified by the still more notorious Poona Pact—conceived in stupidity and mischief ; the recommendation to saddle not three provinces, as suggested in the White Paper, but five, with an upper chamber in the legislature, so that played out traditions and anachronistic institutions may have a safe asylum ; and, to cap and crown all, the ardent advocacy of the indirect system of election for the two houses of the Central Legislature. The signatories of the Report are frank enough to admit that this last proposal is without a single respectable constitutional precedent. Yet they insist on it because the prospective size of the electorate so scares them out of their wits that they can only find safety in carrying to the second degree the system of representation which was devised to meet the difficulty of numbers. The august Committee have evidently forgotten in their abject fright to add the very logical rider that a further enlargement of the electorate will entail the adoption of the third degree of representation. International law, it has been said, is the vanishing point of law. At this rate, representative government may well become the vanishing point of representation.

## VII

### IMPLICATIONS OF INDIRECT ELECTIONS TO FEDERAL LEGISLATURE: A MOCKERY AND TRAVESTY OF REPRESENTATION

The Joint Committee's Report has made a very far-reaching recommendation in proposing the system of indirect election for constituting the Federal Legislature. This is a question which has appeared, phoenix-like, in every discussion relating to constitutional reforms. The Committee are aware of the 'great difficulties' and the 'marked difference of opinion' on the matter, and they are constrained to recommend the system 'as being open to future review.' Though recommended by the Southborough Committee, the Joint Committee of 1919 which considered the Bill relating to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms wisely rejected the method ; the Simon Commission's move in favour of it was negatived by the Lothian Committee in 1932 as it was clear that public opinion in India was overwhelmingly in favour of direct election. Even on the present occasion not only did the British Indian Delegation's Memorandum object to it, but some members of the Committee, with undoubted first-hand knowledge of Indian conditions, *viz.* Lord Reading, Lord Lothian and Messrs Morgan Jones, Cocks and Foot also put in a very reasoned plea against the reversal of a system "which has already been in operation for the Indian Legislative Assembly not unsuccessfully for thirteen years and which has the support of the great majority of Indian leaders".

It is also interesting to note that the Lothian Committee's Report and the five dissentient members of the Joint Committee regard indirect elections as uncalled-for, at least with the proposed extension of the franchise. So long as adult franchise was not being proposed, and it should be noted that the Joint Committee's proposals curtail the franchise advocated by the Lothian Committee by more than forty per cent, the problem of dealing with astronomic numbers will not arise. With 250 members for British India the number of electors ought not to exceed 30,000 to 40,000 in each constituency, and the average rural constituency will not exceed



6,000 to 12,000 square miles, and as the Lothian Committee emphasized, "these constituencies will be one-half the size of the constituencies which have hitherto elected to the present Assembly." Constituencies of immense area and containing enormous number of voters are inherent in large-scale federations, and in the United States, Canada and Australia have been in existence without impairing the system of representative government. In the United States of America the number of members of the House of Representatives is 435, or one for every 6,958 square miles and 282,241 of the population. The contact with the constituency, moreover, is already easier with the increasing facilities for communication and will become "more manageable in proportion as the whole population becomes educated, as broadcasting becomes universal and as transport facilities and arrangements for public meetings improve."\* It seems most illogical to have neglected education so long and to make that a ground for introducing a reactionary method of election, which in the case of India particularly will open the flood-gates of corruption and intimidation on the one hand and on the other make for conservatism and render control by Indian and foreign vested interests so easy. The proper and only course is to remove all obstacles to the further extensions of the franchise and one fails to note any note enjoining such duties upon authorities in the Joint Committee's Report.

The group headed by Lord Reading, who objected to reversing the White Paper proposals of direct elections to the Lower House, pertinently observe that election by the Provincial Councils, and that also in *communal* groups and not by the single transferable vote system which the Simon Commission wanted, would mean that "the provinces, in effect, will be able to control the Central Legislature and therefore the Ministry... In the second place the system inevitably involves the confusion of provincial and all-India issues at times of election with bad results for both central and provincial legislatures.... In the third place the system inevitably opens the door to corruption

for it means that each member of the central legislature, which will deal with matters vitally affecting business and finance, will be elected by a number of provincial electors on the average not more than 7 or 8 in number." The system, to say the least, would "aggravate the tendency to provincial separatism which already exists and endangers the Unity of India."\* It would, further, create communalism in the most parochial form in the central legislature and rob the essence of national representation.

The Federal Upper House on the top of this will be elected by the Second Chambers in the provinces where such Chambers exist, and in the unicameral provinces it is proposed that "an *ad hoc* electoral college should be constituted of persons elected by an electorate broadly corresponding to the electorate for the Legislative Councils in bicameral provinces, *the communal distribution of seats in this electoral college corresponding to that in the Provincial Assemblies.*" (Italics ours). Could anything be more unworkable, cumbrous, expensive, reactionary, communal and retrograde? The invariable practice of federations is that the Upper House should represent the units and the Lower House the nation. In India under the Joint Committee's proposals the Lower House shall misrepresent in all manner possible the national mind and shall represent provincial communal caucuses only. Not satisfied with the unrepresentative method of 'representation' of the States in the Lower House, the Joint Committee have advocated a system in detail which will nullify any possibility of a representative British Indian bloc. Not to speak of urging an unicameral representative body advocated with ability and logic by some modern political thinkers and also by Lord Snell and Messrs. Morgan Jones and Cocks before the Joint Committee, the Joint Committee have recommended an unprecedented and illogical constitution for the Council of State. And this Council of State in order that brakes may be available to the *n<sup>th</sup>* degree, should not be subject to dissolution and shall last not for five years as at present, nor for seven years as the White Paper proposed, but for nine years.

\* Report of the Indian Franchise Committee, Vol. I, p. 160.

\* J. P. C. Report, Vol. I, Part II, p. 374.



Even if 'responsibility at the centre' had formed the basis of the Joint Committee's proposals, the nature of the body to which the executive is to be made responsible would have made the scheme a sham—unacceptable and meaningless. And a change of the system shall not take place before the expiry of ten years, and even that through a special prayer to Parliament by the Indian Legislature by means of a Resolution which again "should be confined in scope to matters concerning the size and composition of, and the franchise for, the Legislatures." Could mockery go further?

## VIII

### ECONOMIC PROVISIONS

#### (A) THE RESERVE BANK

Of the prerequisites of a financial character for the establishment of a Federal Government the most important was the establishment of a Reserve Bank, "free from political influence" which must be successfully working before the first federal Ministry comes into being. The Joint Committee is evidently satisfied with the provisions of the Indian Reserve Bank Act of 1934 passed in the teeth of opposition of a large body of Indian businessmen, economists and publicmen. Even the Labour members on the Committee took occasion to protest against making the Bank absolutely impervious to national control and suggested the following amendment to the relevant sections of the Report :

"We note that neither at the first nor at the second Round Table Conference was the establishment of the Reserve Bank treated as a condition precedent to the inauguration of the Federation. It was an entirely new proposal brought forward at the Third Round Table Conference. . . . Assuming the establishment of the Bank, we suggest that the Governor and Deputy Governor should be selected by the Governor-General in consultation with his Ministers.

"We are not in agreement with the underlying conception of the establishment of the Reserve Bank, namely, that it should be entirely free from political influence.

"We consider that decision of policy in respect of credit and currency are vital interests of the community. They should not be made by shareholders whose private interests may not coincide with the welfare of the State, but should be influenced by Government.

In any event it should be made clear that India's currency and credit policy will be decided in accordance with her own needs and not by

the influence of external financial interests or foreign creditors." (Vol I, Part II, pp. 427-428.)

The Joint Committee, however, would not tolerate any modification of the Bank Act. They observe : "Reliance on the Bank to play its due part in safeguarding India's financial stability and credit clearly demands that at all events its essential features should be protected against amendments of the law." Not being satisfied with the White Paper proposal demanding the prior consent of the Governor-General "at his discretion" to the introduction of any bill affecting the 'powers and duties' of the Bank, they recommend that "any amendment of the Reserve Bank Act, or any legislation affecting the *constitution and functions* of the Bank, or of the coinage and *currency* of the Federation," (italics ours) should require such prior sanction. They also emphasise that the appointments to be made according to the Reserve Bank Act (1934), by the Governor-General-in-Council will in future be made by the Governor-General at his discretion. The dream of financial *Swaraj* has been thus nipped in the bud, one would imagine, uprooted for ever!

#### (B) THE STATUTORY RAILWAY AUTHORITY

The Statutory Railway Authority is another of the financial preserves on which the Federal Government and Legislature shall be prohibited from encroaching, though they will have a very nebulous right of 'necessarily exercising a general control over railway policy.' A Committee appointed by the Secretary of State enquired into the problem of the Future Administration of Railways in June 1933 in London. It may be recalled that the proposal for the establishment of such an Authority did not strike the imagination of the British spokesman till at the very fag end of the third R. T. C. and even then it came as a suggestion, only to crystallize later into a fundamental proposal. The "very representative committee" whose proposals the Joint Committee generally endorse included members of the Legislature Assembly most of whom have not been returned to that body in the recent elections. Two modifications the Joint Committee suggest to the London



Committee's proposals, *viz.*, that three out of seven members of the Authority will be appointed by the Governor-General at his discretion ; and that it should not be composed on a communal basis. Further, though there need be no objection to the establishment of such a body by Indian legislation, the Joint Committee are "clearly of opinion that the Constitution Act must lay down the governing principles upon which this important piece of administrative machinery should be based."

On Sir John Wardlaw-Milne's motion the Joint Committee have added the following to the list of provisions suggested by the London Committee in this connection, in the Constitution Act :

"The continuance in full force of the contracts at present existing with the Indian Railway Companies and the security of the payments periodically due to them in respect of guaranteed interest, share of earnings and surplus profits, as well as the right in accordance with their contracts to have access to the Secretary of State in regard to disputed points and if they so desire, to proceed to arbitration."

And the ubiquitous Governor-General is made to reappear as the guardian of the Authority as another of his 'special responsibilities', on the motion of Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Butler.

The Ministers in charge of finance, commerce and industries do not appear in the picture at all, except for occasional consultations. Even the major appointments to be made by the Railway Authority would require the approval of the Governor-General alone. The provisions have evidently not been made with a view to the promotion of Indian trade and commerce but with an eye to the maintenance of vested interests of British investors and traders on the one hand, and the British War Office on the other. One only wonders how the Indian members on the London Committee swallowed most of the provisions. Presumably the wonder was worked by the incorporation of such harmless commonplaces as follows :

"The Federal Minister may by order require or authorise the Railway Authority to give effect to decisions of the Federal Government and the Legislature on matters of policy and it shall be obligatory on the Railway Authority to give effect to such decisions."

The Government of India had been

very solicitous, in recent years, on behalf of the Railways, as against motor transport in the country, due to the heavy financial commitments on Railways from the Government Exchequer : would the new arrangement be financially more satisfactory to them than the present ? One would pause for an answer.

## IX

### PUBLIC SERVICES

The distinguished authors of the Joint Parliamentary Committee preface their recommendations regarding public services by a well-known principle of public administration.

"The system of responsible government, to be successful in practical working, requires the existence of a competent and independent Civil Service staffed by persons capable of giving to successive ministries advice based on long administrative experience, secure in their positions during good behaviour, but required to carry out the policy upon which the Government and the Legislature eventually decide."

So runs the Report. Coming to details, however, the Committee fail to adhere to this wholesome maxim consistently.

Following the lines adopted by the Simon Commission, the Government of India Despatch, of September 20, 1930, and the White Paper, the Committee make thoroughly reactionary proposals with regard to the so-called 'security services' *viz.*, the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. The Secretary of State will, according to the present proposals, make appointments to these services and, secondly, rules framed in respect of these 'security services' shall require the approval of the Secretary of State's Advisory Council which is to contain a strong element of retired Civil Servants. This arrangement will place the members of the services beyond the real and effective control of responsible ministers and is likely to undermine administrative discipline and efficiency.

It may be pointed out that the proposals of the Joint Committee are in direct contravention of the recommendations of the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference. The Report of the Sub-Committee runs :

"Whatever decision may be reached as to the ratio, the majority of the Sub-Committee hold that the recruiting authority in the future should be the Government of India. They should leave to



that authority the decision of all questions such as conditions of recruitment, service, emoluments and control. Those who take this view attach importance to complete control over the services being vested in the Central Provincial Governments."

The Joint Parliamentary Committee recognize that their recommendations 'may not be welcome in some circles of Indian opinion' and they 'desire therefore to make it clear that it is not intended to be a permanent and final solution of this difficult question.' But their suggestions for the future are even less liberal than those of the White Paper. The White Paper proposed that at the expiration of five years from the commencement of the Constitution Act an enquiry should be held into the question of future recruitment for these two services, the decision on the results of the enquiry (with which it is intended that the Governments in India shall be associated) resting with His Majesty's Government, subject to the approval of both Houses of Parliament. \*

The Joint Parliamentary Committee, however, while agreeing that no useful purpose could be served by an enquiry before the expiration of five years, doubt the wisdom of fixing a definite and unalterable date for the holding of an enquiry of this kind. Secondly, the Joint Committee rely on an enquiry 'by a small body of administrative experts' and do not seem agreeable to the association of the Governments in India as provided for in the White Paper proposals. In spite of the pious wish of the Joint Committee to the contrary, the likely effect of the first recommendation will be to postpone the enquiry for an indefinite period of time; while the second recommendation may result in the exclusion of the representatives of the Governments in India from the personnel of the Committee. Finally, the Committee add that the Constitution Act should make provision for enabling the present arrangements for the recruitment and control of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service to be varied without an amending act. † The steel frame of the services is thus made absolutely secure.

Besides the above two services, recruitments to the Ecclesiastical Department and to the Foreign and Political Departments will

continue to be made by the Secretary of State. It is also provided that future recruitments to Forest and Irrigation Services will be made in India. The Civil Branch of the Indian Medical Service was proposed to be abolished by the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference. They further proposed that the Civil Medical Service should be recruited through the Public Services Commissions, with due regard to the requirements of Army and British officials in India for European doctors. The Joint Parliamentary Committee do not hesitate to turn down this reasonable proposal. They recommend that the Secretary of State must retain the power which he at present possesses (although medical matters have since 1920 been under the control of ministers) to require the provinces to employ a specified number of Indian Medical Service officers, who have had a period of military duty. This is autonomy with a vengeance!

The Report, like the White Paper, rightly makes elaborate provisions for safeguarding the pay, pension, interest and position of the present members of the All-India Services, and for safeguarding the pensions of those who are on the retired list.

With regard to Central and Provincial Services the Joint Parliamentary Committee lay down the formula that their status and rights are not to be inferior to those of the All-India Services. The special responsibility of the Governor-General and Governors, of course, extend to securing the legitimate interests and rights of the members of these services. It is also desired that the Executive Government as a whole should be required by law to give these services the necessary security. The authors of the Report are anxious to secure to these services two classes of rights: firstly, protection against individual injury amounting to breach of contract and against individual unfair treatment through disciplinary action or refusal of promotion, and secondly, protection against such arbitrary alterations in the organization of the services themselves as might damage the professional prospects of their members generally.\* The first of these two classes of rights do not, generally, seem to

\* White Paper Proposals, 189.

† Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, Para 298.

\* J. P. C. Report, para, 293.



'be unreasonable. But it is difficult to reconcile oneself to the recommendation that orders of posting or promotion in the higher grades shall require the personal concurrence of the Governor. Such a provision is calculated to take away a large slice from the usual powers that a responsible minister normally possesses.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee generally endorse the proposals of the White Paper as regards the constitution and function of Federal and Provincial Public Service Commissions. The Federal Public Service Commission is to be appointed by the Secretary of State and the Governor is to nominate the Provincial Commission. This is exactly on the lines of the Indian Statutory Commission. But will the composition proposed keep the Commissions free from political influence and communal pressure? Will it, in the second place, secure proper efficiency for the respective Commissions? In order to satisfy these two conditions it is essential that the Public Service Commissions should largely be composed of highly placed persons, mostly non-officials, who will sit on those public bodies *ex-officio*. This provision alone can secure independence and efficiency for the Commissions who will be called upon to discharge a most responsible function in the future Government of our country.

## X

### THE JUDICIARY

The proposals that the Joint Parliamentary Committee have made for reconstituting the judicial machinery of the Government of India are of a comprehensive and far-reaching character. Since the Supreme Court of Calcutta was brought into existence more than 160 years ago, in pursuance of the Regulating Act of 1773, there has been a persistent attempt on the part of the Executive to bring the judicial machinery of this country under its control and sway. The efforts of the Executive in this direction have not always succeeded owing to a variety of circumstances. The British tradition of independence of the judiciary, the vigilance of Indian public men, the liberal tendencies of the executive head, the broad outlook of the British Cabinet, each of these factors singly or in combination,

stood in the way of the change that the Indian executive so eagerly longed for.

In the present, however, the Indian executive have found a very convenient opportunity to realize their wishes: for there has been a singular conjunction of circumstances to favour them. Those who have watched the tendencies of the present British Cabinet and Government have seen how powerful is the retrogressive influence that sways them. It was only the other day that Lord Chief Justice Hewart was obliged to make an emphatic and powerful protest against the attitude of the executive in England when the Supreme Court of Judicature (Amendment) Bill came up for discussion before the House of Lords.

It appears that according to the present practice, Lord Justice Slesser would be appointed to preside over the Court of Appeal. As our readers must be aware, Lord Justice Slesser was, before he was elevated to the Bench, "a convinced supporter" of the Labour Party. He was Solicitor-General in the Labour Ministry in 1924 and resigned his membership of the House of Commons on appointment to succeed Sir John (now Lord) Sankey as a Lord Justice of Appeal in 1929. It was understood that the British Government wanted to exclude him from presiding over the Court of Appeal because of his political opinions and they proposed certain amendments to facilitate such action. In referring to the matter, Lord Chief Justice Hewart said:

I have not been for twelve years and ten months Lord Chief Justice of England with my eyes closed. I see what is going on; I read what is going on. I remember very well years ago when I became Attorney-General at the beginning of 1919, when the late Lord Birkenhead first became Lord Chancellor, a letter was put before him whereby the Lord Chancellor was to cease to exist, all judicial patronage was to be taken from the Home Secretary, and all powers were to be invested in a new person to be called, after the continental fashion, a Minister of Justice. And after that scheme had strong backing from some entity the origin of which I do not know, the legal foundation for which I do not know, the personnel of which I do not know, called the Lord Chancellor's Department. The Lord Chancellor was to go, and we were to have a Minister of Justice. Why? It is perfectly obvious why. Because if that were done it would no longer be necessary to have in this country a lawyer as the political head of the Judiciary. You might have a Layman, a successful tradesman. And what would follow that? What would follow would be this—that the



Minister would be ignorant of the personnel of the Bar, he would not have leaders of the Bar habitually appearing before him in Courts of Appeal in this House. When a vacancy occurred he would have to turn to somebody and say: "Whom shall I appoint?" And who would that somebody be? The permanent officials of the Lord Chancellor's Department.

Lord Chief Justice Hewart's spirited protest has led to a recasting of the provisions to which objection was taken. An examination of the proposals of the Joint Parliamentary Committee with reference to the Judiciary in India indicates a more sweeping attempt to bring the Judiciary under the dictation of the Executive. Important Bar Associations and Law Societies in India have already entered their protests against some of the most retrograde among the proposals of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. In the legislative councils, in the press, as also in the deliberations of some of the public bodies, including even the European Association, the proposals have come in for very severe condemnation. The reactionary nature of the proposals call for a more vigorous and persistent exposure of the policy underlying them.

The proposals of the Joint Parliamentary Committee include the constitution of a Federal Court for the determination of disputes between the constituent units of the Federation as also between any unit and the Federal Government. The Committee propose that the Federal Court shall have an original jurisdiction in—(i) any matter involving the interpretation of the Constitution Act or the determination of any rights or obligations arising thereunder, where the parties to the dispute are (a) the Federation and either a Province or a State, or (b) two provinces or two States, or a Province and a State; (ii) any matter involving the interpretation of, or arising under, any agreement entered into after the commencement of the Constitution Act between the Federation and a Federal Unit or between Federal Units, unless the agreement otherwise provides. This jurisdiction is to be an exclusive one. The Federal Court shall have exclusive appellate jurisdiction from any decision given by the High Court or any State Court, so far as it involves the interpretation of the Constitution Act or of any rights or obligations arising thereunder; but no appeal shall lie except with the leave of

the Federal Court or of the High Court of the Province or State, or unless in a civil case the value of the subject-matter in dispute exceeds a specified sum. An appeal to the Privy Council shall lie without leave in any matter involving the interpretation of the Constitution Act, but in any other case only by leave of the Federal Court (without prejudice to the grant of special leave by His Majesty), unless the value of the subject-matter in dispute exceeds a specified sum. The Federal Court shall have a jurisdiction similar to that possessed by the Privy Council under Section 4 of the Judicial Committee Act, 1833, which provides that His Majesty may refer to the Committee for hearing or consideration any matter whatsoever, as His Majesty may think fit.

With reference to the High Courts, the Simon Commission recommended that the charges of all High Courts should be put upon central revenues and that the administrative control of all High Courts should be exercised by the Government of India and not by the Provincial Governments. Indian opinion has expressed itself very definitely against the vesting of such control in the provincial Governments. In entire disregard of this opinion the Joint Parliamentary Committee recommend that the administrative control of all High Courts, including that of the Calcutta High Court, which is now under the control of the Central Government, should remain with Provincial Governments. The Committee however lay down that although the supplies required by the High Courts are to be provided by the Provincial Governments, such supplies will not be subject to the vote of the provincial legislature but will be determined by the Governor after consultation with his Ministers. The Simon Commission had very appropriately pointed out the importance of maintaining the complete independence of the High Courts, not only in respect of private litigation, but they had further pointed out how overwhelming was the importance of maintaining this independence in connection with controversies in which the provincial administrations might be involved. The Committee have turned a deaf ear to this very wholesome advice. Another very retrograde proposal that the Joint Committee make is



that High Court judges recruited from the I. C. S. should be eligible for appointment as permanent Chief Justices of High Courts as well as the Federal Court. They also recommend that the present statutory requirement that not less than one-third of the judges of every High Court must have been called to the English, Scottish or Irish Bar and that not less than one-third must be members of the Indian Civil Service is to be abrogated.

The proposals of the Committee regarding the subordinate judiciary are equally, if not more, retrograde and reactionary. The implications of the proposals are that the civil judiciary will be under the ultimate control of the executive and the High Courts will no longer be allowed to exercise the power of supervision that they have so far exercised over the criminal magistracy. In the case of promotions or postings of members of the criminal magistracy, the Minister will be asked to act on the recommendations of the district magistrates. "If these recommendations are disregarded," we are told, "some machinery

should be devised for bringing the matter to the notice of the Governor." In the matter of appointments the principle of communal representation will be applied. The principle may be extended to High Courts also. As regards the appointment of subordinate judges and munsifs the High Court will be consulted in regard to the rules to be framed laying down the standard of qualifications for the selection of candidates. The Provincial Governments will frame the rules and the Public Service Commission will select the candidates. In regard to the appointment of District and Additional District Judges, the High Courts will be consulted. The Ministers may or may not, however, accept the recommendations regarding promotion or appointment. Besides such recommendations of the High Court, even when supported by the Minister, may be rejected by the Governor. Regarding the promotion of the subordinate judiciary also the recommendations of the High Court will not be final.

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## POSITION OF INDIANS IN SEPARATED BURMA

By ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

**T**HE separation of Burma is now a settled fact. The policy was enunciated by the Simon Commission\* in the following terms:

"We base our recommendation that separation should be effected forthwith on the practical ground that no advantage seems likely to accrue from postponement of a decision to a later date."

The Joint Parliamentary Committee† are "clearly of opinion that the separation of Burma, if it is to be effected at all, should not be postponed."

Whether the people of Burma wanted separation is a controversial question into which we do not propose to enter. On the one hand, we read in the J. P. C. Report‡ that there is no reason to dissent from the conclusion at which the Simon Commission arrived, that "so far as there is public opinion in the country it is strongly in favour of separation." On the other hand, we are told by the nationalist Indian Press\*\* that

"the majority of Burmans registered their vote against separation at the only election that was fought on the issue."

Our purpose is to examine the position in separated Burma of Indians who are now living there, and who intend to go there in future either for permanent settlement or for temporary residence.

The total population of Burma in 1931 was 14,647,497.\* The actual number of Indians living in Burma in 1931 was 1,017,825. They, therefore, constituted about 7 per cent. of the total population. The number of persons speaking Indian languages was 1,079,820.

The importance of the position of Indians in Burma is not to be judged merely by their population strength. The proportion of Indians per 1000 workers in all occupations taken collectively is 95 (or 9·5 per cent). Their proportion per 1000 workers in agriculture is 122 (or about 12 per cent), in the production of raw materials 44 (or about 4·5 per cent), in the

\* Report, Vol. II, para 224.

† Report, Vol. I, Part I, para 422.

‡ Vol. I, Part I, para 421.

\*\* *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta), Town Edition, January 11, 1935.

\* The figures quoted in this as well as in the following paragraph are collected from *Burma Census Report for 1931*.



preparation and supply of material substances 209 (or about 21 per cent), in public administration and liberal arts 140 (or 14 per cent) and in miscellaneous occupations 415 (or about 42 per cent).

The following remarks of the Royal Commission on Labour in India\* are significant :

"The industries of Burma are largely dependent on Indian labour.....at least two-thirds of workers employed in factories, mines and oil-fields, railways and plantations, are Indians. In nearly every branch of organised industry Indians greatly outnumber Burmans and, indeed, all other races combined. In the unskilled occupations the proportion of Indians is particularly high....."

Those who, like the present writer, have personal knowledge of the conditions of labour in Burma, will realize to what an extent the economic life of that country is now dependent on Indians.

Nor is the debt of Burma confined to Indian labour alone. Though the major portion of the trade and commerce in Burma is a monopoly of the Europeans, yet the capital invested mostly by Hindus from Gujrat and Muhammadans from Bombay, Delhi and Bengal is not a negligible factor. The money as well as the experience brought to Burma by Indian merchants developed her resources and extended her market. The J. P. C. Report† shows that about 48 per cent. of Burma's total exports (or £20 millions) goes to India. The expansion of Burmese trade with India to such an extent could not have been effected without the help of Indian merchants, because India's imports from Burma consist mainly of rice, timber and oil—none of which is a monopoly of Burma, and all of which India can buy elsewhere. Even the Chettyars, uncharitably referred to in the J. P. C. Report§ as "Indian money-lenders who advance money on the security of agricultural land and crops, and whose operations, especially in times of depression, are such as to bring about an extensive transfer of ownership from an indigenous agricultural population to a non-indigenous and non-agricultural class," have rendered valuable service to Burman peasants. In the First All-Burma Indian Conference\*\* held in Rangoon in December last, it has been pointed out by Mr. S. A. S. Tyabji, M. L. C., one of the Delegates of Burma to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, that

"the Chettyars do not hold a large proportion of agricultural land, and that they are unwilling owners of whatever land that has come in their possession."

The Burma Census Report for 1931†† shows that the proportion of Indians among cultivating

owners of land in Burma is only 1·6 per cent or 16 per thousand, and not all of these are Chettyars. This proves the truth of Mr. Tyabji's statement. What Burma owes to the Chettyars has been explained by Mr. Rafi in his presidential speech in the same Conference. He says :

"The Chettyar's are the backbone of the economic life of Burma. They are not usurers but bankers, who are supplying a vital need, although they conduct their business according to the traditional Indian customs."

We have pointed out above that the proportion of Indians in "public administration and liberal arts" is 14 per cent. This proportion was much higher during the early years of British rule in Burma, when the Burmans were hampered by their want of English education and inexperience in western methods of administration. In recent years a policy of excluding Indians so far as possible from all Government, railway and municipal services has been steadily pursued. It has been made increasingly difficult for Indians to enter into the legal profession in Burma. The J. P. C. Report \* summarizes the position in the following words :

"There are certain legal restrictions in force at present on the right of persons of non-Burman birth or domicile to compete for certain public appointments or to qualify for the exercise of certain professions."

And legal restrictions are supplemented, when necessary, by administrative discrimination. It is by sheer efficiency that Indians are still occupying the important position to which we have referred.

Those enlightened Indians who have been occupying positions of responsibility and trust in administrative services and legal and medical professions have made notable contributions to make Burma what she is today. Many of them have made that province their home, and they have spared neither money nor time in making her worth living in. Indian educationists have done pioneer work in spreading western education in Burma. The University of Calcutta directed and controlled higher education in Burma so long as she was not able to establish a University of her own. It was the Bengali school master, poorly paid, cut off by the sea from his home, living for a life-time among peoples most of whom had yet to learn the rudiments of western civilization, who carried to the remotest corners of the country the English alphabet, and with it the spirit of the new age. It was the Bengali lawyer who played a leading part in public life, encouraged the Burmans to voice their grievances, and co-operated with them in making local self government effective and real. It was the Indian medical practitioner who penetrated into the mysterious hilly tracts and gave relief to the victims of epidemics and of tribal violence.

\* Report, p. 425.

† Vol. I, Part I, para 425.

§ *Ibid*, para 473.

\*\* See the report of the proceedings in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, December 30, 1934.

†† Vol. I, p. 136.

\* Vol 1, Part 1, para 474.



The cry that Indians are exploiting Burma has temporarily blinded the Burmans, so that few of them appreciate what Indians have done for them in the past, and realize what they can do for them in the future.

Let us now examine the effects of the Joint Committee recommendations on the position of Indians now living in Burma.

We have referred to the vast vested interests of Indians, their close connection with various trades, professions and services, and their contributions to the progress of Burma in every sphere of life. We have also seen that they constitute 7 per cent. of the total population. Discussing the question of communal representation in the Burma House of Representatives, the Report \* remarks :

".....the division between the indigenous and the non-indigenous (mainly European and Indian) communities is as marked as is the division between the non-indigenous communities themselves ... each community has its own culture and outlook on life, and these do not always blend. It is also to be observed that the minorities have their own representation at the present time in the Burma Legislature, and we are clear that none of them would be prepared to abandon it; indeed, the Burman delegates themselves with few exceptions, recognised, even if reluctantly, that the claim was one which must be met."†

That claim has been met by providing for Indians 8 out of 119 general constituencies § (i.e., about 6·7 per cent.), though they constitute 7 per cent of the population. Of the remaining 14 special constituencies, 4 (2 for the Burma-Indian Chamber of Commerce and 2 for Indian Labour) will go to Indians. Indians will, therefore, have 12 seats in a House of 133 members (i.e., about 9 per cent). The weightage given to them as a very important and influential minority is altogether insufficient. Of the 18 members of the Senate who will be elected by the House of Representatives, normally 1 and not more than 2 will probably be Indians; of the other 18 members who will be "nominated by the Governor in his discretion," there may or

may not be any Indian, because the "discretion" of the Governor is unfettered. The First All-Burma Indian Conference has, therefore, rightly protested against the inadequate representation of Indians in the legislature. In this connection it is interesting to compare their position with the weightage granted to the Muhammadans in India.\* They constitute 22 per cent of the total population in India, but provision has been made to secure to them one-third of all the British India seats in the Federal House of Assembly as well as in the Federal Council of State. In Madras their population strength is 7 per cent, but 13·5 per cent. seats are reserved for them. In the United Provinces their proportion in the population is 15 per cent., but they have 29 per cent. seats. In the Central Provinces their number is 4·4 per cent, but 13 per cent. seats are ear-marked for them. In addition to these reserved seats, they are eligible for all special constituencies (28 in the Federal House of Assembly, 19 in Madras, 13 in United Provinces, 8 in the Central Provinces). It will be seen that the weightage given to the Muhammadans in each of these cases is far greater than that given to the Indians in Burma.

The Joint Committee† have found it "impracticable" to accept the suggestion of the British-India Delegation that the new Constitution should contain a declaration of so-called fundamental rights. They have, however, made certain recommendations with regard to this question. They consider it necessary to provide "that no British subject, Indian or otherwise, domiciled in India, shall be disabled from holding public office or from practising any trade, profession or calling by reason only of his religion, descent, caste, colour or place of birth." They also think "that some general provision should be inserted in the Constitution Act safeguarding private property against expropriation." These provisions relate only to India; in Burma the people cannot enjoy any fundamental right. It is obvious that similar provisions are essentially necessary for Indians in Burma, so that they may use them as a final court of appeal in case of any legislative or administrative discrimination depriving them of their elementary rights as members of the body politic.

We are assured by the J. P. C. Report § that the Governor is to have a "special responsibility" in respect of "the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities." With regard to a similar provision in the case of the British Indian Provinces, the Joint Memorandum of the British Indian Delegation suggested that the phrase "legitimate interests" should be more clearly defined, and that an attempt should be

\* Vol 1, Part 1, para 453.

† A statement issued by the Burmese Chamber of Commerce (published in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 9, 1935) says with reference to "British and Indian commercial men" that "being neither the sons of the soil, nor even permanently attached to her, for weal or woe, they have no right to be classed as a Burman minority, e. g., like the Karens." But the Chamber has obviously forgotten that Indians can by no means be placed in the category of British traders. While the latter come to Burma merely for commercial purposes and leave the country as soon as business is over, many of the former have permanently settled in Burma. In some large towns they form the majority of the population—Akyab, 62·6 per cent.; Rangoon, 57·5 per cent.; Syriam, 56·5 per cent.; and Insein 55·3 per cent.

§ J. P. C. Report, Vol. 1, Part 1, paras 450 and 453.

\* White Paper, Appendix III, Part I. J. P. C. Report, Vol. I, Part I, pages 349, 113, 128. Census Report of India for 1931, Part I, Pages 387, 420.

† Report, Vol. I, Part I, paras 366, 367, 369.

§ Vol. I, Part I, para 445.



made to give a legal definition of "minorities." These suggestions have not been accepted by the Joint Committee.\* The political conditions in separated Burma will be so different from those in the Indian Provinces, and the position of the Indian minority in Burma so precarious, that these suggestions should be given legal effect to in the Burma Constitution Act. If any minority in any Indian Province is unfairly treated by the majority and the Governor concerned does not consider it his duty to exercise his "special responsibility" for any particular reason, the co-religionists of the suffering community living in other Provinces may initiate a country-wide agitation and even bring the machinery of the Federal Legislature to intervene in the case. But if any legislative or administrative measure of autonomous Burma affects prejudicially the interests of the Indian minority settled there, and if the Governor refuses to intervene, the Indians will be altogether helpless. The agitation of their brethren in India will be of no avail, and even the Government of India will not be entitled to say anything about the internal affairs of Burma. Under these circumstances it is desirable that Indians should be statutorily recognized as a minority in Burma, and their "legitimate interests" should be declared to include the right to practise their religion and to obey their social customs, the right to hold any appointment under the Government as well as under all local and private bodies, the right to engage in all trades and professions, and the right to enter all educational institutions and to claim that adequate provision should be made for the teaching of their mother languages. For obvious reasons the definition cannot be made exhaustive. In addition to those specific items which we have outlined, there should be another provision to the effect that it will be the duty of the Governor to intervene on behalf of Indians whenever he thinks necessary.

The Governor of every Indian Province and the Governor-General of India will be directed by their Instruments of Instructions to include in their Ministries, so far as possible, members of important minority communities.† But no such provision is made with regard to Burma. The presence of an Indian Minister in the Government is a good safeguard for the interests of the Indians, but far from recommending any obligatory measure in this respect, the Joint Committee did not even think it necessary to impress upon the Governor the desirability of pursuing such a course.

Reservation of posts in the Indian public services is recommended for Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans.§ With regard to Burma,

the Joint Committee\* "consider that both the education and the employment of Anglo-Indians should engage the special attention of the Governor in order that this deserving class should not be subjected to any handicaps either in the quality of their education or their eligibility for posts in Government service. It would further be necessary for regulations to be made laying down the percentage of appointments in Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, and the Customs' service, which could fittingly be reserved for members of the Anglo-Indian community." While this special arrangement is made for a community consisting of 19,200 members, "of whom just over half are concentrated in Rangoon,"† no reservation of posts is recommended for Indians, who number 1,017,825 and are distributed over the whole of the country!

Special provision is made for the education of Anglo-Indians in India as well as in Burma,§ but the problem of the education of Indians in Burma is not even referred to. The First All-Burma Indian Conference\*\* rightly demanded that statutory provision should be made for the maintenance of a suitable number of schools in each local area for teaching Indian vernaculars, and that the educational requirements of Indians in Burma should be a "special responsibility" of the Governor.

We now come to the question of the immigration of Indian labour into Burma. The Royal Commission on Labour in India†† agreed with the Burma Sub-committee of the First Indian Round Table Conference that "adequate attention should be paid to the question of immigration of Indian labour." The J. P. C. Report§§ has accordingly recommended that the Burma Legislature should be empowered "to enact legislation restricting or imposing conditions of entry into Burma of all persons other than British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom." The only safeguard, intended for the benefit of "Indians of good standing," is that "the introduction of any legislation regulating immigration into Burma should be subject to the Governor's prior consent." But the thousands of Indian labourers who now go to Burma every year will not fall into the category of "Indians of good standing", and it is extremely unlikely that the Governor's reserve power will be exercised "with a view to preventing the imposition of vexatious or unreasonable restrictions or conditions" on these people. The total number of immigrants into Burma in 1931\*\*\*\* was 775,963, out of which 617,521 (about 80 per cent.) were Indians. The

\* Report, Vol. I, Part I, para 79.

† Report, Vol. I, Part I, paras 112 and 192.

§ *Ibid.*, para 321.

\* *Ibid.*, para 470.

† J. P. C. Report, Vol. I, Part I, para. 470.

§ *Ibid.*, para 321.

\*\* *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January, 13, 1935.

†† Report, p. 440.

§§ Vol. I, Part I, Para 473.

\*\*\*\* Burma Census Report for 1931, Vol. I, p. 60.



provision made in the J. P. C. Report for their interests is by no means adequate.

The only positive complaint preferred against Indian immigrant labourers is that they accept lower wages, and thus oust indigenous labour and affect the standard of life in Burma. The Labour Commission\* came to the conclusion that "the main attraction which Burma offers (to Indian labourers) is that of a comparatively high wage." This statement is substantially true, but the fact that Indians go to Burma to earn more than they can earn at home does not prove that they are prepared to accept, and do in fact accept, wages which are too low for the Burmans. The standard of life in Burma has been lowered during recent years, not by the Indian labourers, but by the economic depression, and specially by the abnormal fall in the price of paddy and rice. The responsibility of Indians for the cut in wages as well as for increasing unemployment has not yet been definitely proved by any official or non-official inquiry.

The primary object of the J. P. C. Report in recommending the imposition of restrictions and conditions on immigration is † "to regulate the influx of cheap labour in competition with indigenous sources of supply." But the Joint Committee, as well as those Burmans who are elated at the prospect of the expulsion of the Indian labourers, have not paused to consider whether "indigenous sources of supply" will be sufficient for the needs of Burma. The Labour Commission expressed their doubt "as to whether, if the economic position became easier (for the Burmans), there would be adequate Burmese labour available" for unskilled monotonous work. Indeed, it is increasing economic pressure, and not a sudden adjustment of the views of the mass with the requirements of modern industrial civilization, which is responsible for the eagerness of the Burmans to compete in fields hitherto left to the Indians. The inevitable result of the expulsion of Indian labour will be that, as soon as the economic condition of the country will improve, Burmans will refuse to remain associated with undignified forms of labour, and the entire agricultural and industrial organization of the country will be dislocated. It is difficult to understand how the leaders of public opinion in Burma consider such a position with equanimity.

There is another aspect of the problem which the Burmans will do well to consider in detail. For many years to come they will require the help of immigrants for the development of the splendid natural resources of their country. The following list ‡ will show the position in some of the important provinces.

Province	Population per square mile	Total uncultivated land (in acres) available for cultivation.
Bengal	616	5,971,428
United Provinces	442	10,647,202
Madras	328	12,919,111
Punjab	209	14,826,306
Bombay	162	6,785,990
Burma	63	59,788,871

It is clear, therefore, that there is enough room in Burma for new immigrants, and that it is hardly possible for her small population to make the entire country agriculturally and industrially productive. The natural policy of the Burmans in these circumstances will be to absorb as large a number of Indians as possible. Whether the policy of exclusion will temporarily relax the economic pressure is problematic; that it will prove unprofitable in the long run is almost certain.

The All-Burma Separationists' Conference recently held in Rangoon\* passed resolutions expressing "resentment at the attitude of certain Indian political leaders in Burma in ignoring the fundamental rights and privileges of the indigenous population for securing further communal concessions", and opposing "such a constitution as failed to protect the indigenous population from undesirable outside competition." The so-called "communal concessions" are essentially necessary for the protection of Indian interests in Burma, because the Indians really constitute a different community, and because the attitude of the majority is not what it should be. But it is difficult to understand how a weightage of 2 per cent., in the legislature, unaccompanied by any statutory recognition of fundamental right or any reservation of posts in the public services or any provision for education, can deprive the indigenous races of their "fundamental rights and privileges." As to "undesirable outside competition," the reference is mainly to the Indians and probably also to the Chinese, because the Separationists have not protested against the equality granted by the J. P. C. Report to British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom; but why should the competition of the British merchants be regarded as 'desirable, and that of Indians as "undesirable"?

We Indians want justice and nothing more. We want that Burma should recognize our historic contributions to her progress. We want that Burmans should offer us reasonable facilities to protect our interests, and to develop still further that friendly intercourse between the two countries which has been growing during the last half a century. We do not assert exaggerated claims, as the All-Burma Separationists' Conference†

\* Report, p. 439.

† Vol. 1, Part 1, Para 443.

‡ Burma Census Report for 1931, Vol. 1, page 33. And also Statistical Abstract for British India (1921-22 to 1930-31), page 432.

\* See proceedings published in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 15, 1935.

† See proceedings published in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 15, 1935.



did in demanding "the restoration of Assam, Manipur, Andaman and Nicobar Islands to Separated Burma." India and Burma were good friends before the advent of the British united

them in one political structure, and there is no reason why political separation should disturb their mutual good-will and confidence.

## THE REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE AND INDIANS IN BURMA

By GANAPATI PILLAY

THE Burma section of the Joint Committee's Report is a badly drafted document of 37 pages and 71 paragraphs; the portions dealing with the Indian question being especially haphazard, incomplete, obscure and confusing.

The Committee has given a clear verdict in favour of the separation of Burma from India; both on sentimental as well as on practical grounds. We are not, however, concerned with the question of separation *per se*; but taking separation as a settled fact, we would examine the position of Indians in Burma, after the event of separation, as envisaged in the Joint Committee's Report. But, as I have indicated, nowhere in the Report is the Indian position stated clearly, completely and unequivocally. One must not only read the "Report" with its Appendices, but also wade through the "Records," and then piece together the fragments gathered here and there to draw an intelligible picture of the situation.

The Indians in Burma are a minority numbering a little over one million (excluding the Indo-Burman races) in a population of fourteen millions. The Indian question is thus obviously a question of minority protection in a separated Burma. It should be observed, however, that the Indian minority is not an indigenous minority like the Karens, for example, or the Anglo-Burmans; but is mostly non-indigenous and can therefore be classed as alien such as the Britishers. The protection offered to the Indians in Burma has thus followed the lines of the protection offered to British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom, save in one important respect, namely, the right of entry into Burma.

The position has been stated in general terms in paragraph 359 of the Report which reads, in part, as follows:

"On the assumption that Burma will be separated from British India we think that British subjects domiciled in India ought to be accorded in Burma the same treatment which would be given in India to British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom, save as regards the right of entry into Burma, on which, in view of the special circumstances, we shall have recommendations to make in due course....."

But it has been more fully discussed in the memorandum dated the 21st December, 1933 by the Secretary of State for India on Discrimination in Burma, reproduced as Record A 2 at page 103 of Vol. II (Records) of the Joint Committee's Report.

The position is this. Paragraph 3 of the Secretary of State's memorandum dated the 3rd November 1933, contains provisions for the protection in India of British subjects of United Kingdom domicile and of companies incorporated in the United Kingdom but trading in India. These provisions have been embodied in paragraph 351 of the Report. It is proposed that the same protection should be provided for them "in precisely similar form and degree" in Burma. The reason is that "as Burma is at present a province of British India, and as British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom occupy in Burma the same position as in other provinces, and occupy it by virtue of the same considerations precisely the same degree of protection should be accorded to them in Burma, if separated from India, as is to be accorded in Continental India" (para 3 of Record A2). But these provisions have been modified in the case of Indians and Indian companies in Burma. The modifications will be discussed presently; but one wonders at the naiveté with which it is stated that they have been made "to meet requirements in Burma of British subjects domiciled in India"; as though the original provisions did not satisfy Indian opinion, and they were consequently modified to meet—save the mark!—the wishes of the Indians in Burma.

The most notable modification is the denial of the right of entry into Burma of British subjects domiciled in India—a right which is conceded to British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom. This is sought to be compassed by giving the future Burma Legislature the right to pass legislation restricting or imposing conditions of entry into Burma of British subjects domiciled in India and elsewhere, excepting the United Kingdom. The Committee's recommendation on this subject is to be found in paragraph 473 of the Report, which is quoted, in part, below:



"There are in Burma over 1,000,000 persons either domiciled in India or originating from some Indian province. Some are in the permanent service of the Government, but the greater number are labourers who intend to stay in Burma for a few years and who by accepting smaller wages tend to oust the indigenous labourer and to lower his standard of living. Others are Indian money-lenders who advance money on the security of agricultural land and crops, and whose operations, especially in times of depression, and such as to bring about an extensive transfer of ownership from an indigenous agricultural population to a non-indigenous and non-agricultural class. It is clear that in these circumstances it would be unreasonable to include in a new constitution for Burma provisions which would in effect give to all persons domiciled in India an unrestricted right of entry into Burma; and it is accordingly proposed that it should be competent for the Burma legislature to enact legislation restricting or imposing conditions of entry into Burma in respect of all persons other than British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom".

The introduction of any restrictive legislation would, however, require the prior consent of the Governor.

The facts of the case as stated above can hardly be disputed except in certain details. It may not, for instance, be true that the Indian labourer is undercutting the Burmese labourer and ousting him from the field. In fact, the argument of unfair competition may be easily exaggerated. Mr. K. B. Harper, the representative of the European Commercial Community in Burma, states, in his memorandum on Trade Relations submitted to the Joint Committee, that "One of the main reasons for the employment of Indians in Burma hitherto has been that Indians are, in many of the tasks on which they are employed, more efficient than Burmans." And Mr. Harper, representing the biggest employers of labour, ought to know. But Mr. Harper is not content to make a bare statement. He has quoted facts and figures. Says he :

"Following upon riots between Burmans and Indians in May, 1930, an agreement was drawn up whereby 50 per cent. of the stevedore labour in the Port of Rangoon was to be allotted to Burmese labour gangs, where it had formerly been almost entirely Indian. Even now when Burmese labour has had 3½ years of training and experience, its out-turn of work is so much below that of Indians that shipping companies have to pay their stevedores when Burmese labour is employed 20 to 25 per cent more than they pay when the labour employed is Indian. In the wharf labour of the Port which is more arduous than stevedore work, the Commissioners for the Port of Rangoon have given a trial in the last few years to Burmese labour. After a reasonable period of trial it was estimated that the Burmese gangs employed as 'casual labour' had turned out 45 per cent less work than Indian gangs. A further year's trial was undertaken with Burmese gangs on continuous employment. Careful records of the results were kept and it was found that

their out-turn of work was still 45 per cent less than that of Indians under similar conditions."

In the field of agriculture, there is no competition between Burmese and Indian labour as there the latter form only 4 per cent of the total workers (see Table 11 at page 135, Burma Census Report 1931, Part 1). In industry, Indian labour is employed because it is either indispensable or more efficient. Mr. Bennison in his report of the enquiry held in 1928 into the standard and cost of living of the working classes in Rangoon made the following observations in connection with the alleged competition between Indian and Burmese labour in Industry :

"But although the Burman may be expected to take an increasing share in industry the province will be dependent on Indian labour for many years to come, especially for the hard, monotonous, unskilled work which is so distasteful to the Burman. In Rangoon, Burmese unskilled labour is practically non-existent and it is difficult to imagine how industry could be carried on without the disciplined gangs of Indian coolies." (Report p. 92)

The Royal Commission on Labour (1930) has admitted that Indian labour is unquestionably more efficient; and expressed the view that there was a certain amount of uncertainty as to whether, if the economic position became easier, adequate Burmese labour would be available for the work done by Indian labour. "The need of Indian labour in Burma" says the Report, "which has been great in the past, may be reduced, but is not likely to disappear in any future that we are considering" (p. 440).

Mr. K. B. Harper, in his memorandum to the Joint Select Committee (1934), referred to already, observes :

"There are certain classes of work for which training is necessary, and in which few Burmans have so far sought employment. These include river engineering works and maintenance, river survey, and work as crews of inland steam vessels. There is also a class of specialized labour known as "busta" coolies, who are employed in the shipment of bagged cargo. Burma's exports of rice, all of which is packed and shipped in gunny bags, are handled at the rice mills by this class of labour. These are all instances of work for which in present conditions Indians are indispensable. . . . if for any reason India were to prohibit their emigration, the effect would be seriously to hold up the business of the Ports of Burma."

Nevertheless, it is universally recognized that the immigration of Indian labour into Burma should be regulated. The Royal Commission on Labour held that the existing amount of work for Indians in Burma could be discharged by a smaller labour force and remarked that there was a strong case for control of assisted emigration, "with a view to ensuring that men are not assisted to emigrate without a guarantee of maintenance for a period of reasonable length or of repatriation" (Report, p. 440). They



recommended that as soon as a decision was taken regarding the constitutional position of Burma, the question (of labour immigration) be examined by the Governments of Burma and India in consultation with all the interests concerned (P. 441).

Messrs. N. M. Cowasjee and S. A. S. Tyabji, Burma-Indian representatives, in their memorandum submitted to the Joint Committee stated :

"We agree that in all countries where there is considerable immigration of labour from another country, such immigration of labour is regulated through treaties between the two countries concerned, or by law by one of the countries concerned. As regards Indian labour immigration we agree that it may be regulated by a Labour Convention between India and Burma...."

Dr. Lanka Sundaram, who visited Burma in December last, (after the publication of the Joint Committee's Report), stated in the course of an interview :

"There is a surplus of Indian labour force, and sweated conditions do exist at the present moment. The best way to tackle the question is by way of enunciating the principle that Indian labour is integral to the prosperity of Burma, and then by appointing an expert Committee composed of members from both the countries to work out reasonable figures, indicating the complement of Indian labour force which is necessary so as to guarantee minimum living conditions and wages."

Mr. N. M. Joshi, who presided over the Burma Provincial Indian Labour Conference which met on the 12 January last in Rangoon, observed in the course of his Presidential address

"If regulation of the immigration of Indian labour into Burma may become necessary in the interests of Burman labour it may sometimes become necessary in the interests of Indian labour in Burma. But that is a matter which should be decided by mutual agreement."

The Joint Committee have in paragraph 433 of their Report remarked that "an agreement to control the influx of Indian labour into Burma should be concluded between the existing Governments." In paragraph 473 too, they have observed that these matters (i. e., restrictions on entry) would ultimately be arranged between India and Burma on a conventional basis. The proposals of the Committee in the matter of restricting the right of entry of Indians into Burma, therefore, accord with the views expressed by leaders of Indian opinion in so far as immigration of Indian labour into Burma is concerned.

But the thing that has caused resentment among the Indians in Burma is not so much the proposal to restrict the entry of Indian labour ; but the attempt to restrict the entry of Indians in general. The Indian community may be grouped into four classes : service men, professional men, money-lenders and labourers. We have

already seen that the principle of restricting Indian labour immigration is admitted on all hands, though the reasons stated by the Committee are far from being true. The question of the services and professions has been dealt with in paragraph 474 of the Report. The Committee have held that the existing legal restrictions on the right of persons of non-Burman birth or domicile to compete for certain public appointments or to qualify for the exercise of certain professions should continue. These restrictions, in so far as they are called for by local circumstances, such, for example, as the insistence on a knowledge of Burmese, cannot be held to be unjustified. But the further observation made by the Committee, that "as regards the future, the power of the Burma legislature to impose conditions or restrictions on entry should prove a sufficient safeguard" (against Indians entering the services and the professions), goes to show that the idea is not only to retain the existing restrictions on Indians now resident in Burma, but also to close the door against educated Indians altogether in future. However harsh this may appear, the fact must be faced that times are changed. There was a time when qualified Burmans were not available to man the services or the professions ; and Indians came to occupy a prominent position in them. But there is no dearth of local talent now, thanks to the establishment of the Rangoon University (1920); and it is only natural that the scope of the Indians in these fields should be narrowed down. The restrictions would, however, apply to persons of non-Burman birth or domicile and to future Indian immigrants. Indians born, domiciled and educated in Burma are not affected by the proposal. Any attempt at administrative discrimination against them will be a fit case for the Governor to exercise his special responsibility.

As regards the Indian money-lenders, the position as described by the Joint Committee is substantially correct. It is not denied that they fulfil a useful function, and have pre-eminently done so in the past. But "in a country where the natural land system is that of peasant proprietorship the extensive transfer of ownership to non-indigenous and non-agricultural classes is a matter which requires careful attention." Prominent among the Indian money-lenders are the Chettyars, hailing from the province of Madras. After them come the Marwaris, Multanis and Guzeratis. It would, indeed, be wrong to call the Chettyars money-lenders ; for the Chettyars are not usurers but bankers having a long and honourable tradition of service. The development of Burma from a land of virgin forests into an agricultural country has been made possible by Chettyar capital ; and barring the big European mills and factories, all other industrial and commercial concerns have been largely financed by them. The magnitude of the Chettyars' financial operations may be



gauged from the fact that the total Chettyar capital invested in Burma at the present moment is in the neighbourhood of 75 crores of rupees. The annual crop loans given to Burmese agriculturists is about 20 crores of rupees, of which the Chettyars furnish more than half. It is not surprising at all that as a result of financing agriculture on so large a scale, some land should pass into their hands, especially as there has been an unprecedented slump in the prices of agricultural products. The Chettyars are not anxious to possess agricultural land; and it is not their fault that some of them find themselves in the position of landlords as a result of circumstances entirely beyond their control. The proposed powers of the Burma legislature to restrict the right of entry of Indians will not obviously affect those Chettyars who are already in Burma. But it is apprehended in certain quarters that the Chettyars may be expropriated under the new regime and evicted from their lands. But considering the important position that they occupy in the economic life of this country, such apprehensions would appear to be highly exaggerated. No doubt it is contemplated to give the Burma legislature powers to prevent undue alienation of land. Such a proposal, however, is quite in conformity with the spirit of the international law on the subject. As L. P. Mair has stated in connection with the Central European States :

"Agrarian reforms have been centuries overdue in all the new States, and their execution must inevitably affect principally the alien minorities which during all these centuries have possessed land out of all proportion to their numbers. This is a hardship against which the treaties could give no protection.....because the continuance of the minorities in their former privileged position would have struck at the very existence of the new States." (The protection of Minorities, p. 20).

Nevertheless, a Land Alienation Act passed on the lines of the one in force in the Punjab will not deprive the Chettyars or any other landlords of their lands. Such legislation is aimed at prohibiting the sale or mortgage of agricultural land to a non-agriculturist and does not aim at expropriation. The position has been ably summed up in the following words :

"Any wholesale expropriation of the Chettyars however is unthinkable, for many reasons. The most whole-hearted admirer of the Burman must admit that his improvidence is partly to blame; legislation to evict Chettyar landlords alone would be a case of the clearest racial discrimination, to which no Governor could assent; legislation aimed at landlords in general would ruin too many Burman landlords to have much chance of success in the Legislative Council; the Chettyars are still by far the largest class of financiers in the country; and there is no other agency which could take their place, and the country could not do without them till some other agency has been discovered." (*Rangoon Gazette*, January 14, 1935.)

And we may safely leave it at that; especially as the questions of immigration and land alienation have been ultimately left in the hands of the Governor. Indeed if we may count on the suggestions made in the Secretary of State's memorandum on Discrimination in Burma, the position is further safeguarded so far as the right of entry is concerned. It is stated there that in case the precaution of obtaining the Governor's prior consent to any legislation of a restrictive character "is considered insufficient to prevent injudicious legislation affecting the entry of Indians in Burma it is suggested that the Governor's Instrument of Instructions should indicate that this category of legislation is one in which his discretionary power to Reserve Bills for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure might be exercised" (Para. 15.)

But apart from the question of the right of entry of persons domiciled in India, there is the question of companies incorporated in India, but trading in Burma. Special provision for their protection is to be found in subparagraph (iii) of paragraph 3 of Document A68, as modified to "meet" Indian requirements, which is reproduced below :

"(iii) As regards Companies which are or may hereafter be incorporated in India and trading in Burma, it is intended to prevent [subject to the provisions of any Immigration Law and to the special provision as regards bounties and subsidies of clause (vii) (2)] the imposition in Burma of any discriminatory taxation or of any statutory disability upon any such company, if the incidence of that taxation or disability is based upon the place of incorporation of the company; or the domicile, residence, duration of residence, language, race, religion, descent or place of birth of its director, shareholders, or agents, or servants."

The proviso "subject to the provisions of any Immigration law" has naturally given rise to anxiety in the minds of the Indian commercial community; for, it is evident that Indian companies cannot operate in Burma if the right of free entry of their agents, shareholders, directors or employees is restricted by immigration laws, in the same manner as the right of entry of other Indians. Here also, the fears of the Indian businessmen would appear to be exaggerated. For, if the whole question, of immigration is to be decided "on a conventional basis" as the Joint Committee have observed (para 473), the terms of the convention may very well provide adequate safeguards for Indian commercial interests in this respect. Besides, it may be reasonably expected that the Governor will not give his prior consent to any legislation restricting immigration which would create the absurd situation of excluding the agents or employees of Indian companies from Burma, while the companies themselves are permitted to trade in Burma.

The special provisions as regards bounties and subsidies, referred to above, would



apply to companies not engaged in Burma at the time when the Bounty or Subsidy Act is passed, in the trade which it is sought to subsidize by such Act. It is proposed in these provisions that a company, in order to be eligible for a grant or a subsidy, must be incorporated by or under the laws of Burma; and must fulfil such conditions as regards the composition of its Board of Directors and the facilities to be given for the training of Burmans as may be prescribed by the Bounty Act. These provisions follow the recommendations of the External Capital Committee (1925) and are applicable to British as well as Indian companies; and their fairness cannot be questioned.

There are certain other questions that have caused dissatisfaction among the Burma Indians. One is the question of representation in the Lower House. At present out of 80 elected seats (in a House of 103), Indians have nine including one seat allotted to the special constituency of the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce. In the proposed constitution, out of 130 elected seats, Indians have been offered twelve, including the two allotted to the special constituency of Labour to be formed hereafter; and the two allotted to Indian Commerce. It should be noted that the largest minority community in Burma is the Karen, numbering 1,367,673 (1931 Census) or 9.32% of the total. This community has also been offered 12 seats (or 9.23%). The Indians number 1,017,825 or 6.94% of the total, (including the Indo-Burman races, 1,199,991) and they have been offered an equal number of seats. The Chinese population is 193,594 (or 1.32%); and they have been allotted only one special seat (the Chinese Chamber of Commerce). When it is considered that of the Indian population over 63% is immigrant (see Burma Census Report 1931—Part I, P. 62); and the large majority of them are either agricultural or industrial labourers having no stake in the country, the number of seats allotted to the Indians would seem to be equitable.

As regards the question of franchise, the proposal is to make three years' residence in Burma as a qualification for the right to vote. At present only one year's residence is sufficient. The reason is stated in the Secretary of states' memorandum on Franchise (Record A 1) as follows:

"The great majority of the non-indigenous population will not have the vote till they have resided in Burma for at least three years, so that when the time comes for them to exercise the vote they will have had the opportunity afforded by three years' residence to acquire an interest in local affairs and exercise their vote intelligently." (Para 15).

A similar enactment has been made in Ceylon, where an Indian must produce a certificate from competent authority of five years' residence in

order to have the vote. The result of this change in Burma will obviously be to disfranchise a large number of Indians.

In respect of Indian education the Joint Committee is silent; although adequate provision has been made for the education of Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Burmans, who number less than 20,000. It is proposed to have special schools for these latter; first, because it is necessary that their children should qualify themselves for the services and the professions; secondly, because they should be brought up in a Christian atmosphere and taught by teachers whose mother-tongue is English, and thirdly, because the strain of learning Burmese up to the standard required by the ordinary schools is too severe on them. Apparently all these considerations do not exist in the case of the Indians; their children need not qualify themselves for any avocation in life; they have no need of being brought up in an atmosphere congenial to them; and the strain of learning Burmese is not so severe in their case, for while the Anglo-Indian boy has to learn one foreign language, Burmese, the Indian boy has to learn only two—English and Burmese!

The point is that in the entire drama of separation, Indian interests play but a subordinate part. Separation is desired in the interests of the British people and all other adjustments are made primarily to protect and promote British interests, and secondarily to humour the rising nationalist sentiments of the Burmans. Indian interests could not be altogether ignored; as the Indians occupy an important position in the economic life of Burma.

In the matter of Indian shipping, too, the Joint Committee have refrained from making any remarks. But in paragraph 3 of Document A 68 special provision has been made in this regard, which we quote below:

"Without derogation from the generality of the provisions as to discrimination, ships registered in British India shall not be subjected by law in Burma to any discrimination whatsoever, either as regards the ship or her officers or crew or her passengers or cargo to which ships registered in Burma would not be subjected in India."

This ought to satisfy the Scindia Steam Navigation Company.

The one point which deserves the greatest, but has received the least attention from the Indian leaders in Burma is the proposed Trade Agreement between India and Burma on the basis of a moderate tariff on the exchange of goods between the two countries. By the time this appears in print, the Trade Agreement will be an accomplished fact. Sir Louis Kershaw who visited Burma in December last in this connection is now in Delhi and it is already reported that an agreement has already been reached in consultation with Indian commercial interests. Whatever that may be, it is necessary to consider the true implications



of the Agreement. In the matter of trade, as between India and Burma, India admittedly occupies a position of advantage. According to the Joint Committee, (para 425) of Burma's total exports about 48 p. c. goes to India; while of India's total exports only 5½ p. c. comes to Burma. Of Burma's exports, the biggest item is rice; and India today is the only customer of Burma rice worth considering. The exportable surplus of Burma rice is between 2½ to 3 million tons; and it is recorded that normally India alone consumes more than a million ton, and in the last year she consumed as much as 2 million tons. Burma's other big exports to India are oil and timber. All these can be replaced. But India's exports to Burma, it has been admitted, cannot be replaced except in regard to coal and piece-goods. For Burma's rice trade gunny bags are indispensable and India holds a monopoly of jute and jute products. As regards the other articles of import, Burma can buy more cheaply from India than elsewhere. In case of necessity, India can use this advantageous position to protect the rights and interests of her nationals in Burma, if they are unfairly encroached upon or jeopardized. The Trade Agreement, however, will deprive her of this very potent weapon. In fact the Agreement is conceived in the interests primarily of British trade, and secondarily, of their henchmen, the Indian commercial community. The welfare of the Indians in general is to be sacrificed for the benefit of a few capitalists.

That is why the All Burma Indian Conference which met in Rangoon on December 28 and 29, did not touch the question at all. The secret, however, was found out long ago. While the Conference was sitting, Mr. B. Das, M. L. A., in a statement remarked that the position of Indians in Burma would be quite safe, if Indian merchants in Burma thought about the welfare of the Indian community and not of their own pockets. The matter was more explicitly and bluntly stated by Dr. Lanka Sundaram about the same time in the following words:

"It is out of the question that India would allow British industry, the Chettyars and the steamship Companies plying between India and Burma, which would naturally like the maintenance of the *status quo* to play havoc with the fortunes of her nationals in a separated Burma.

Leaders of labour cannot afford to allow either the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce, the Shipping Companies or the Burma Indian Association, which are either full or semi-capitalistic concerns to rule the fortunes of Indian labour in Burma..."

At this moment, two deputations are preparing to leave, one for England and the other for New Delhi. They are both composed mainly of the representatives of the interests mentioned by Dr. Sundaram. We await the result with interest.

16th January, 1935

## KASHMIRI LITERATURE AND FOLK-SONGS

By PROF. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

LIKE so many other Indian vernaculars, Kashmiri, the language of Kashmir proper, is an offspring of Sanskrit, the *lingua franca* of ancient India. With the advent of Moslem rule in Kashmir, there appeared Persian on the stage and consequently Kashmiri became as rich in the Persian light and colour, though it has never been the State language of the country. On some happy day, when the town-poets of Kashmir were busy in their Sanskrit compositions, some unknown folk-poet sang spontaneously in his mother tongue, Kashmiri, and laid the foundation-stone of its literature. Followed by many other bards and minstrels as he might have been, a repertoire of folk-songs and poems was transmitted at times.

"Of course, as in the case of all poetry," says the poet Rabindranath Tagore, "the folk-poems have different degrees of merit. The living stream that flows from the genius of a true poet has its origin, like the mythical river *Mandakini*, in an unattainable world. Then come those others, who set to work digging canals to take the water to the corn-fields."

Thus there came the hour of Kashmiri's higher

literature, after the cherished dawn of its folk-songs and poems, when the daughters of the soil, like Laleshwari (1400 A. D.), often called Lal Dyal, and Rup Bhawani (1700 A. D.), burst into spiritual poems, though their language was more or less Sanskritized. Havva Khatun (1500 A. D.), the queen of Kashmir's king Usaf Shah Chak, and Mrs. Bhawani Das (1800 A. D.) preferred the language, as it stood among the masses, and gave vent to their innermost feelings in beautiful poems. There were written epics like the Ramayana by Parkash Ram and Shiva Lagan (Shiva's marriage) by Krishandas. Romantic ballads like Gul Rez by Mukbul Shah, Shirin Khuro by Mahmud Gomi, and Himal-t-Nagrai, by Volialla Mattu have their own charm. Love-lyrics and spiritual self-expressions of Poet Parmanand, too, are noteworthy. All these are gems of Kashmiri literature. Again, there is one living popular poet, Golam Ahmad Mahjur, whose many songs are already on the lips of the masses.

But it is really a pity that except in a few girl-schools run by S. K. Toshakhani's Women's Welfare Trust, Kashmiri, the language of the soil, is taught in no school in Kashmir, and few



are prepared to recognize it as a language. The Moslems use the Persian script and the Hindus apply that of Hindi; Kashmir's own script, the Sarda, has gone out of use—only a few Pandits may know it. Both Persian and Hindi scripts, as they stand, are inadequate to convey certain indigenous sounds of the language. It is very recently that Mr. Toshakhani has begun to use the Hindi script, made easy for Kashmiri with some additional signs for his books, meant for the girl-schools. Let the State go on with Urdu as its court-language, but if the authorities could only have Kashmiri as an additional subject in the school curriculum, soon would dawn the renaissance of Kashmiri literature.

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The author collecting songs from the rural bards of Kashmir

One may divide the Kashmiri folk-songs into the following offshoots:

- (1) Opera-Songs—( बाँड जश्न )
- (2) Dancers' Songs—( बचनगमा जश्न )
- (3) Ballads—often called बात or कथ, literally meaning 'story.'
- (4) Spring Songs—( खेत ग्यवुन )
- (5) Harvest Songs—( लोनन्युक ग्यवुन )
- (6) Pastoral Songs—These may be further divided into two groups :

(i) Those sung in Kashmiri by the village-shepherds of Kashmir.

(ii) Those sung by Gujars in their own dialect.

(7) Boatmen's songs.

(8) Love-songs—( लोल-ग्यवुन )

(9) Marriage-songs—( वनवुन )

(10) Cradle-songs, Lullabies and Nursery rhymes—(having perhaps no particular name, but often called 'Lalnavan,' a derivation of Lalvun, meaning literally 'to lull.')

(11) Children's Sporting Songs—(often known as गिदन ग्यवुन. These are short rhythmic



A Kashmir Beauty

refrains, sung in chorus or semi-chorus by the children while they enjoy indoor or outdoor gambol and frolic.)

- (12) Sacred Thread Ceremony Songs—( यज्ञोपवीत ग्यवुन )
- (13) Rup Dance Songs
- (14) Semi-Mystic Songs—Current among the village holy men).
- (15) Dirge, popularly known as Van ( वान )

It is woman who first offers her heart in the realm of Kashmir folk-songs. Like a mountain-



bred stream, she flows with the impulsive vibrations of love-rich dance and music to become one with the sea. Her eyes, in the words of Puran Singh, 'Look up to no Heaven beyond the love of her man, faithful in life to him and ah ! in death !' Just like Kalidas's virgin goddess Uma, she awaits the glad response of her Shiva ; like Jaideva's Radha, she seeks the love of her Krishna with the Elysium grace and inspiration of an unfathomable maiden-heart. But unlike India's Rajput heroines, she is only the spirit of Love and Beauty and is never the mother of heroes. There might have been songs of woman's chivalrous character, too, that flew away from the living lips of the masses when there was no fresh air for the life-breath of such balladry in Kashmir's sad past



Mother

that tells us only about a single heroine, queen Kuta Rani, who once saved her country most bravely from the enemy, and then after some years she embraced death at her own hands, to save her chastity from the minister who usurped the throne. Somebody could certainly inject the spirit of the heroic ballad into Kashmir by trying his pen on Kuta Rani's ballad, but it should be written purely from the national view-point, portraying Kashmir's Kuta Rani, rather than the Hindu one.

\*

\*

\*

Below is given a short study of the Kashmiri Folk-songs.



A peasant Sings



A Kashmiri Pandit

Photo by Mahatta &amp; Co.

At the happy sight of saffron-flowers, agleam with golden tinge in the calm moon-lit night, the peasant is amazed and knows not whether to admire the beauty of colour or the soothing scent most. He is neither a connoisseur of beauty and scent, nor a mystic poet, but as the saffron flower is a thing of his life rather than a day-dream, he knows how to address it and sing of its beauty and scent—the cherished divine gifts :

Like gold art thou gleaming, O saffron flower,  
 Like gold art thou gleaming.  
 To thee do I devote my all, O saffron flower,  
 Like gold art thou gleaming.  
 Like a burning lamp dost thou look in moon-lit night  
 Like a burning lamp dost thou look.  
 To thee do I devote my all, O saffron flower,  
 Like gold art thou gleaming.  
 'Who hath given thee colour, O saffron flower,  
 Who hath given thee colour ?  
 To thee do I devote my all, O saffron flower,  
 Like gold art thou gleaming.'  
 'God hath given me colour, O peasant !  
 God hath given me colour :'  
 To thee I devote my all, O saffron flower,  
 Like gold art thou gleaming.  
 Who hath given thee scent, O saffron flower,  
 Who hath given thee scent ?  
 To thee do I devote my all, O saffron flower,  
 Like gold art thou gleaming.'  
 'God hath given me scent, O peasant,  
 God hath given me scent :'  
 To thee do I devote my all, O saffron flower,  
 Like gold art thou gleaming.  
 Just would I give thee a sweet embrace, O saffron flower,  
 Just would I give thee a sweet embrace :  
 To thee do I devote my all, O saffron flower !  
 Like gold art thou gleaming.

The peasant girls of Kashmir dream of their sweet-hearts being embraced even by saffron-flowers :



Towards Pampur flew away my love  
The saffron flowers confined him in sweet embrace :  
O he is there and ah me, I'm here  
When, when, O God, would I see his face !

A village belle thinks of herself outshining  
even a saffron flower, when she sings :

Proud of thyself art thou,  
O saffron flower !  
Far lovelier than thee am I,  
O saffron flower !

When the saffron is in full bloom in October,  
the peasant-girls celebrate their trip to Pampur,  
in songs.



A moslem saint



A peasant woman

Let's go to Pampur, O maiden !  
When blooms the saffron  
It makes my heart throb,  
And steals it, ah me :  
Let's go to Pampur, O maiden,  
When blooms the saffron.

The following is the song of a luckless one,  
not so fortunate as her sisters :

All the world, O saffron flower, is thy onlooker,  
But ah me, I've none.

All the more sweet becomes the cradle song,  
when the mother sings again and again, in a  
typical rhythm, the following refrain :

So delicate are thy feet, my darling !

That saffron flowers come and cling.

The peasant women celebrate the saffron  
flowers even in their marriage songs :

Here awaits thee, the groom's mother :  
Come out, O bride, with a saffron's shower.

Though as a matter of fact, saffron is an  
ancient product of Kashmir and is also mentioned  
in *Raj Tarangini*, the Moslem villagers in the  
vicinity of Pampur seem to believe that it is the  
miracle of Shok Bab Sa'b, a popular saint, in

whose memory they have a shrine at Pampur.  
The following song may serve as a portrayal  
of their mythical belief :

What a miracle of Shok Bab Sa'b,  
O ye saffron flowers of Pampur !  
I would address ye as my dearest ones,  
O ye saffron flowers of Pampur !  
I would embrace ye all, O ye flowers of love !  
O ye saffron flowers of Pampur !  
What a miracle of Shok Bab Sa'b,  
O ye saffron flowers of Pampur.

The end of the story is a little pathetic when  
the peasants sing of the last glimpses of the  
saffron flowers, after they are plucked under the  
contractor's inspection to be taken away for  
the further treatment of saffron preparation.

Addressing Samad, one of his fellows, sings  
a peasant :

How golden is saffron's colour, O Samad  
How golden is saffron's colour :  
Enjoy its full glorious view, Samad,  
How golden is saffron's colour,  
Collecting it into heaps we are drowned in sweat,  
Soon would it be taken to the contractor's place  
Enjoy its full glorious view, O Samad  
How golden is saffron's colour.

The Jhelum is undoubtedly an Elysian charm  
of Kashmir. "The line of beauty was never faith-  
fully depicted in landscape," says Vigne, "than  
being too much so, are its windings, as it  
approaches the city (Srinagar) from the southward,  
so just are the length and curvature of its  
sweeps, and so well-proportioned are its width



A shepherd bride. Often she is  
named Zuni (moonlight).

Photo by R. B. Holmes

and the space it occupies, to the extent of the  
rich savannah through which it flows ; tranquil  
and lake-like is the surface of the water. that at  
first, we cannot divest ourselves of the idea that  
Nature has called in assistance of art and has



ornamented the scenery beneath us with reference to the most approved of landscape gardening.”\*

The national love for the Jhelum† finds expression in many songs. The heroine of the following song adores the Jhelum-water as the water of love :

Come to my Jhelum, shepherd please,  
To cause thy sheep's thirst appease.  
All my boats would I illuminate  
To manifest thy coming, dear mate !  
Come to my Jhelum, shepherd please,  
To cause thy sheep's thirst appease.  
Green grass, with Love's water do I keep,  
O come and feed thy goats and sheep,  
Come to my Jhelum, shepherd please,  
To cause thy sheeps thirst appease.



Up : Gulmarg or the meadow of flowers

Photo by Mahatta & Co.

Below : Peasants in the fields

\* *Travels in Kashmir* by Vigne.

† Viath (वियथ) is the Kashmiri synonym of Jhelum and is in the feminine gender according to the native grammar.

The old Sanskrit name of the river is Vitasta (वितस्ता) but the word Viath is now popular with all the Kashmiris—Moslems and Hindus.

The Kashmiri Pandits celebrate Viath Trvah (the birth-day of the Jhelum) that falls on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Bhadra,

The following is a sweet duet, celebrating the Jhelum as the river of love:

'Take me, take me, O boatman ! to the yon bank  
O here flows the Jhelum, the deep river of love.'  
'My boat takes only the pair in love  
O here flows the Jhelum, the deep river of love.'

Even the small children of the Kashmiri boatmen have their own short rhythmic refrains, portraying their love for the Jhelum :

O thou slow-motioned Jhelum !  
For thee, let me devote my all, O Jhelum !  
How great is thy stateliness, O Jhelum !  
For thee, let me devote my all, O Jhelum !

\* \* \*

The Chenar is justly regarded a celestial object in a Kashmir landscape. Rich in foliage as it is, the stately Chenar is always cherished by the weary wayfarers.\*

Ask a Kashmiri concerning the emblem of Cupid, he would point to the Chenar-leaf according to his native folk-lore. Adoring her sweet-heart's Chenar-leaf as a love-letter, sings a village belle :

To me, O Chenar-leaf, my love has sent thee,  
My all, O Cupid, shall I sacrifice for thee,  
Thou art, O Chenar-leaf, a prince of beauty  
My all, O Cupid, shall I sacrifice for thee.

\* \* \*

As celebrated an old native proverb—shawl—Shali—Shalgam, Shawl, the world-famous masterpiece of art is the noteworthy product of Kashmir.

The simple song of a newly-married bride of Kashmir, becomes all the more love-lit when she sings with a heart, unfolding like a flower :

Shawl-wool shall I spin with my own hands  
And shall get it dyed in saffron colour.  
An exquisite shawl shall I weave with my own hands  
And shall get it dyed in saffron colour.

So deep in love is she with her sweet-heart when perhaps she is going to prepare a shawl that she has forgotten to consider that there is no need of dying the cloth if it is made of dyed thread.

Again she sings of shawl-wool's softness† :

when at Ver-Nag, the source of the river, they take an auspicious bath.

\* Laleshwari, the mystic poetess of Kashmir, sings of Chenar as a symbol of an ideal housewife, who is hospitable to any one who knocks at her door :

कंच चन रनि छइ शिहिज बूनि ।

नेरव निवर शुदुल करऊ ॥

'To some wife is like a shady Chenar  
Let us go (ye friends) to cool ourself under it.'

† To the Kashmiri nothing is as soft as Pashmina (shawl-wool or a cloth made of it) and it is an emblem when he vibrates a native proverb !

पशमोन सुई छेह नरमी

'Only Pashmina has softness.'





Up: (i) Pastoral life

Below: (ii) When a Kasmiri Shepherd dances

How soft—O how soft, is the shawl-wool,

A song of its softness, I'll sing,

O the shawl-wool is a heavenly thing,

A song of its softness, I'll sing.

My mate's head is crowned with a shawl-wool

On his person looks lovely the shawl-wool

On my home-loom was woven the cloth of

A song of its softness, I'll sing.

\* \* \* \*

The Kashmiri marriage begins with the name of God. The following is one of many Moslem marriage songs:

After uttering Bismilla\*shall I begin the marriage-songs, God has brought about (this day, so auspicious).

\* Meaning literally 'in the name of God.'

The Hindu women dye the same refrain in their own colour:

After uttering Shuklam, shall we begin the

Mother Bhawani has brought about (this day, so marriage-songs auspicious)

Sweet is the Wedding-Prayer when the women sing of the rose and the streamlet of blessings as the emblems of the groom and the bride respectively:

May this rose blossom forth, O God, And may this streamlet of blessings run on, O God!

Sometimes apricot is a symbol of the bride.†

† In an interesting native proverb, too, they have compared the apricot to the girl:



Thou hast come out of the Paradise, O apricot !  
 Congratulations to thee, O princess, congratulations  
 to thee.

Handfuls of money, thy father spent freely  
 When thy mother brought thee forth, O princess !  
 The minister's wisdom, God bestowed upon thee,  
 Congratulations to thee, O princess, congratulations  
 to thee.

The joy of the groom's mother knows no  
 bounds when she sings :

The banks of the Jhelum I'll illuminate today,  
 O our groom will come in a *shikara* today,  
 The whole of Kashmir I'll illuminate today,  
 O our groom will come in a *shikara* today



Plucking the saffron flowers

The ripe barley field and the ripening golden  
 paddy-field are the symbols of the bride and  
 groom respectively when the bride's maidens  
 sing the following expectation-song :

कूरि बड़नस्त चेर पपनख ।  
 छुइ कैह ति लगान ?

'Very little time is required for the maturity of  
 the girl and the ripening of the apricot.'

The barley-ears are ready  
 O when will the paddy be so ?  
 When O when the distant  
 Marriage-party will arrive here ?

The bride's mother well expresses her joy in  
 the following refrain :

Live long O groom, live long,  
 O come up by our stairs.  
 I'll adorn thy sword with the lotus  
 O come up by our stairs.

The love-tale of Himai and Nagrai receives  
 a good tribute when the women adore the bride  
 and the groom as Himai and Nagrai respectively :  
 Nagrai will take his seat on the golden carpet  
 And shall take away Himai in the pearly palanquin.

Or :

Nagai has come in the golden boat,  
 Come, come, O Himai, come.

Or :

Lotus-like Nagrai will just come wearing a shawl,  
 Narcissus-like Himai here awaits him.

The Hindu groom is the Krishna of his Radha  
 when the bride's maidens sing :

Krishna has come to enjoy the Ras Dance.  
 We'll just form a ring.

The winter is intensely cold in Kashmir and  
*kangar* (an earthen fire-pot, placed in a small  
 typical basket) is the people's constant companion  
 and they keep it cautiously under their *pherans* :

The following is the proverbial rhyme that  
 portrays the happy place of *kangar* in Kashmir's  
 winter life along with the comic tinge of neglect  
 in the spring and summer, when the people do  
 not require it at all :

Asoj came and I sent a message for thee, O Kangar !  
 Katik came and I put a little fire, in thee, O Kangar !  
 Maghar came and occurred an urgent demand  
 for thee, O Kangar  
 Poh came and with chaff I filled thee, O Kangar !  
 Magh came and occurred thy famine, O Kangar !  
 Phalgun came and all remain in ambush for thee,  
 O Kangar !  
 Chetra came and all disliked thee, O Kangar !  
 Besakh came, O where shalt thou remain now,  
 O Kangar !  
 Jesth came and thou becomest stupid, O Kangar !  
 Asharh came and all left thy company, O Kangar !  
 Shrawan came and ended thy youth, O Kangar !  
 Bhadrav came and disease caught thee, O Kangar !

The people dream of good relations with the  
 cold months of Poh, Magh and Phagun, and  
 make a show of carelessness for Chetra when  
 it is not so cold, along with their happy note of  
 welcoming the Queen of spring, when they come  
 out of their winter-cells to enjoy life's new  
 colours. The following proverbial rhyme, put in  
 the mouth of a calf, gives a glimpse of it :

'Poh came making rejoicings,  
 'Magh is my father, what (harm) will it do to me ?  
 'In Phalgun will return to me thirty-six times of heat,  
 'What harm will my wife's brother Chetra do to me ?  
 'In Baisakh we'll go up to the meadows.'—  
 So said the male calf to the female one.

\* \* \*



In early spring the people sing of the New-Year's advent :

Walk with rhythmic paces, my dearie !  
The New Year has come.

Or :

Sing, sing, O nightingale, sing,  
Here comes the New spring  
Come to (my cot) and we'll make merry,  
Sing, sing, O nightingale, sing.

The country-girls' maidenhood blooms up  
anew in spring, and they sing :

Newer than ever is the world,  
Youth's song do I sing.



Shawl-wool goat (from a sketch)

The brides go to the meadows with their sweet-hearts and enjoy the cherished sight of spring-flowers.

Far-off forests have all blossomed forth,  
Hast not thou heard of me, my love !  
Mountain-lakes like Kal Sar are all  
full of flowers.

Hast not thou heard of me, my love !  
Come on, we'll go to the meadows where the lilacs  
have blossomed ?

Hast not thou heard of me, my love.  
They play hide and seek and sing :

Thoroughly shall I search thee  
Among the Arval flowers, my love !  
Wilt not thou meet me anywhere  
Among the Arval flowers, my love.

Every now and then they address their native  
rose, their favourite flower and sing :

Where hast thou blossomed forth ?  
O thou the rose of Kashmir !

These are the days when the fruits ripen and  
they sing :

A variety of fruits you may have in my Love-Garden  
Come to enjoy pears, apricots and apples, my love !:

Ear-ring is the emblem of a sweet baby in  
the following cradle-song :

I rock thee, my ear-ring, I rock thee,  
Thou art the god of love at evening  
And the sun at early morning  
I rock thee, my ear-ring, I rock thee.  
In which flower-garden  
Didst thou manifest thy person ?  
I rock thee, my ear-ring, I rock thee.  
Thou art the prince of Delhi  
And hast come to Lahore.  
I rock thee, my ear-ring, I rock thee.  
A gold necklace and a silver-ring  
Add beauty to thy neck.  
I rock thee, my ear-ring, I rock thee.



Up : A pair of saffron flowers.

Below : A peasant maiden with a bunch  
of saffron flowers

What matter, if the mother is poor, she is  
blithe as a bee and soars up high in the realm



of imagination addressing her child as the prince of Delhi. Again she sings of adorning her baby with many a ruby and to rock him in a sandalwood cradle :

Come and I'll rock thee,  
O come and I'll rock thee.  
With rubies I'll adorn thy arm,  
O come and I'll rock thee,  
A sandalwood-cradle I'll get thee,  
O come and I'll rock thee.

Again she compares her baby to a sun-flower :

Baby, baby, my sun-flower baby !  
O thou art asking for brocade, my baby !

\* \* \* \*

The folk-songs of Kashmir are the living monuments of Kashmir's poetic glory. Through these songs sings the Himalayan Muse; through these spontaneous sub-conscious self-expressions vibrates the very life of Kashmir. They are

indeed the true copies of the hearts of the masses and in them are enshrined the relics of Kashmir's home-spun traditions. How wonderful those innocent and childlike minds might have been who have woven these cultural fabrics at their own native looms. \*

\* It was in 1927 that I toured in various parts of Kashmir and made a short collection of the native folk-songs. Again this time I spent my full three months—October, November and December, 1934, to revise the old collection and to enrich it with more Kashmiri songs from the living lips of the masses.

My cordial thanks are due to Pt. Anand Koul, the ex-President of the Srinagar Municipality, Prof. Jialal Koul, M. A., of Sri Portap College, Srinagar, and Shivrath Shastri of His Highness's library, who most generously solved my linguistic difficulties. I must not forget my friend Mr. Bal Raj Sawheny, M.A., of Rawalpindi, too, who was my constant companion this time in the song-hunting as well as the photograph-snapping.

Author

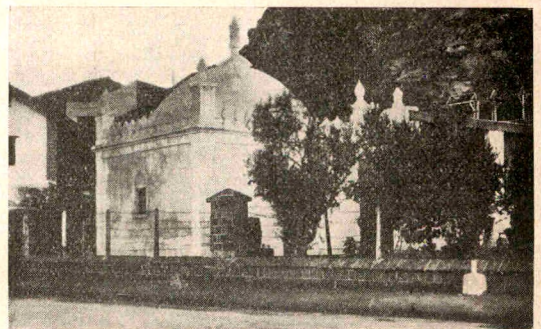
## A GLIMPSE OF ADEN

By SUBHAS C. BOSE

ON the 13th January, 1935, when M.N. Victoria of Lloyd Triestino called at Aden on her way to Europe from Bombay, some Indian residents of Aden arrived on board and invited me to accept their hospitality for a few hours. I did so with great pleasure. When I went ashore in their company, there was an agreeable surprise for me. I had seen Aden last in 1919 on my way to England but what a pleasant contrast! Now there were beautiful roads (probably asphalted), street-lighting with electricity and many imposing buildings to greet the eye. On enquiry I learnt that the population of Aden was over 50,000 and the Indian population well over 2000. The Indian settlers were businessmen and the majority of them hailed from Kathiawar. Aden is a flourishing port and trade-centre and the volume of trade is steadily on the increase. Raw materials like hides, as well as articles like coffee, are brought from the interior and shipped to Europe. Manufactured foods, including textiles, which are symbols of so-called civilization, are imported from Europe and sent into the interior of the Arabian peninsula. The administration is British in personnel in the higher grades. In

the lower grades, the employees are partly Arab and partly Indian. At present Aden is under the administration of the Government of India.

The problem that has been worrying the Indian settlers in Aden is the proposed separation from India. They are genuinely



Arab Mosque—Aden

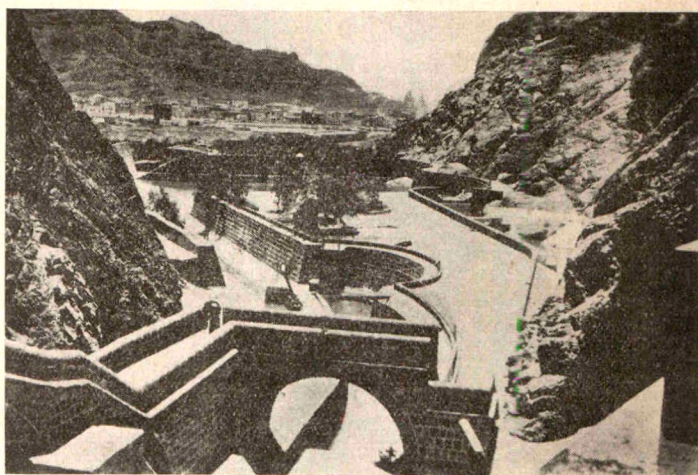
afraid that their interests will suffer greatly if they are cut off from India and thereby lose the support of public opinion in India. I tried to find out what was at the back of the mind of the authorities in launching this proposal. So far as the Indians were



concerned, they were of opinion that the motive was political. The Government wanted to convert Aden into a Colonial possession, so that even if India got Swaraj at some time in the future, Aden would be safe in their hands. Aden and Singapore were the two naval gateways of India and these two gateways were to be kept under full Imperial control. There were some Indian regiments in Aden formerly, but they had been sent back and there were only British troops, numbering about 2000, left there. There was also a strong contingent of the Royal Air Force stationed at Aden. The territory within a radius of 25 miles from Aden was under British protectorate and beyond that was independent territory.

Besides the strategic importance of Aden as commanding the entrance to the Red Sea, the place is also interesting because of its picturesqueness. Aden is sheltered in the bosom of some rocky hills. The major portion of the town is situated at the foot of the hills but some of the nicest buildings are built high up and there are winding roads, quite modern in construction, leading up to them. Tunnels have been built through some of the hills with a view to improving communications.

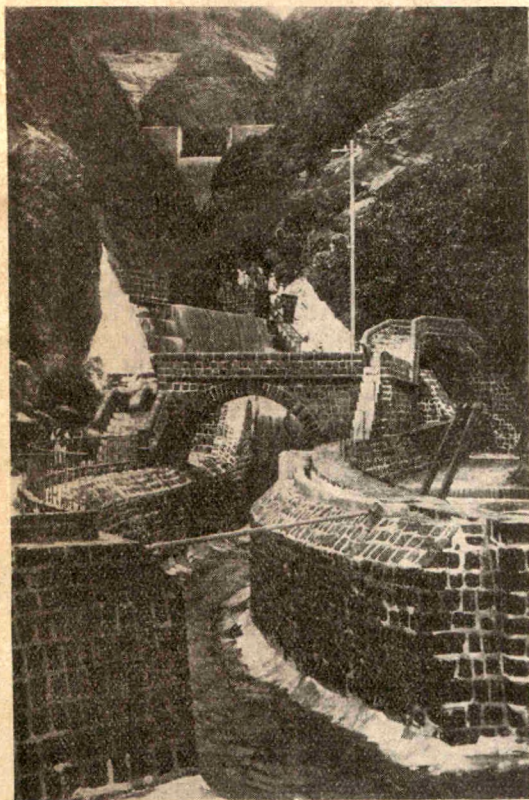
Rainfall is very scanty in Aden and hence the acuteness of the problem of drinking water. This problem was solved by the Arabs long long ago in a clever way. The rain falling on the hills used to be collected in a huge stony reservoir constructed out of natural rocks lying at the foot of the hills



*Top* : General View—Aden. *Middle* : General View of the Tanks—Aden. *Bottom* : Post Office Bay—Aden.



and throughout the year, water used to be drawn from the reservoir for drinking purposes. Besides this supply of water, there were very



Up the Tanks, Full of Rain—Aden

deep wells, of the same sort that one would find in Indian villages. The day we

reached Aden, there had been a heavy shower and the reservoir was pretty full.

I was glad to find that the Indians in Aden were keenly following events at home. They asked me for the latest information. At the group meeting—after giving me all the information I wanted about Aden—they requested me to speak on the Congress programme. I delivered a short address on the constructive programme adopted at the Bombay Congress and on the khadi movement in India. The meeting over, light refreshments were served and I was then driven round the town. A pleasant farewell ceremony took place at the jetty and I then returned to my boat *M/N Victoria*. By midnight we were once again on the high seas.

It would encourage the Indians in Aden greatly if prominent Indians take the trouble of landing at Aden and meeting their fellow-countrymen there. They remembered gratefully the visits paid them by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. There is also considerable room for cultural propaganda among Indians there and any Indians visiting Aden for that purpose are sure to be warmly welcomed. At present Pandit Kanahya Lal Misra of Benares is engaged in that work there, but he is to leave soon.

It is the desire of Indians in Aden that there should be a strong agitation in India against the proposed separation. Whatever may ultimately happen, there is no doubt that public opinion in India on this question should make itself heard without delay.





## A CENTURY OF PROGRESS ART EXHIBIT, AND ENTERTAINING AND FEEDING THE MULTITUDE IN CHICAGO

By IDA M. GURWELL

**F**OR safety, the World's Fair Art Exhibition is housed in the vast galleries of the Art Institute. This Exhibition is an outstanding achievement. There are forty-three galleries containing 744 paintings, and 131 pieces of sculpture. An assembly of pictures and sculpture such as has never been seen in any country, in any exhibition. One finds here masterpieces never before exhibited in America. Both the 1933 and the 1934 Exhibition have depended upon the co-operation of Museums, private collector, and Art dealer, who have loaned masterpieces for a period of five months for the enjoyment of the throngs of people in Chicago during the World's Fair. One finds the Art Institute a quiet retreat, away from the bizarre, the tawdry of temporary things. Robert Morss Lovett, Professor of English, Chicago University says, "To turn to this noble monument of human endeavor is to find consolation, to become conscious of a principle of order at work in the chaos of progress."

Whether one is a student of art, or just one of the thousands who visit the Art Institute daily, he finds pictures to his particular liking. There is variety here. In listening to opinions of visitors one is convinced that the difference of opinion is not so much in the appeal of masterpieces to the individuals, but in the limited vocabulary, inadequate to express the effect brought about through the pictures he sees. The untrained say, "Lovely" with the enthusiasm that goes with a stronger word; "Pretty" when the expression on the visitor's face says "Beautiful." There is appreciation among all classes.

Who could stand before the masterpieces of the Western World unmoved? Great creative works strike deeper than the veneer of learning. They make an appeal to the inner consciousness, an unsounded depth, for want of a better name called, "Soul." We feel in watching the visitors that art and religion have a universal appeal and spring from the same source.

For the past twenty-five years an increasing interest has been manifest in the work of



Whistler's "Mother." Arrangement in grey and black. The most popular of 1933 Century of Progress art exhibits.

American artists. We find the Art Exhibit built around dominating personalities of the last two hundred years. In addition to these galleries arranged in chronological order, many galleries have been entirely rehung, the permanent collections of the Institute have been chosen as a background for this development.

The 1934 Art Exhibit of paintings and



sculpture of A Century of Progress has been arranged with two objectives :

First : To show the characteristics and development of American Painters from the eighteenth century to today.



The assumption of the Virgin

Second : To exhibit a certain number of outstanding works which have either originally belonged to the great European collections and Museums, or have at one time hung on their walls.

Last year a hundred years of progress in picture collecting in America was stressed. It was demonstrated that public galleries and private owners possessed treasures of great worth belonging to every period and Nation in the History of Western Art. This belies the mistaken idea that American Dollars have

not been used to find their equivalent in Artistic Selection and Creative Worth.

This year, Native Achievement is the theme of the Exhibition.

The Exhibition of 1933 is worth millions, one painting, Whistler's "Mother" was insured for \$1,000,000. This particular picture is not in the collection this year, but a whole gallery is given over to Whistler's Paintings, among them is, "The White Girl," said to be even a finer painting than Whistler's "Mother." The Paintings in last year's collection have been returned to their respective permanent abodes



The song of the lark. Voted the most popular of 1934 Century of Progress art exhibits.

either to Art Collector, Dealer or Museum, and an entirely different Exhibition is in the Art Institute. A still bigger and more varied collection. The list of lenders number collectors and private owners from all parts of America and many parts of Europe. The Exhibition of 1934 shows an investment of \$75,000,000. A tour of the Art Institute is equal to a month spent in the Art Galleries of Europe. Here are Religious Paintings extending over 700 years. The greatest Spanish



work of art in America, El Grecco's "Assumption of the Virgin," a painting worth between one and two million dollars—hangs in this Exhibition. Here are five masterpieces purchased from the Soviet Government of Russia. Three came from Katharine the Great's famous collection in the Hermitage, Petrograd, and two of them direct from Moscow. They are as follows:

Joseph and Potiphar's wife	Rembrandt
Music Lesson	Terborch
Le Mezzetin	Watteau
Le Cafe de Nuit	Van Gogh
Mme Cezanne in the Conservatory	Cezanne.

The Soviet Government needed funds. It is said that the people of Russia still believe the pictures are there, that the Government would not part with them.

As many as five thousand people have visited the Art Institute in a single day. So great has been the attendance that Chicago is soon to spend \$600,000 on a building program to enlarge the Institute. One finds diversified subjects in the Paintings that hang in this collection. "Daughters of Revolution" and "The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere" might give a laugh and a thrill; Eakin's colossal Painting, "The Agnew Clinic" holds one spell-bound; Winslow Homer's splendid Water Colors (he has a gallery filled) especially "The Fox Hunt," and "The Herring Net," speak strongly of Nature. One does not fail to see the helplessness of the Fox in The Fox Hunt and to feel the tang of the sea in, "The Herring Net." Turner's great canvas of "Dutch Fishing Boats"; Rembrandt's Self Portrait, in which the mastery of the qualities of light and dark is so convincingly shown; the dramatic action caught by George Bellows in his "Dempsey and Firpo" fight painting; Carot's canvas of "Silenus" painted in 1838, half-nude woodland nymphs who are dancing about the jolly old satyr; Millet's famous painting, "Bringing Home the New Born Calf" which is a fine representation of the movement in France known as "Naturalism." Here too is Delcroix's "Lion Hunt" which gives one a great thrill; Chadin's "Soap Bubbles" is very interesting. We might continue to name great and famous paintings for there are 744 of them in the A Century of Progress Exhibition.

But one is inclined to ask, which pictures of all the hundreds shown, are liked the best?

The one voted the most popular picture of the 1933 Exhibition is Whistler's "Mother." The most beloved picture of the 1934 collection is, "The Song of the Lark" by Jules Breton. More reproductions have been made of this painting than any other in America. The painting worth the greatest amount of money in the collection is El Grecco's "Assumption of the Virgin." This is the greatest Spanish work of art in America.

Judging from the sale of reproduction, the two Fra Angelico's "Gabriel," and "Virgin Annunciate," share public interest with other well-liked paintings. These pictures are small only 10 by 15 inches, but they are exquisitely painted, so clean cut they are like jewels. Painted in 1425, they were formerly owned by the Duke of Hamilton. The two pictures were loaned by Edsel Ford.

We should mention in passing the seventy galleries of pictures and art objects in the permanent collection of the Art Institute.

We spent a day in the Oriental Division. Here are priceless pieces from the Orient. Some from India. A fragment of stone pedestal from Gandhara, India, belonging to the 1st and 2nd century. It is one of the best examples of Gandhara sculpture in existence. There is in this collection a very fine stone figure of Yakshini from Gandhara, India. Its form indicates that it was used to decorate a stairway. There are particularly fine leather bindings from both Persia and India; some very fine Indo-Persian Miniatures. From Cambodia come the Khmer sculpture in the Oriental collection, which is said to be the finest outside of Cambodia. Cambodian sculpture is an off-shoot of the sculpture of India.

The Institute acquires objects of Oriental art of high quality artistically rather than an assembly of sculpture of merely ethnological and archaeological interest. It might be interesting to readers in India to know that a Society, known as "The Orientals," has been organized for the purpose of promoting the interest of the Oriental collections in the Institute.

We dare not remain longer in the Art Institute. There are many art treasures scattered throughout the exhibits at the Fair.



Here are jewels, sculpture, and murals of great value, so we shall continue with the worthwhile collections within the gates of A Century of Progress Exposition.

#### Entertaining and Feeding the Multitude at the World's Fair.

Rare jewels are displayed in the Treasure House Collection in the village of Merrie England. For safety they are placed in a vault each night. Here is a case containing nineteen miniature elephants made of precious stones and decorated with diamonds, rubies and pearls. The collection is valued at \$950,000.00. The Goddess of Eudra made of Emerald and studded with rubies and diamonds set in platinum, is worth \$17,000.100. Two necklaces, said to have belonged to Shah Jehan, are of great value. In this collection are famous Russian Jewels, and Russian Icons. There is Burmese Silver too worth thousands of dollars.

One of the most extraordinary examples of handicraft at the Fair is the picture in the Monastery Hill Book-Bindery Exhibit. The picture, "A Monk at Work in a Monastery Library," is a mosaic made of several hundred pieces of different kinds of leather, such as Levant, Morocco, goatskins, calf, pig, sheep and sealskins. It resembles an oil-painting yet no paints were used. The lovely tones were effected by the skilful blending of different colored leathers. The mosaic is a copy of an oil-painting by the famous artist, Gruetznner. The picture signifies the high quality and artistic eye of the workman. The Exhibit won the gold medal at the St. Louis Exposition.

The Pantheon De La Guerre, a World-War panorama, is more than four hundred feet long and almost fifty feet high. It is housed in its own building, circular with the picture extending entirely around the inside wall. Brought to America from Paris, the picture has a definite place in the program of World's Fair "Unusuals." The painting is the assembled work of 128 different artists, and includes portraits of 6,000 individuals who rendered outstanding service during the World War. This unusual picture is visited by thousands.

In the Chrysler Building are many

murals suggesting the colorful marts of foreign trade. They are stippled on glass and painted with transparent anilin dyes. These are Ceylonese and Burmese and show the entrance of the Shuadigan Pagoda in Burma. On another window is pictured a street scene in India, with snake-charmers and water-carriers from the immediate foreground. To the left of this picture is a replica of the Lama Monk's Temple in Khatmandu, Nepal. Ceremonial parties are approaching, typifying the royal elephants with the Princes of the East. Thousands visit the export section daily and are enthusiastic over the beauty of the murals.

Murals are plenteously sprinkled throughout the Fair. Ohio's Exhibit has a mural extending around the sides of the great hall. It depicts the history of progress in Ohio. In the Johns-Mansville Exhibit is a large mural done by Leo Katz, Vienna, Austria. It is 88 feet long and is entitled, "Give us this day our Daily Light." Large murals in the Hall of Religions portray the aspirations of the different religions of the world. There is a bas-relief here of Christ done by Lorado Taft, the well-known American sculptor. In fact most of the buildings have murals, excellent ones.

Street-singers entertain the crowds in every part of the Fair grounds. There are numerous outdoor acts free to the public; The dances in the different villages of the countries of the world add much that is colorful; The American Negro probably leads other races in rhythmic dancing, and in the deep pathos expressed in song.

An innovation known as the Fan dance, done through the manipulation of two huge ostrich-plumie fans, has taken the World's Fair pleasure-seekers by storm. In 1933, Sally Rand did this dance to the tune of thousands of dollars; in 1934, Faith Bacon, who is said to be the originator, has had her share of the money; both are at the Fair. Last year Sally Rand was arrested. This increased the curiosity of those who had not yet seen the dance, and the publicity added to the popularity of the dancer. The dance is artistically done by both dancers.

Swift's Exhibit has an open-air theatre



built over the lagoon. It seats 1700 people. Daily the Chicago Symphony Orchestra presents two concerts; one may sit and listen to the concerts of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra in the Ford Gardens; there is always music and one must be fair, in most cases it is good music. The Firestone Singing Fountain is the only fountain of its kind in the world. The volume of voice or musical instrument regulates the rise and fall of the water in the fountain and the color played upon the water, all in tempo with the music.

Overlooking the lagoon is an outdoor theatre that seats 10,000 people. Here water sports, acrobatic stunts, and other interesting events are staged. Soldier Field just outside the gates, stages spectacles great ones in connection with the Fair. The Stadium seats 110,000 people and many times during the Fair it has been filled to overflowing. Allied Music Societies; A Nation stages great events for and by its people. Mass entertainment is successfully presented here. Fifteen hundred girls did a butterfly dance against a background of green. Here in rhythmic iridescent loveliness these girls presented the dance to the great enjoyment of the thousands who saw it. Boy Scouts make camp in a remarkably short time, seven minutes, and those looking on, realize what an addition to any nation is the Boy Scout movement. Fireworks are shot away amidst the "oh's" and "ah's," of enthusiastic thousands.

At no place have so many famous villages been assembled. They are reproduction and replicas of sections of well-known cities in many parts of the world. There are famous taverns in all that specialize in the foods and entertainment of that particular country. The Spanish Village with ancient castles; the English Village at the time of Mr. Boswell and Dr. Johnson. Quaint spots of old England are shown. Shakespeare Globe Theatre in which his masterpieces are acted by a cast of excellent Shakespearian players twice each day. The Belgian Village where the wooden-shoed, colorful peasants join in folk-songs and native dance in the square at Brussels. This place was the most delightful spot of

the entire Fair in 1933, but because of the huge crowd that draped the balconies and stood watching the entertainment, several other reproductions of famous foreign cities were built and this year the crowds have been broken up, so that not so many attend the entertainment in any one village. There have been at least a dozen of these old world bits added to the landscape of the Fair. Every one have Native Dances, and the brilliant costumes along with the colorful attire of those who watch, make unforgettable pictures. The Swiss Village has a reproduction of the great clock-tower in Berne; and in the Chinese and Japanese Villages is to be found much oriental art as well as excellent oriental food. America has added her bit in the Colonial Village which has a replica of Mt. Vernon and savors of entertainment of the time of Washington. Yes, these villages bring foreign lands to us, through their peoples and customs, and through their faithful reproductions.

The Carnival spirit runs high at the Fair. It crystalizes at the Midway on Northerly Island. There are better attractions than last year and more of them. Many new causes have been added for the much needed laughter: Ripley's "Believe it or not" with freaks from every part of the world and in every stage of freakishness. (One cannot see where there could be anything funny about these unfortunates, just horrible). Liliputians, 115 of them housed in their own village with a theatre seating 1500 people where the talented midgets perform, the smallest man in the world is here. He is Werner Krueger, 24 inches tall, and weighs 18 pounds. There are many well-known professional entertainers among them. Frank Buck's Animal Show, Alaskan Dogs, Admiral Byrd's Ship. Trick buildings and the Hall of Mirrors, Breath taking rides spiral and otherwise, in fact it seems to think of something and one finds it somewhere on the grounds.

Near the Midway is the Sky Ride. It is one of the greatest engineering feats of the century. The twin towers standing 1850 feet apart are on opposite sides of the lagoon. Cable cars, filled with people, cross between them over the lagoon at a height of 210 feet.



The towers 628 feet high are the tallest structures west of the Atlantic. Otis Elevators carry visitors to the top of each tower where a glass enclosed observation platform awaits the spectator. Three million people in 1933 were carried to these platforms and took the ride across the lagoon. The observation platform at night is bathed with crimson light—Chicago's skyline is directly before us as is the length and breadth of the Fair grounds. This is surely the breath-taking thrill of a century. One is immersed in a multi-colored sea of light and surrounded with beauty unparalleled. In crossing between the towers one is suspended in upshooting rays of colored lights focussed on the stars. Lights too emerge from the back of the huge waterfall of the lagoon fountains directly beneath and come to a point near. One as a part of this experience feels himself the main actor of a glorified dream. The earth below rivals in beauty the Heavens above.

Children have their part in the Fair. A four acre tract of land on Northerly Island is given over for everything to entertain children. It is called the Enchanted Island. Parents may bring children of any age, leave them in capable hands for the day, and be assured they have been well taken care of. Enchantment in many forms all to the great delight of children. Grown-ups too may be found here taking a keen interest in children's activities. There are puppet shows, miniature railroads, swings, electrical devices, all of them work, and the playgrounds are sources of joy to the children. They have their own theatre too. Here are presented some of the finest Children's entertainment ever written. One of the America's leading composers, Eleleanor Everest Freer, has written music for several of the operas produced here. Her latest work is the music for the American Classic, "Little Women." This beautiful story of wistful girlhood has been sung, acted, and brought to life by Frances Coates Grace. Given before great representative groups in London recently it was an immediate success. It is work of this high standard that is presented to the youthful visitors to the theatre of "Enchanted Island."

It matters little where we eat. At a lunch counter where we delight in hot dogs or

hamberger, and watch the milling laughing throng about us; in a tea room in some quiet port where we sip tea and marvel at the greenish blue of the lagoon or lake before us; in one of the numerous villages where we touch old world traditions through the foods served as well as the entertainment; or if we dine as one of the numbers taking part in the mass entertainment of the great clubs and restaurants. There is good food and excellent entertainment everywhere. If one cares for the amber beverage beer, that quenches the thirst and cools the parched throats of many, it is to be found most anywhere. Prohibition is past history in the United States. Wines, beer, and liquor are served throughout the Fair. The Canadian Club in the same building with the Hiram Walker Exhibit, serve Hiram Walker whiskey with excellent foods daily. A good floor show is staged here with dozens of beautiful talented girls. In another part of the building, bottles in miniature holding a tenth of a pint of whiskey, are bottled, labelled, sealed, and delivered at fifteen cents each.

Among the large restaurants, probably the most popular one is Old Heidelberg. This restaurant along with the taverns of the Black Forest Village, bring us delectable bits of Germany. American as well as German cooking is served. Two orchestras entertain the crowds of people who pour through the doors daily, and wait patiently in line for a table, knowing they will be compensated by the excellent food and superior entertainment. The Bavarian Orchestra plays German Folk-Songs and Opera, equally well, and the singing waiters double in song in comedy; the guests join in, and merry-making runs rampant. Old Heidelberg has equipment to serve four thousand people at one time. There are seven hundred waiters. Fifty barrels of beer are kept cooling at one time, and an average of barrel of beer is served every half an hour. Foods are kept fresh and sweet in the great storage rooms; deliveries are made in the early morning for the same day. Kitchens and storage rooms, and equipment are kept spotless. One marvels at the system that handles the feeding of thousands day after day, without noticeable effort. One finds himself directing



tired footsteps in this direction, the waiters are well-trained; the musicians untiring; and the management has a way of extending *impartial courtesies*, that in *his diplomatic hands* becoming almost *personal favors*.

One would miss the most colorful and patriotic entertainment at the Fair if he failed to see, "Wings of a Century." This is a pageant of transportation in America. An army of actors are used. The largest collection of actual historic vehicles ever brought together and shown in action under their own power is here. Dozens of fine horses play a part in the transportation of the past century. Throughout the story there is action. Trappers and hunters penetrate the wilderness; Indian fights are shown. Covered wagons crossing the plains; cowboys, stage robbers, the gold hunters on their way to California; early days in Sacramento with miners, gamblers, and dance hall girls. Mutinous drunken sailors, queer post chaises, canal boats, horse cars. American locomotives, humorous travel episodes are interspersed throughout. The Mississippi river, steamboats, planters, ladies in crinolines, Mardi Gras Festival in New Orleans, Negroes, Levee loungers, and the singing of spirituals to masked revelers. Great dramatic moments are presented, as driving the gold spikes at the joining of the trans-continental railroads. First automobile at the World's Fair of forty years ago; the gay nineties, the first airplane flight by Wilbur Wright, and the grand finale of this brilliant spectacle shows giant modern

planes, all metal trains, luxurious automobiles and buses, all belonging to Modern America. The whole production is presented in an open-air theatre built for the purpose, and the huge stage has a railroad over which the trains have steam in and out under their own power. The back drop of the stage is Lake Michigan, the ceiling, the starry dome of heaven. Life in America as represented by transportation through the century, moves on, and time clicks off noted achievements over the century.

We have done little more in these articles than to touch upon the hundreds of interesting exhibits and attractions to be seen at "A Century of Progress" Exposition. Much is left to the imagination. The Fair continues. Thousands still attend daily. The attendance has not in 1934 been what it was last year but the Fair is acclaimed by all to be a better Fair in every way. To see the Fair is an unforgettable event, a memorable chapter in one's life. Thanks to the far-sighted men who organized and successfully carried through such a mammoth enterprise. That it is successful, no one who has seen it can doubt. Whether money is made or lost, has little to do with the fact that the greatest spectacle ever presented for the entertainment and education of mankind is presented to the people of the world through a Century of Progress Exposition. And it would seem, of all the outstanding achievements of the century, the greatest achievement is the world's Fair held in Chicago in 1933 and 1934.

October, 1934

## J. P. C. AND THE HIGH COURTS

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

**T**HE Joint Parliamentary Committee have recommended so many reactionary proposals that it does one's heart good to find that they have made at least one progressive recommendation. Before we deal with their reactionary proposals, it would be better if we note it down—they have recommended (and in this they agree with the White Paper proposal No. 169) that the Judges of the High Courts "are to hold office

during good behaviour, and not as is at present the case \* \* \* at pleasure." [para 331 read with para 323]

To appreciate fully the other questions at issue we give below a short sketch of the legislative history of the Indian High Courts. Soon after the assumption of the reins of direct government by Her late Majesty the Queen Victoria after the bloody events of the Sepoy Mutiny, the first Indian High Courts



Act of 1861 (24 & 25 Vict. c. 104) was passed by the British Parliament. At that time the Superior Courts in British India were (a) the Supreme Courts at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay; (b) the Courts of Sadr Dewany Adawlut for the Presidencies of Lower Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces; and (c) the Courts of Sadr Nizamut Adawlut for the Presidencies of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, and the Courts of the Sadr Fauzdaree Adawlut for the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. They were abolished and the High Courts established.

The Indian High Courts Act 1861 gave to the Crown authority to establish by Letters-Patent High Courts at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and at one other place; and chartered High Courts were accordingly established in 1862 at the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Section 16 of the Act which authorized the establishment of a High Court for the North-Western Provinces, was put into effect by the establishment of the Allahabad High Court in 1866.

The High Courts Act, 1865 (28 & 29 Vict. c. 15) gave powers to the Governor-General in Council to alter the local limits of the jurisdiction of the High Courts subject to the disallowance of the order by the Crown. The High Courts Act, 1911 (1 & 2 Geo. V. C. 18) increased the maximum number of Judges to twenty, gave His Majesty power to establish additional High Courts, and gave the Governor-General power to appoint additional Judges for two years. The above High Courts Acts were repealed and re-enacted by the Government of India Act, 1915. The provisions relating to the High Courts are now contained in Section 101 to Section 114 of the Government of India Act 1915-1919.

On the re-partition of Bengal in 1912, the province of Bihar and Orissa was constituted; and advantage was taken of the new powers given to establish additional High Courts by the establishment of the Patna High Court in 1916. In these provinces previously the Calcutta High Court exercised jurisdiction; and the establishment of the Patna High Court was virtually a partition of the Calcutta High Court. In 1919, Letters-Patent establishing a High Court at Lahore for the

provinces of the Punjab and Delhi were issued. At the time of the issuing of the Letters-Patent, these provinces were subject to the jurisdiction of the Chief Court of the Punjab, established by Act XXIII of 1865 of the Indian Legislative Council. In 1922, a High Court for the Province of Burma was established at Rangoon. At that date the Superior Courts in Burma were, for Lower Burma, the Chief Court established by the Lower Burma Courts Act VI of 1900 of the Indian Legislative Council; and for Upper Burma, the Court of the Judicial Commissioner constituted under the Upper Burma Courts Regulation I of 1896. On the establishment of the High Courts at Lahore and Rangoon, the former Chief Courts ceased to function. And these are all the chartered High Courts in British India.

The territorial jurisdiction of the High Courts should be noted here. At present the Calcutta High Court exercises jurisdiction over the two provinces of Bengal and Assam, and possibly over the Andamans and Nicobars under Regulation III of 1876. The Madras High Court has jurisdiction over the entire Madras Presidency. It also tries European British offenders for the Native State of Travancore [see Travancore Administration Report, 1107 M. E. p. 72]. The Bombay High Court exercises jurisdiction over the Presidency portion only; it has no jurisdiction in Sind. But it "has also special jurisdiction over certain cases coming from the Persian Gulf, Aden and Zanzibar, and it is proposed by the Home Government (contrary to the wishes of the High Court) to extend it to Abyssinia." [See the Memorandum submitted by the Bombay High Court to the Simon Commission, 1928.] The Allahabad High Court has jurisdiction over the Agra portion only of the United Provinces, but it also exercises certain revisional powers over Ajmer-Merwara. The Lahore High Court is the High Court for the two provinces of the Punjab and Delhi; and with the creation of a separate province of Orissa including portions of Madras, the Patna High Court also is going to have jurisdiction over more than one province. Besides the usual territorial jurisdiction, the High Courts have certain Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty jurisdictions.



The J. P. C. recommend that the administrative control of High Courts should remain with provincial governments (para 333) for "the High Court is, in our view, essentially a provincial institution." They admit "the importance of securing for the High Courts a position of independence and the largest possible measure of freedom from pressure exerted for political ends"; and this they do thus—

"The White Paper proposes (Proposal 98) that in future any expenditure certified by the Governor after consultation with his Ministers, to be required for the expenses of the High Court shall not be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly though it will be open to discussion by them." [para 332].

All the above recommendations are retrograde in character. As we have shown above, the High Court is not a provincial institution in the sense the J. P. C. think. Secondly, the powers of the provincial Legislatures in this respect being reduced to *nil*, but the expenditure over the High Courts being open to discussion, it will lead to irresponsible criticism, irresponsible in the sense criticisms over the Reserved subjects now are complained to be. Thirdly, the High Courts being made subject to the provincial governments, will not be free from political pressure. As the Government of India in their Memorandum before the Simon Commission have already noted as one of the grounds for centralization:

"The existing system has exposed the High Courts to criticism and censure in the local councils where under the existing system the High Court budget is voted. It may be contended that in the majority of these cases the criticism levelled against the High Courts has not only been factious and ill-informed, but has also tended to bring the Courts into contempt in the estimation of the public. A central legislature, whatever its faults, would, it may be hoped, be unlikely to afford any support to an attempt to base a censure of a High Court on, e.g., the low proportion of the representatives of a particular community in its ministerial establishment" [See Government of India's Memo. Vol. v, p. 794].

A sample of the debate on such occasions may be given. In March 1925 Moulvi I. Nurul Huq Choudhury, himself an advocate of the High Court and Chairman of the Jessore District Board, moved that High Court Judge's travelling allowances amounting to Rs 2,000 be refused. One L. C. spoke thus:

"I may say that the quality of the justice administered by the High Court has deteriorated now. I must most respectfully say that some of the Judges who ought to preside over criminal courts are now adorning the Bench, and I must most respectfully say that they have got a distinct bias towards some of us." (At this stage the speaker was called to order). [See Bengal Legislative Council Debates, 1925, Vol. XVII No. 4, p. 255.]

Fourthly, the control over the High Courts being in the Governor acting with his Minister, if the Minister is influenced by the Legislature, as he is likely to be, and if the Governor does not accept his advice, it will be a constitutional anomaly, and in practice mean the one man rule of the Governor. Lastly with regard to the Calcutta High Court, and in future with regard to the Patna High Court, we fail to see any reason why the Bengal or Bihar Governor with his respective Ministers should exercise control to the exclusion of the Governors of Assam and Orissa and their respective Ministers. The J. P. C. consider

"That the arrangement whereby \* \* \* for certain purposes decisions as to the strength of the Calcutta High Court and its establishment and as to its financial requirements for buildings and other purposes rest with the Central Government, though the extra expenditure involved by such decisions falls upon the Bengal Government is an *anomaly* which ought to be terminated." "But, in our view, it should be terminated not by placing financial responsibility for the Calcutta High Court (and incidentally all other High Courts) upon the shoulders of the Federal Government, but by bringing the Calcutta Court into the same relationship, with the Bengal Government as that obtaining between all other High Courts and their respective Provincial Governments."

This is ending the *anomaly* not by levelling up but by levelling down.

The Simon Commission, whom the J. P. C. have taken as their starting point and the text-book of their investigation, recommended levelling up of all the High Courts. The Bengal Government in their views on the Recommendations of the Simon Commission does not object to the Calcutta High Court remaining under the Government of India (see p. 98 para 49). The Punjab and the Bihar Governments, as well as the Lahore and Patna High Courts are in favour of the proposal. The Madras High Court wants the change; so does 8 out of the 11 Judges of the Allahabad High Court. The Bombay High Court giving their opinion before the Simon proposals were



published remained neutral; and wanted to express their final opinion later on. We do not know what their final opinion was. Such weighty opinion have been brushed aside by a stroke of pen.

If it be an anomaly that while the Government of India under advice from the Calcutta High Court sanctions an expenditure, while the Bengal Government has to meet it; the same can be remedied in two ways:— either, by making the expenditure on the High Courts a charge on central revenues, as the Simon Commission has recommended; or by placing the High Court under the Bengal Government as proposed by the J. P. C.

The chartered High Courts, especially High Courts having Original Sides, have certain special powers and privileges. For example, in probate matters, they can grant probate over properties in different provinces, which an ordinary district court cannot do beyond Rs. 10,000 or beyond certain limits. Mr. G. T. Williams dies leaving properties in different provinces; in granting probate of his will, fees at the enhanced Bengal rate were charged in respect of assets outside Bengal and credited to the Bengal Government under the existing financial rules (see 27 C. W. N. p. 812). This is neither just nor equitable. There may be technical justifications for the decision; but the probate duty being regarded as in the nature of death duties should be divided between the provinces according to the respective assets left within each province, if immoveable, or according to the domicile of the deceased, if moveable.

The better of the two alternatives seems to be to level up and centralize all the High Courts as recommended by the Simon Commission.

Now, a few words about the I. C. S. Judges. The J. P. C. have recommended "that the present statutory requirement that not less than one-third of the Judges of every High Court must be members of the Indian Civil Service is to be abrogated" (para 331).

Their reason is "that the rigidity of this rule has sometimes caused difficulty in the selection of Judges."

The real reason is that they are finding

it difficult to man both the High Court and the District Judiciary with I. C. S. men. Formerly, the prospects before an I. C. S. man choosing the judicial career were District Judgeship and elevation to the High Court Bench. The pay of the senior District Judges was, therefore, made relatively higher than that of the officer in the executive line. But now the difference in pay has been reduced, thanks to the Lee Commission's and other recommendations; and to the better and brighter prospects of an I. C. S. man choosing the executive career. The consequence is that the better and more brilliant type of I. C. S. men does not choose the judicial line; in fact, it has become and is becoming the dumping ground of those who are unfit in the executive line. How incompetent present day I. C. S. Judges have become will be clear from an example: a man was sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment; he appealed and his appeal was admitted by the I. C. S. District and Sessions Judge, but bail was refused. The hearing of the appeal took place some 6 weeks later, and the Judge delivered judgment after the expiry of the sentence. The matter was brought to the notice of the High Court, who acquitted the man and practically censured the judge. This was reported in newspapers several years ago.

To stiffen the District Judiciary, the Government of Bengal, for example, is manning it with new recruits from the Bar and by promotion from the Subordinate Judiciary. Of the 30 officers actually serving on a given date, 1 is an English Barrister and 6 promoted from Subordinate Judiciary. In 1921, there were in Bengal 26 I. C. S. District and Sessions Judges of over 5 years' standing, and in Assam there were 3 I. C. S. Judges; but in 1934 in Bengal there were only 15 officers of over 5 years' standing, and in Assam there were 2 I. C. S. Judges. The field of recruitment of I. C. S. High Court Judges has contracted from 29 to 17 men *i.e.*, there has been a reduction of over 42 per cent. In near future it is going to be still further reduced; while owing to the increased volume of judicial work the strength of the High Court is likely to be increased.

This recommendation of the J. P. C. which may seem to be progressive by some, is



necessitated by the exigencies of the situation. And if the J. P. C. have made one progressive recommendation in this direction, they have compensated it by throwing open the Chief Justiceships to the I. C. S. Judges. About the retrograde nature of this recommendation, there cannot be and there has not been any two opinions. All the High Court Bar Associations, both English and Indian, and all the District Bar Associations have condemned it. If the Chief Justiceship is open to the I. C. S., it means a further promotion to the I. C. S. Judge, which is likely to demoralize his judicial independence (more especially as the High Court is going to be provincialized); for we do not think the absurdity of the other alternative of the I. C. S. Chief Justices being recruited directly from among the I. C. S. District Judges to be ever contemplated by the J. P. C. even!!! In England, a puisne Judge is scarcely if ever promoted to be the Chief Justice, and there is only one instance

within the last 100 years; and in India the same rule has hitherto been followed. An experiment was made some 10 years ago in promoting puisne Judges to the various Chief Justiceships; and the experiment, with one exception, has been a failure. The promotion of a Junior Judge to the Chief Justiceship has actually led to the resignation of Senior Judges—a result to be avoided by all means. Ordinarily a member of the I. C. S. becomes a High Court Judge at a mature age—the average age of the I. C. S. Judges is 56 years, and the seniormost of them is 5th in rank; and he will be the Chief Justice at still older age, and due to retire at 60 shortly afterwards. Thus there will be more frequent changes of Chief Justices than under the existing practice, leading to more frequent breaks in judicial policy. It is calculated and estimated that the I. C. S. Chief Justices will be there for less than 2 years, while the average length of the tenure, hitherto, has been 9 years.

## "EMINENT AMERICANS WHOM INDIA SHOULD KNOW"

(A Review)

By PROF. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA, M.A.

RECENTLY a writer in the *Bookman* complained that the writing of biography had almost come to rival the Stock Exchange as a source of potential wealth and that history had been scoured to find suitable subjects and living celebrities were being besieged by ambitious authors anxious to write their lives. He, however, said that although all kinds of biographies—romantic biographies, manifestly-lying biographies, frank biographies, potted biographies, dry-as-dust biographies, scissors and paste biographies, memoirs and auto-biographies were being written, there was not to be found much fine biographical writing. He believed that a biography should give a substantially true picture of its subject and leave its reader with the impression of having made the acquaintance of a living being whose personality is as hard to forget as that of a most vivid creation in fiction. Judged by this last standard *Eminent Americans*\* is an extremely successful book. It is true it does not contain full-length biographies, but still it does leave on the reader's mind vivid impressions of the personalities that are dealt with in it. After going through this book one does feel that one has extended one's acquaintance with some of the noblest leaders of mankind and one has had an insight into their personality

and the secret of their being. The book, thus, enlarges one's consciousness and keeps one interested from beginning to end.

Dr. Sunderland in this book has not essayed any new experiment in the art of writing biographies, but has followed the good old traditions which are bound to hold the field when all the new-fangled notions about biographical writing have died a natural death. He does not belong, therefore, to any school and is neither a traditionalist in the narrow sense nor a faddist or an experimenter. At the same time, he has not written this book to order, with the desire of making money or earning fame. He has written about these Americans because he has known most of them and loved and admired all of them. They have enriched his own experience of life and human nature and he has written about them so that he might communicate his impressions about their personalities to others. He has, however, done so in the most admirable manner. It has not been his aim to show how little these great men were and how full of human failings. Nor has he tried to show how extraordinarily good or great they were. He has thus steered clear of the Scylla and Charybdis of realism and romanticism. He has also not been didactic in the sense of being instructive in a dull and tedious manner. He has only given us vivid and moving records of the lives of almost all the worthy Americans who have shaped the thoughts and influenced the course of the history

\* By Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland. Price Rs. 3. To be had of R. Chatterjee, 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.



of America. Thereby he has not merely written biography but also history—history in the sense in which Carlyle understood it.

No one who goes through this book can fail to admire Dr. Sunderland's catholicity of sympathies, his balanced judgment, his unerring skill in seizing upon the most salient points of every character, his art of plain and smooth narrative and his choice of the apt word and the precise epithet. Nowhere is he seen to exaggerate or to strain for effect. Everywhere he writes with ease and intimacy. He convinces because he is so truthful, he persuades because he is so sympathetic and he re-creates because he knows.

What a gallery of portraits he gives in this book; statesmen, poet-philosophers, champions of freedom and leaders of noble but unpopular causes, preachers, poets, men of letters, religious teachers, editors, educationists, noble women, all these live again in these pages. He does not only show how these persons lived and worked but also what they worked for. Every now and then there is an anecdote which shows the springs of these persons' being and everywhere there are judiciously selected quotations from the noble utterances and fine writings of these persons. Thus we meet with Abraham Lincoln, the man of the people, and learn how he got his rare insight into the hearts of the people and his passion for freeing the Negro. Emerson's account is one of the most moving that I have ever read and the author lets us into the secret of his inspired and prophetic utterance. We see the poet-philosopher holding communion with nature and thinking out those noble thoughts that have become the intellectual and spiritual currency of mankind. We learn how Garrison lived and preserved in his campaign against slavery and war. "He endowed his nation with a conscience because he himself yielded uncompromising allegiance to his own conscience." Lowell, the author of the *Biglow Papers*, is not shown merely as a caustic and quotable wit but also as an ardent lover of freedom. Thomas Paine, misunderstood and slandered by his opponents in his life, is at last shown as a person to whom all mankind should pay a homage. The man who said, "Where liberty is not, there is my country;" and, "the world is my country, and to do good is my religion," could not have been a 'filthy little atheist'. Longfellow is described not merely as a poet whose poems have touched the hearts of millions of persons but also as a person who aided the great social, moral and religious reforms of his day. "It is wrong to think," says the author, "that Oliver Wendell Holmes was only a wit and humourist and a poet of society. He loved his Alma Mater, his native city, his native land and his religion with all his heart." Channing's revolt against the traditional theology is graphically described and the secret of his great personality laid bare. It is shown how his books have penetrated into the remotest corners of the world and how they have influenced people in the direction of liberalism in religion. There is something noble in the story of Mrs. Stone and Alice Blackwell, mother and daughter who edited *The Woman's Journal* for the education of American women. We are shown how Whittier, the Quaker poet, himself lived up to the advice which

he gave to a boy of fifteen; "My son, if thou wouldst make thy life truly worth-while, truly successful, join thyself to some unpopular but noble cause." There is much of value in the story of Dr. Dole who wrote the beautiful and inspiring words:

"There is enough of God  
In the heart of a rose,  
In the smile of a child  
In the dewy blossoms of dawn,  
To prove  
That Beauty is the Soul of Him.  
That Love is His Sceptre,  
And that all things created by Him.  
Face not the night,  
But Eternal Morning."

And the final impression of Mrs. Howe, the first woman of America, is not that of an agitator, an emancipator or an organizer, but that of a mother who took such a living interest in the lives of her children. Wrote one of her daughters about her, "Our mother's genius might soar to heaven on the wing of such a song as her 'Battle Hymn of the Republic' but we always considered that she was tied to our little string, and we never doubted our perfect right to pull her down to earth whenever a matter of importance such as a doll's funeral or a sick kitten was at hand." Horace Greeley, the greatest of American editors, receives a befitting tribute from the author for having taught him to carry moral judgment into politics. The story of Dr. Eliot, President of the Harvard University, reveals him not only as the energetic builder of the University, but also as the man who did so much for the diffusion of general culture among the Americans.

The records of the lives of these persons are moving on account of their vivid and life-like presentation. All these persons are example of purposive living; they were persons who devoted their lives to the cause of freedom in the various departments of human activity and worked for it in spite of heavy odds. To the men of today who seek for cheap excitement and crave for sensation, this book is bound to show what life in the spirit means. The book consists, therefore, not merely of essays in biography but of essays in the art of living and of spending oneself out usefully for some noble purpose.

The book, as its title shows, will be of special appeal to the Indian readers. At several places in the pages of the book the author has referred to the conditions in India and brought out parallels between these persons and some of the eminent Indians. For instance, the author has shown some points of resemblance between the lives of Channing and Raja Rammohun Roy. In the same way, he has made pointed references to the work done by some of these persons in the cause of India's freedom. The book is, therefore, one which every Indian will do well to read.

Since the book deals with some of the most crucial movements in America's history Indians will do well to go through it, because, as everyone knows, India is passing through a great struggle, for the successful completion of which we require leadership, love of freedom and disregard of consequences which almost all these persons exemplify.



## INDIA AND DOMINION STATUS

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THE House of Commons is at present discussing the Government of India Bill. The House was fairly crowded on the first day when the Secretary of State introduced the Bill for Second Reading, but it was comparatively empty afterwards. By dint of pressure we have managed to drive the Government on to make a definite statement on Dominion Status. The words of the Secretary of State are worth quoting:

"The position of the Government, therefore, is this: They stand firmly by the pledge contained in the 1919 Preamble, which it is not part of their plan to repeal, and by the interpretation put by the Viceroy in 1929, on the authority of the Government of the day, on that Preamble that: 'The natural issue of India's progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion status.' The declaration of 1929 was made to remove doubts which had been felt as to the meaning of the Preamble of 1919. There is, therefore, no need to enshrine in an Act words and phrases which would add nothing new to the declaration of the Preamble. In saying that we stand by our pledges I include, of course, not only pledges given to British India, and to Burma as part of British India, but also our engagements with the Indian States.

"Rightly understood the Preamble of 1919, which I repeat will stand unrepealed, is a clear statement of the purpose of the British people, and this Bill is a definite step, indeed a great stride, forward towards the achievement of that purpose."

### AMENDMENT OF BILL NECESSARY

But the matter is not quite so simple as that. The 15th Schedule of the Bill proposes to repeal the whole of the Government of India Act of 1919, and one would have assumed that this included the Preamble. The Secretary of State agreed later, however, that he would move an amendment that the 1919 Act be repealed "except the Preamble." But Parliament is not bound by statements made in the course of discussion by the Secretary of State, but only by the actual words embodied in the Act of Parliament. It was for this reason that in the Memorandum submitted by H. H. the Aga Khan and other British Indian Delegates to the Joint Select Committee, they said:

"Indian public opinion has been profoundly disturbed by the attempts made during the last two or three years to qualify the repeated pledges given by responsible Ministers on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Since it is apparently contended that only a definite statement in an Act of Parliament would be binding on future Parliaments, and that even the solemn declaration made by His Majesty the King-Emperor on a

formal occasion is not authoritative, we feel that a declaration in the Preamble is essential in order to remove present grave misgivings and avoid future misunderstandings."

Nothing less will satisfy Indian opinion and the Labour Party will press for this amendment to the Bill.

### VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF PREAMBLE

We cannot forget that there are many and various interpretations of the Preamble to the 1919 Act. Sir Malcolm Hailey, with the authority of the Viceroy, Lord Reading, and the Government of India, made the authoritative statement in the Legislative Assembly in February 1924 that the term "responsible government" did not mean Dominion Government:

"I say there is some difference in substance, because responsible government is not necessarily incompatible with a legislature with limited or restricted powers. It may be that full Dominion self-government is the logical outcome of responsible government; nay, it may be the inevitable and historical development of responsible government, but it is a further and a final step."

It is true of course that the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, in 1929 gave the interpretation which I have quoted above and which the Government here now accepts as authoritative. But what this Government accepts as authoritative another Government, if such a thing were possible, with Lord Lloyd, Mr. Winston Churchill, Colonel Page Croft, Sir Alfred Knox and others of that kidney, would immediately throw over and give their own interpretation with probably just as much authority.

Sir John Wardlaw-Milne is the Chairman of the Conservative India Committee in the House of Commons and, in course of discussion on the Joint Committee Report in the House of Commons on 10 December, 1934, he gave it as his view that

"No pledge given by any Secretary of State or any Viceroy has any real legal bearing on the matter at all. The only thing that Parliament is really bound by is the Act of 1919 in which we clearly state that after a certain time and after the necessary inquiries it is left to Parliament to decide whether we should go forward, whether we should stand still, or whether we should go back."

But a greater authority than Sir John Wardlaw-Milne is amongst us in the person of Lord Rankeillour. He was for many years Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees in the House of Commons and if anyone can interpret Acts of Parliament he ought to be able



to do so. Speaking in the House of Lords on 13th December 1934 he said that

"The promise of the 1919 Act has been fully and amply redeemed. The Preamble of that Act binds us, but nothing else. No statement by a Viceroy, no statement by any representative of the Sovereign, no statement by the Prime Minister, indeed no statement by the Sovereign himself, can bind Parliament against its judgment."

#### WHAT IS RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT?

This Bill purports to confer on India "responsible government." What is responsible government?

If there are misunderstandings in India, the Secretary of State (Sir Samuel Hoare) and the Lord President of the Council (Mr. Baldwin) must share the blame.

In his speech in the House of Commons on 10th December, 1934, the Secretary of State pointed out that the Princes would only join a Federation in which the Indian Executive was responsible to the Indian Legislature and he added these words:

"It follows, therefore, that if there is to be an All-India Federation in any conditions that we can contemplate, that federation must be a federation with responsible government."

The Foreign Secretary (Sir John Simon) in the course of the debate on the White Paper used these words:

"There is no question at all that this country is pledged, as clearly as we can be pledged, in honour and in policy; and that pledge is undoubtedly to pursue in the Indian Empire a road which will lead to responsible government."

Mr. Baldwin, speaking in the India debate in the House of Commons on 7th November, 1929, said:

"Nobody knows what Dominion status will be when India has responsible government, whether that date be near or distant; but surely no one dreams of a self-governing India with an inferior status. No Indian would dream of an India with an inferior status, nor can we wish that India should be content with an inferior status, because that would mean that we had failed in our work in India."

If then India is being given responsible government under this Bill, she should, according to Mr. Baldwin, have Dominion Status at the same time:

"Nor can we wish that India should be content with an inferior status, because that would mean that we had failed in our work in India."

#### THE EVOLUTION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

The Simon Commission very clearly recognized the stupidity of making a rigid constitution which did not contain within itself provision for its own development. It was for this reason that they reported that

"the first principle which we would lay down is

that the new constitution should, as far as possible, contain within itself provision for its own development."

The reason they gave for this is just as apt today as it was then.

"Those who have to work a temporary constitution tend inevitably to fix their minds upon the future instead of on the present. Instead of making the most of the existing constitution and learning to deal with practical problems under existing conditions, they constantly endeavour to anticipate the future and to push forward the day for the next instalment of reforms."

They point to the evolution of responsible government in other parts of the British Empire in these words:

"It has been a characteristic of the evolution of responsible government in other parts of the British Empire that the details of the constitution have not been exhaustively defined in statutory language. On the contrary, the constitution of the self-governing parts of the British Empire have developed as the result of natural growth, and progress has depended not so much on changes made at intervals in the language of an Act of Parliament, as on the development of conventions, and on the terms of instructions issued from time to time to the Crown's representative. The Preamble to the Government of India Act declares that progress in giving effect to the policy of the progressive realization of responsible government in British India can only be achieved by successive stages; but there is no reason why the length of these successive stages should be defined in advance, or why every stage should be marked by a commission of enquiry. We are profoundly convinced that this method of enquiry at stated intervals has had a most injurious effect on the working of the reformed constitution, and on Indian political life."

#### A RIGID CONSTITUTION

They criticized the 1919 Act because it was a rigid constitution:

"The Reforms of 1919 did not make provision for a steady evolution towards an ultimate objective... As far as possible, therefore, the object now to be aimed at is a reformed constitution which will not necessarily require revision at stipulated intervals, but which provides opportunities for natural development."

And they continue:

"Finally, one essential and inevitable defect of a limited and temporary scheme was that it should be almost completely rigid. The Act of 1919 necessarily had to contain a number of detailed provisions which could only be altered by an amending statute... The general effect has been to cramp and confine development and to restrict the range of experiment. We consider that this inelasticity has been a great disadvantage in so large a country as India, where province differs so much from province... We believe that what is required is a constitution which will contain some element of elasticity enabling adjustments to be made in accordance with the conditions actually obtaining in any given province at any particular time."



The Prime Minister speaking on behalf of the present National Government at the conclusion of the Second Round Table Conference, said that

"in such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, it will be a primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own government."

Both the advice of the Statutory Commission and the opinion of the present Government as expressed above by the Prime Minister seem to have been thrown overboard. The Secretary of State, in introducing the Bill, said :

"This Constitution is a rigid Constitution and it can only be amended by future Acts of Parliament."

The Conservative Party has frequently been referred to as the stupid party. Certainly they seem to have learned nothing from the events of recent years in India.

#### A CHALLENGE TO INDIANS

Of course the communal and other differences in India play into the hands of the Government. The Secretary of State said that "neither now nor at any future time is it possible to hope for general agreement in India about any scheme. If Parliament waits for general agreement, it will wait for ever." If only some All Parties Conference could be held in India, really representative of the various interests, and could agree on the basis of a Constitution on the lines either of the Commonwealth of India Bill introduced in the House of Commons years ago by Mr. George Lansbury, or on the lines of the Constitution proposed by the Nehru Report, a great deal of the argument used by the Government here would no longer be available to them.

Lord Birkenhead, when he was Secretary of State, challenged Indians to produce a Constitution of their own. They accepted his challenge, and did so. Sir Samuel Hoare, the present Secretary of State, has practically given another challenge to India. Will India accept this challenge ?

#### INDIA ON THE WIRELESS

There is no doubt that, as things stand at present, the Government intend to pass the Bill practically in the form in which it has been introduced. In his broadcast talk two days ago Mr. Baldwin said that the proposals of the Joint Select Committee are in the Government's view "the best and wisest course" and that "they are in effect the only practical course."

It is interesting to note that Mr. Baldwin in his broadcast talk made no attempt to answer the point of view as put forward either by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. George Lansbury

or the Indian point of view as put forward by the Rev. C. F. Andrews. He devoted practically the whole of his talk to an attack on the Churchill-Lloyd group of die-hards.

#### THE LABOUR PARTY'S POSITION

Mr. Lansbury stated the position clearly in these words :

"This proposed Constitution completely fails to give India government by the people. It is cumbersome, costly and undemocratic, and leaves ultimate control over all Indian services with the British Viceroy and Provincial Governors. Autocracy veiled by a facade of make-believe democracy is the best description of this scheme. The Federal portion of the scheme cannot come into operation until a proportion of the Princes are satisfied. Indeed, any or all of them may refuse to come in, and by so doing wreck the scheme. Quite different is the treatment of the people of British India : they are given no choice. The scheme is to be imposed upon them against their will, and when passed, changes cannot be discussed for a period of ten years. This is a policy which the Labour Party cannot possibly support. The Party's declaration of policy, made with the full assent of the present Prime Minister at the 1927 Annual Conference of our Party, is this : 'We reaffirm the right of the Indian people to full self-government and self-determination. Therefore the policy of the British Government should be one of continuous co-operation with the Indian peoples with the object of establishing India at the earliest possible moment and by her consent as an equal partner with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.' The Prime Minister may have changed his mind. We stand immovably by our declared policy. The people of India must secure power to control their own lives..."

#### NO MUTUAL AGREEMENT

The whole *raison d'être* of the Round Table Conference was that India's new Constitution should be an *agreed* constitution, not an imposed one. The Prime Minister's words speaking on 1st December, 1931 at the conclusion of the Second Session of the Conference not, be it noted, on behalf of a Labour Government, but on behalf of the present National (Tory) Government were that "it is *vital* to the success of the new Constitution that it should be *framed on a basis of mutual agreement*." There is no attempt at agreement in the present proposed Constitution. It is condemned from end to end of India by every section and every party. The best that can be said of it is, in the words of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, that "it will work us, if we are not prepared to work it."

#### PLANTING SEEDS

The Secretary of State for India maintains that this Constitution has within it the seeds of growth. Possibly they may be there. But it is madness to plant seeds that are meant to flower into full self-government in a steel frame.



that so cramps their possibility of growth that they must either burst the steel frame or die:

#### INDIANS AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Mr. Lansbury agrees that as to whether Indians will or will not work the Constitution, if it is ever passed as a whole, is entirely a question for them to decide. He has had much experience of opposing Bills, that have afterwards become law and he sums up what might be called the normal Labour Party position in these words :

"I can only say that I agree with my colleagues that, in similar circumstances, we should get every ounce of goodness out of legislation passed against our will, and continue to organize to win power to amend or repeal bad laws."

By working this Constitution, if and when it is passed, Indians cannot be held as agreeing that it in any measure meets their hopes or expectations, their just demands, or their rights. They are simply yielding to a superior force and are entitled to go on agitating for the kind of Constitution to which they have a right.

#### MORE BITTER AGITATION

But it cannot be expected that this Constitution will bring either peace or contentment to India. It is merely the beginning of further and possibly more bitter agitation than before. And they have good authority for that. Was not it Sir John Simon and his colleagues in the Statutory Commission who wrote in their Report :

"Those who have to work a temporary constitution tend inevitably to fix their minds upon the future instead of on the present. Instead of making the most of the existing constitution and learning to deal with practical problems under existing conditions, they constantly endeavour to anticipate the future and to push forward the day for the next instalment of reforms."

#### HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF

The 1919 Constitution was intended to be in operation for ten years before a Statutory Commission enquired into its workings. Yet it had not been in operation for many months before its defects, pointed out by Indians beforehand, became apparent even to the Government of India, whose Home Member had to admit in the Legislative Assembly that he did not believe that the present transitional scheme could last as long as was expected and he himself proposed a resolution in the Assembly that there should be a revision of the Constitution earlier than the date fixed—1929. I have no doubt that history will repeat itself and that the Government of India will before the new Constitution has been long in operation realize that an entirely new Constitution is an absolute necessity—a Constitution that carries with it the consent of the Indian people who are most intimately concerned because they have to live under it.

8th February, 1935.

## THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

### XXIV

THE atmosphere of the house changed somewhat due to this fight between brother and sister. Shribilas procured the necessary medicines and a packet of boric cotton, after a great deal of trouble. Suparnā began to tend Haimabati to the best of her ability. Shribilas stood by the door not daring to enter. As soon as his sister caught sight of him, she shrieked madly, "Get away, get away from here!"

Suparnā came out and said, "Please go away at once, don't excite her needlessly. If she gets fever, it will go hard with her. Go and take your food from the kitchen, I won't be able to leave her now."

Shribilas had to go away. He was feeling very repentant after creating so much trouble. His sister was sure to tell it to all the villagers. Moreover Suparnā would come to regard him with more disgust than ever. If he had not fought with his sister, he could have had an opportunity of talking with Suparnā now and gazing her cooking. Instead of that he had

to sit alone in the kitchen and eat his meal. Shribilas felt thoroughly disgusted with the world.

Suparnā spent nearly an hour bandaging and cleaning Haimabati's wound. She requested Haimabati to lie absolutely still and came out of her room. Shribilas had gone away from the kitchen by that time, finishing his meal somehow. Suparnā cleared away the plates and glasses and went for her bath.

After bathing and washing her clothes, she came back and began to spread out her wet clothing to dry in the sun. "How is sister now?" cried Shribilas from behind her.

"She is better, I have ordered her to lie down and sleep," said Suparnā without turning her head. She could understand, even in that position, that he was standing very close behind her, his hot breath seemed to scorch her neck. "Won't you have your meal now?" asked Shribilas. "It is very late."

"It does not matter," said Suparnā. "Go in. Why do you stand in the sun needlessly?"



Instead of going away, Shribilas moved even nearer and said in a voice full of emotion, "Why do you want to drive me away whenever I come near you?"

Suparnā turned round this time. "I want to drive you off because you need not come near me," she said and hurried inside the kitchen.

Shribilas was not to be put off so easily. He followed her and sat down at the threshold. "There may not be any need for you," he said, "but I need it very much. If we go on like this, we shall remain strangers for ever."

Suparnā was taking out her food. "That would be best for all concerned," she said.

"Why, Subarna, why?" cried Shribilas greatly moved. "Can't you love me at all? Women are considered very soft-hearted. But have not you got a bit of pity for me? Can't you realize the state of my mind? Don't you know even the meaning of love?"

Suparnā felt extremely disgusted, at the same time she felt inclined to laugh. What an irony of fate! So Shribilas was trying now, to teach her the meaning of love! She felt a little afraid too, seeing that he was getting more and more excited. She knew his character thoroughly. Restraint of any kind was foreign to his nature. Suparnā did not doubt at all that he would forget all about his word of honour, when once his passions were roused.

"It is getting late," she said, trying to appear as calm as possible. "If you detain me any longer with your fruitless talk, I shall have to go without my meal. I shall have to go and look after your sister soon. If she has got fever, I may have to attend to her the whole night."

Shribilas got up, his face red with annoyance and went out. Suparnā snatched a hasty meal, washed her plate and glass and hurried over to Haimabati's room. She had fallen asleep. Suparnā laid her hand on the patient's brow, and found it quite cool. Still she sat by the sleeping woman, knowing full well that this was the only place where she could be free from Shribilas's love-making.

She sat and thought about her own strange fate. Shribilas was really the agent of destruction in her life. He had ill-treated her terribly in her childhood. And now, while she had emptied all the wealth of her heart at the feet of another, he had arrived again with an offering of love, this time. Was it really love or a mere desire? Had he a bit of real love in his heart for Suparnā? Suparnā was a young woman, and she was beautiful. She was living in the same house with him and legally Shribilas had the rights of a husband over her. These thoughts were driving him mad. He knew that law and society were on his side. Nobody would dream of punishing him even if he used force on her. So Suparnā understood fully that she could expect no mercy from him. She had lost all sense, when she got that most cruel letter

from Sudarshan. Otherwise, she would never have faced such a risk. She would think herself lucky if she could escape from here with her womanly honour. But she did not know how to do it.

She heard Shribilas's footsteps again and again. He did not dare to come in from sheer fear of Haimabati. She must now take shelter behind Haimabati. She was her only bulwark against the mad onrush of Shribilas's passion.

Evening drew on apace. Suparnā had to do the cooking for dinner. She got up, trying to allay her fears, and came out of the room.

She did not find Shribilas anywhere around. Perhaps he had gone out, she thought and sat down to perform her task. But her heart grew more and more heavy within her. Someone seemed to whisper in her ear that a great danger threatened her. How was she going to save herself? She was alone in the enemy's house. These ignorant villagers would not understand her plight. They would not be surprised if a husband tried to assert his rights over a wife, who had come to his house willingly. A man, who had his wife living with him, could not live a celibate life, that would naturally be their verdict. She could ask help of her father, but had she the impudence to do it? She had come here against his express objections. But she would have to ask help of him, if everything else failed her.

There was another who might help her. But he was a stranger to her according to social laws. He had no right to help her. But before God, he was her real husband, to him alone could she surrender herself through love. And this mad tyrant, who was her husband in name alone, would pollute her for ever, if he touched her. Nothing would ever restore the purity of her body and mind. A chilly shiver ran through her whole being at the mere thought.

She finished the cooking somehow and went into Haimabati's room. She was lying awake now. "You must take something now," said Suparnā. "Shall I fetch a bowl of milk for you? Will you take it from my hands?"

"Who else is going to feed me? Do you think I shall accept anything from the hands of that murderer? You at least are a gentleman's daughter."

Suparnā went into the kitchen again and boiled some milk for her. She was pouring the milk in a bowl when Shribilas appeared at the door and said, "Subarna, come out here and see."

Suparnā frowned darkly as she came forward and said, "What is it?"

Shribilas held out a jewel-case of velvet towards her and said, "I bought this for you at Calcutta, but did not venture to give it to you before."

Suparnā did not make the slightest gesture to take it. "Are you mad?" she asked. "What's-



this? Move off, please, and let me take the milk to your sister."

Shribilas threw the box at her feet, saying peevishly, "Can't you even touch it? Too much pride is not good."

"You should have known that I would never accept a present from you," said Suparnā, "Then why do you try these foolish tricks?"

Shribilas stretched out his arms suddenly and clasped Suparnā to his breast. "Why are you so cruel?" he cried, "Don't you see that I am mad for you? You must be mine."

A wave of terrible rage swept over Suparnā. She gave him a push with all her strength which made him stagger away from her. She kicked off the jewel-case too, saying, "Get away from here. If you behave like this again, I shall leave your house that very minute."

Her voice had risen somewhat, and Haimabati heard it from her room. "So you have gone to pester her too, you good-for-nothing, rascal?" she called out. "Your days are drawing to an end, I can tell you. You will get handcuffs very soon on your wrists. You are qualifying for that."

Shribilas moved off, trembling with rage. But before going, he picked up the jewel-case, and took it with him.

Suparnā felt about to faint. This insult to her womanhood seemed too much to bear. She tried to stand supporting herself against the door. But her strength failed and she had to sit down on the floor. Her rage dried up her tears. But she could not but acknowledge to herself that she deserved some punishment. Suicide is always regarded as a crime everywhere. She had been about to commit moral suicide in her rage against Sudarshan. So this had come on her.

Haimabati was a bit surprised at this silence. What had made Suparnā cry out? And why did not she speak again? Haimabati crept near to the door and called out, "Where is the milk, Suparnā? To whom were you speaking?"

Suparnā got up and carried the milk to her. Haimabati drank the milk and put down the bowl, saying: "So he was pestering you, too? You won't be a match for the brute. After all, you are a gentlewoman. You must strike blow for blow with him. Come and sit inside my room, he won't dare come in here. If he does, I will cut off his nose with that chopper, see if I don't."

"Yes, I shall," said Suparnā. "Can't I sleep here, too? I shall be able to look after you, at night too, if you need me."

"Yes, you can sleep here too," said Haimabati. "You sleep alone in that room, don't you?"

Suparnā nodded in assent.

"Why did you come with that fool, if you don't mean to live with him?" asked Haimabati. "You don't need a husband to supply you with food and clothing."

Suparnā did not answer. What could she have answered indeed? After a while Haimabati said, "Go and take your meal first, then you can sleep here. Keep his food covered, in the kitchen, he will eat whenever he comes in."

Suparnā got up and went to the kitchen. She must not lose her nerves too much. She must get out of this fix somehow by using her native wits. She bolted the door from inside and sat down to eat. She finished soon and arranging some food for Shribilas and covering it, she came out, and fastened the door again.

She went to the room she had been occupying and thought for a moment. Then she picked up her bedding and her suitcase, and carried them to Haimabati's room. She spread her bed on the floor by the side of Haimabati's bed and placed the suitcase near her bed. "Put out the lamp," said Haimabati, "I can't sleep, if a light shines on my eyes."

Suparnā bolted the door and blew out the lamp. Then she laid herself down to sleep.

After a while, she heard footsteps outside. It was Shribilas. He was seeking her in every room. At last he came to Haimabati's door and knocked gently. "Are you there?" he called. "Won't you give me, my dinner?"

Suparnā did not get up. "I have placed it ready for you in the kitchen," she said. "Take it and eat."

Shribilas stood there for a while, then he moved off.

Next day, a great change was observed in Shribilas. He kept off from Suparnā and tried to make up with Haimabati with all his cunning. But Haimabati was adamant. As Shribilas was about to fall at her feet to beg forgiveness, she drew back angrily and cried out, "Get out, get out at once. I want none of your show of repentance!"

Shribilas was nearly devoid of all sense of shame. He gave up his attempts at reconciliation and said, "All right, I don't want to do anything that makes you angry. But why are you suffering so much inconvenience in this small room, while the big room lies empty? You can both go and live in that room."

"We know what suits us," said his sister. "You need not bother." So Shribilas had to go away.

But his words had gone home.

Haimabati had always lived in the best room and slept on a bedstead. She was indeed feeling much inconvenience in this small room. As soon as Shribilas had gone, she went and sat down near the door of the kitchen. "Look here," she said to Suparnā who was cooking inside, "why should not I go and live in that big room, too? Why should it lie empty?"

"That would be very convenient," said Suparnā. So they again removed their things and took possession of the big room. "I am feeling rather



hungry today," said Haimabati. "Can't I cook something and eat?"

"Today you must not sit in the heat of the fire and try to cook!" said Suparnā. "It might bring on fever. Have some milk and fruits instead."

Shribilas's pose of indifference seemed rather strange to Suparnā. She understood very well that he had not given up the thought of winning her. He was making some new plans which was keeping him silent. The whole of that day passed, without any attempt on the part of Shribilas to speak to her.

Suparnā finished cooking the dinner before evening. She had her own meal early and Shribilas too had his, at the same time.

"Let us go and lie down," said Haimabati. "We have finished our work for the day."

Suparnā was not in the habit of retiring so early. But what could she do here, sitting up alone? So they entered their room and bolted the door from inside. "I shall just write a letter to my father, then put out the lamp," said Suparnā.

"Very well," said Haimabati, "write and tell him to take you away from here. What is the good of your staying here? It would have been another thing, if you had meant to live as husband and wife."

She wanted Suparnā to go away, her words showed that plainly. But Suparnā had no objection to that. She would remain grateful for ever to the person who would show her the way of deliverance.

Suparnā had nearly finished writing when suddenly Shribilas cried out from outside, "Sister, I say, sister!"

"What do you want with sister, you wretch?" asked Haimabati, clearing her throat noisily.

"Keshab has come for you. You must go and see what has happened to Arunā."

"Goodness gracious!" cried Haimabati sitting up. "What could have happened to her? Please open the door."

Suparnā opened the door. As Haimabati got out, Keshab and Shribilas began to speak, both together. Suparnā could not hear plainly what they said, but she could understand that something untoward had happened.

Haimabati turned to her and said, "You must wait for me a little while. I shall be back almost at once. Don't fall asleep."

Suparnā had no chance of falling asleep. She closed the door and resumed her writing again.

Suddenly the communicating door between her room and the room of the family deity opened with a noise. Shribilas entered the room with a smiling face. Suparnā sprang up, sick with terror. Her face turned pale. The room of the deity remained locked all the time and the key was in Haimabati's possession. How had this devil procured the key?

Shribilas advanced towards her smiling and said, "I cannot even speak to you alone, thanks to the strict chaperonage of my sister. So I had to remove her by a ruse." He went and sat down on the bed.

Suparnā hastily opened the door she had just closed and stood by it. "You must go at once," she said, "else I shall go out."

"You have played the prude enough and enhanced your own value thereby," said Shribilas. "I am ready to admit defeat, but you must not keep me at arm's length all the while. I am made of flesh and blood after all and there is a limit to my endurance."

"Do you mean to go out or not?" asked Suparnā angrily.

"No, I don't," said Shribilas, showing his teeth in an ugly smile. "I shall sleep here with you. Come to me, my darling!" He advanced towards her with outstretched arms.

Suparnā ran out of the room. It was pitch dark outside, she could not hope to obtain shelter there. She must hide somewhere within the house till Haimabati came back. The kitchen lay in front of her. She rushed into it and bolted the door from within. Next moment, Shribilas too arrived before the door and gave it a furious kick, crying, "Open it at once, else I shall break it in."

"I won't," said Suparnā. "If you try to force your way in, know that I have got a chopper here. Also a bottle of kerosene oil and matches."

"If you are thinking of frightening me away, you have chosen the wrong person," said Shribilas. "This must be settled once for all to-night. You may be a rich man's daughter and highly educated, but after all, you are my wife."

Suparnā did not answer. "So you won't open?" shouted Shribilas. "Very well, I shall show you." He brought an axe and began to shower blows on the door.

Suparnā sat with the chopper held fast in her hand. She would not mind using it, if the need arose. This was the greatest trial of her life and she must not fail.

Suddenly Haimabati's voice was heard from outside. "What are you doing, you wretch?" she was asking. "Why did you send me out on a wild goose chase? Why are you breaking the door?"

Shribilas had lost all control over himself, he was mad with rage and baffled desire. "Get out of my way," he cried, "I am going to drag her out."

"Oh, are you?" said Haimabati. "Just move off, if you please. I too have got a *dao* in my room. I can break one of your legs for you, if I cannot do anything else."

Shribilas was familiar with her demoniac outbursts of rage. If once her temper was roused, nothing on earth could check her. Even Shribilas



was a cool-headed man compared to her. So he was taken aback a little at her words. "Why do you butt in, pray?" he asked. "Mind your own business and leave me to mind mine. Did not you have enough lesson yesterday?"

This reminder was a false step. "So you are boasting of that, you rascal?" Haimabati cried and, picking up a brickbat, flung it with all her might at his head. Shribilas jumped aside hastily to avoid it, the axe dropping from his hand. Haimabati pounced upon it and cried, "Now come on."

Shribilas stood at a safe distance panting with anger. Suddenly he ran inside his own room, and returned with a large lock and key. He fastened the door of the kitchen from outside and locked it up. "Let her remain a prisoner there," he said. "How long will you be able to stand guard on her? As soon as you fall asleep I shall break open the door and drag her out." He hastened inside the big room and flung himself on the bed there. Haimabati, too, spread a mat near the door and sat down on it. "Alright, I shall see," she said. "You and I had the same father. You won't get over me."

Shribilas lay awake for two hours, then he dropped asleep. Haimabati then got up noiselessly and proceeded to the door of the kitchen. "Are you awake?" she asked in a whisper.

"Yes, I am," Suparnā replied from within.

"The wretch has locked the door from the outside," said Haimabati. "And he has kept the key with himself. But you can do one thing. Knock out some of the wooden bars of the window with the chopper. The wood-work is very old and rickety, you can do it easily. You can then get out very easily that way."

Suparnā followed her instructions and got out. "If you want to escape, this is the time," said Haimabati. "Else he might try some other game to-morrow. Can you go alone? You know the way to the riverside, don't you?"

"Yes, I can go alone quite well," said Suparnā. "But what about some money? I have got nothing with me here. All my money is in the suitcase in that room."

"Well, I shall bring you some money which I have kept hidden under the seat of the deity," said Haimabati. "I shall repay myself with your money from the suitcase in the morning, after that rascal leaves the room." Saying this, she hastened off.

She returned very soon with a bundle of currency notes. "Take these," she said, "I have got a hundred rupees here. How much have you got in your suitcase?"

"Take all there is in it," said Suparnā. "I give it all to you." She bowed down to Haimabati, touching her feet this time. "You have saved something, which is dearer to me than my own life." Saying this she disappeared in the darkness.

## XXV

The Bhairabee was in flood again. She was like a mother in her calmer moods nursing the land and making it fertile. But now she resembled an ogress, bent on destroying everything by her sides. The land on both sides was inundated for miles around and the roar of the mighty waters could be heard from afar. Like a huge pythoness, she spread havoc, ruin and death all around. The banks gave way ever and anon with thunderous sounds. Corn fields had become submerged, villages had been washed away, and the cry of the destitute and dying filled the country-side. Here and there, tops of large trees could be seen, rising out of the waters of the flood. Cattles, birds and reptiles were perishing by thousands and human lives were in danger everywhere. They had no food, no shelter, nothing they could call their own. They lived in momentary fear of death through this all-destroying flood.

The waters of the Bhairabee caused much loss to the peasants every year. But this was an unprecedented calamity. Village after village was being washed away, still the waters showed no signs of going down. The flood went on increasing instead. People left everything they had, homestead, cattle and crop and fled before the onrush of the angry waters. They did not know where they could go. The river, like an angry tigress, balked of its prey, rushed behind them with furious roaring. People died of starvation by hundreds, they fell ill through taking improper food, they perished also of cold and exposure. Cases of suicide were not rare. People could not endure the suffering of their children. Places, which were full of the prattle of children and the laughter of women, now looked like formidable ruins.

Still men fought to save one another from this all-embracing destruction. God has given mercy in man's heart, this mercy now showed itself as a saving angel with thousand arms. It could not of course give life back where it had become extinct, but it tried to give succour in every way to the distressed. The poor gave up half from the bread of their mouth, the destitute gave up half of the cloth that covered their nakedness. Men and women, inspired by divine mercy, rushed out to help the afflicted and to conquer death with the limited means in their power.

A camp for distributing food and clothing to the suffering people had been established at a little distance from a village which had gone under water. Most of the workers were young men. There were two or three elderly persons who were probably in charge of the camp. There was a big tent, which served as a hospital. All around, there were huts and sheds. These were full of people who had fled from the threatened villages. There were many who had not yet found accommodation. They were sitting on the muddy



ground, looking forlorn and lifeless. Some accepted food and clothing and went away elsewhere in search of shelter. Some tried to erect temporary homes with bamboos and gunny for themselves. The place resounded with the roar of the mighty waters and the crash of banks giving way and the wail of the distressed. It was terrible, still it had a certain element of beauty in it. This beauty shone on the faces of the volunteers. They fought with all their might to save others, and thought nothing of their own lives.

A tall and dark young man sat within the hospital tent, examining the patients, prescribing for them and giving directions to the volunteers who acted as nurses. Another young man came in and said, "We could not go any further towards the village, we had to wade through waist-deep water. The village seemed completely deserted. We saw a temple at a distance, situated on rather high ground. Some people have taken shelter there. They shouted for help when they saw us, but we could not go for want of boats."

"Go and report to Pratap Babu," said the first young man. "He has secured two boats, you can take one of them. But don't go alone, take someone with you."

Another of the volunteers was nursing a sick old man. He got up and came over saying, "Sudarshan Babu, his temperature seems to have risen again."

Sudarshan went over to the old man and examined him. "It is useless fighting for him any longer," he said in English.

"Won't you give him an injection?" asked the young man, who had been doing the nursing.

"Yes," said Sudarshan. He went to his desk and began to take out the necessary medicines and instruments.

At this juncture, a gentleman came in with two or three afflicted villagers. Sudarshan looked at them and asked, "Where are these people from? One of your boats is wanted on this side."

"Let them take it, if they want it," said Pratap Babu. "But I have brought a sick woman with me, where can I place her?"

"There is not a single hut vacant," said Sudarshan rather distressed. "Really, I do not see what could be done."

"Let her stay here," said Pratap Babu. "She would feel rather uncomfortable, but it is better than dying of exposure anyway."

Sudarshan called one of the volunteers, who put up a curtain in one corner of the tent. A small bed was placed behind the curtain. The woman was taken there and made as comfortable as possible.

The girl, for she was nothing more, seemed to belong to a middle-class family. She was in a pitiable state. She sat there with a torn rag as her only covering. Starvation, disease,

and want of shelter had reduced her to this condition.

"We are in a real fix now," said Sudarshan. "Who is to attend to these women, and take charge of them? We should have arranged for a women's department, before we came here."

"I have informed the head office of the organization at Calcutta," said Pratap Babu. "They ought to send some one to-day. Even one nurse would be of considerable help."

Sudarshan got up with a sigh. One of the volunteers brought a cup of barley water for the sick girl. "Stay here," said Sudarshan, "and help her as much as you can. There is nothing else to be done." He moved off to another part of the tent.

Sudarshan had not been able to stick to his post at Mysore. He had lost heart for everything. Money or career meant nothing to him now. For whom should he earn? He gave up his job and wandered about here and there for a while. Some unseen force seemed to have drawn him back to Bengal. Perhaps he harboured a hope within his breast unconsciously that the fire that consumed him day and night might be extinguished here. But he did not know where to find his lost treasure. He had no right even to search openly for her.

At this time, he heard of the flood of the Bhairabee. The cry of the afflicted roused a new feeling in his heart. He decided to devote himself heart and soul to this work of helping distressed humanity. Happiness and peace were not for him. The call of the philanthropic relief workers found ready response in him and he volunteered his services at once.

He accompanied a band of volunteers to this spot as their medical officer. He had to work day and night incessantly without rest and recreation of any kind. Still he seemed to have felt at peace here for the first time, since he had lost Suparnā.

But the want of lady volunteers made the work very difficult. Who was to take charge of the women patients and look after them? Sudarshan began to ask the women to take shelter somewhere else, if they could. He only admitted those who were entirely helpless. In the meantime they wrote to the organization at Calcutta informing them about their difficulty. They got an assurance in reply, that lady volunteers or paid nurses would soon be despatched.

Sudarshan was off duty only for an hour in the day and for three or four hours during the night. He had no fixed time for bathing and taking his meals, he took them whenever he could. Still he found an ineffable joy in this hard life. He had been most cruel to the person whom he had loved best. The memory of that deed had robbed him of all joy and peace. He had asked forgiveness of her, but had not received it. He did not even know whether



Suparnā had even got his letter. The only information he could gather, after his arrival at Calcutta, was that Suparnā's husband had come and taken her away.

Sudarshan had something about Suparnā's previous history from Amitā, after he had written her that mad letter. Amitā, too, had not known anything till then. She learnt it only recently from her father. Sudarshan knew now, what had caused Suparnā to live as an unmarried woman. But his knowledge came too late to be of any service to him. He could not undo the past. So he cast his lot with those who were trying to help the distressed. Perhaps, he hoped to receive pardon from God through this expiation.

It was already evening. Sudarshan took a cup of tea and then set out for a walk with a stout cane and an electric torch in his hand. He left one of the volunteers in charge of the hospital. He walked barefoot, as the mud and water around him made the wearing of shoes impossible. He walked very fast through ankle-deep mud.

The fields and woods now all looked like miniature lakes. Sudarshan walked very carefully over the edge of a field which just kept its head above the water. He must return before dark, as the place had an unsavoury reputation for snakes. This was the only bit of exercise he could take and he tried to refresh himself as best as he could thereby. As he advanced, the water receded, till he was on dry land again by the side of a road made by the district board. This road, too, had nearly become useless, through constant rain. Even bullock carts found it difficult to negotiate. But men had to use this road, because this was the only way to the nearest railway station. The volunteers from the camp came and went by this road every day.

Sudarshan was just going to set foot on the road, when the sight of three or four bullock-carts in the distance, advancing towards him, made him stop. Who could these people be? It was impossible to be precise in the fast falling evening light. The stores and medicines for the camp always arrived by the morning train, as it was impossible to transport loads over this marshy ground in the evening. These must be passengers, but why were they here? All the villages on this side of the Bhairabee had been inundated and all the people had fled. So these could not be coming to the villages. There was a chance that new volunteers were arriving from Calcutta to the relief camp. It was possible that lady volunteers or nurses had been despatched, but why should they arrive at this unseasonable hour?

The carts advanced on. Sudarshan got on the road and waited for them. If he had another big tent, and at least two women workers, he could open a women's department easily. But

would the central organization be able to arrange for that so speedily? The people of the land were in distress themselves more or less. How much in men and money could they spare for the afflicted?

The carts came to a stop after coming a certain way. The road was damaged at a spot, and had become impassable. A deep chasm had opened in the very middle, even bullock-carts could not pass over it. The volunteers had to carry the loads here on their own shoulders, so Sudarshan had heard. He went forward hoping to be of some service to the new-comers.

They had all got down from the carts. Sudarshan noted with glad surprise, that three of them were women and two men. It was nearly dark by this time. He did not know how they were to get over this dreadful road in the darkness. He advanced on.

Suddenly, he rubbed his eyes and looked before him with astonishment. Was he dreaming with his eyes open? Had the deep yearning of his heart materialized and taken this dear shape in the fading evening light? Was it really Suparnā, or only an illusion of sight or imagination? But no, it was really she. Sudarshan now stood too close to the woman in question to be mistaken. He stood on one side of the chasm, and Suparnā stood on the other. She was directing the removal of the luggage from the carts and had not yet noticed him.

But the others had spotted him. One of the men called out to him, "Is that you, Sudarshan Babu? Can't the carts go over to that side by any means?"

Suparnā gave a start and looked round. Her whole body seemed to turn into stone at once. It was a mercy that the darkness served as a veil to cover the expression on the face of these two people, else their secret would have been exposed before the whole party. Only Sudarshan understood what she felt. He understood without even seeing her face. He thought for a moment and collected himself somewhat. Then he jumped over the chasm and joined the party on the other side.

"No, the carts cannot get over this spot," he said in reply to the gentleman's question. "You must have the luggage and stores carried over. But you have not brought any men for that. And it is getting dark too. Why did not you come by the morning train?"

"We had to procure many things and so got late," said the gentleman. "We had arranged to come to-morrow, but Miss Mitra did not like to delay our journey any longer. We have got two or three good petrol lamps, so you need not fear for the darkness. But I don't know what to do about coolies. We must return and fetch them from the station."

"That's the best you can do," said Sudarshan. "The station is at least nearer than the camp. But you must hurry. If the rains come on now,



you would find it totally impossible to proceed."

One of the gentlemen took one of the cart-drivers with him and hurried back towards the station. The other gentleman was a stranger to Sudarshan. He however came forward and asked, "You are the doctor-in-charge, are you not?"

Sudarshan bowed and said, "Yes. Are you too coming from Calcutta?"

"No, sir," he replied. "I am a resident of this village Chorabil. I came with the party as a guide."

Suparnā still stood there with her face averted. Sudarshan went and stood just in front of her and bowed to her. Suparnā looked at him, as if coming out of a trance. She bowed in return, but did not say anything. Only once did her eyes meet Sudarshan's, then again she lowered them.

Sudarshan forced himself to speak naturally. "You are well, I hope?" he asked. "I never thought of meeting you here."

"Yes, I am well, thank you", said Suparnā. "These two ladies have come with me from Calcutta to work here. This is Mrs. Roy, and this Miss Bhadra."

Sudarshan bowed to the two ladies. Mrs. Roy was an elderly person. Her complexion was dark and she was rather inclined to stoutness. She wore tinted glasses. The other one, Miss Bhadra, was elderly too. She was very thin.

"You would be of immense assistance to us," said Sudarshan. "I was in great difficulty with the women patients. There was no one at all here to look after them. It would be a hard job even for the three of you."

"I have managed a hospital single-handed," said Mrs. Roy. "I don't think this would be beyond my power. I have been working as a nurse these twenty-five years, and there is nothing that I don't know."

Miss Bhadra appeared to be a shy kind of a person, she remained silent. Mrs. Roy constituted herself the spokeswoman of the party and talked enough for three. She told Sudarshan where she had worked, how cleverly she had often managed alone work which really called for two or three people, and what praise she had received from the authorities. Within fifteen minutes she had told Sudarshan her whole history. At any other time her garrulity would have been displeasing, but his mind was so perturbed and excited at this time that he hardly listened to what she was saying. He answered yes and no at random, though Mrs. Roy did not understand that anything was wrong. She was too busy talking.

After sometime, the gentleman from the village turned to go. "I must be off now," he said. "I have no light with me, and the road is awful. I shall come in the morning and see your camp." He went back the way he had come.

Sudarshan now got an opportunity to talk to

Suparnā. "Where are the petrol lamps?" he asked. "It is better to light them, it is fast getting dark."

Suparnā pointed to one of the carts and said, "They are inside. I don't know exactly how to light them, it is a complicated business."

"I might try my hand at it," said Sudarshan, "if I know what make they are. We had a petrol lamp at our house in Delhi, before we put in electric lights."

Sudarshan heard the sound of a deep sigh. His mind became more perturbed than before. But this was hardly the place where he could offer or receive any explanation. Since he had been fortunate enough to meet her again, he would get an opportunity to talk to her sooner or later. He took out the lamps and got busy with them.

Suparnā went and stood by the other two women. She did not dare to look at Sudarshan again. She had never hoped to meet him again. But she did not know whether this meeting would bring forth good or evil. She tried, with all her might, to quell the storm in her heart.

It took nearly an hour to bring over some coolies from the station. Then the carters were paid off and the party started with their loads by the light of the petrol lamps.

"How long will it take for us to reach the camp?" asked Suparnā in a whisper.

"About an hour", replied Sudarshan.

## XXVI

To the last day of their lives, neither Sudarshan nor Suparnā could forget this evening. The depth of feeling, yet the inability to give expression to it, was unparalleled in their lives. Deep darkness surrounded them on every side, the only sounds were the roar of the angry river and the crash of banks giving way. Through this darkness, a handful of people advanced cautiously. They were silent, some through fear, others because they felt too deeply to speak.

Even Mrs. Roy was not speaking. She had uttered shrieks at the beginning and exclamations denoting her fear. But finding them falling flat on the audience, she stopped in great displeasure. Miss Bhadra was a taciturn person by nature, so she remained silent all the time.

At last the terrible journey came to an end. Sudarshan pointed out the lights of the hospital and said, "There we are at last. There you see the lights of our camp."

"We won't be able to do anything to-night," said Mrs. Roy. "We must rest our aching limbs first."

"There is nothing for you to do to-night," said Sudarshan, "There is only one female patient in the hospital, and she must be asleep by this time. Tomorrow you will see them arriving when they get news that you have come."



They entered the camp. Everyone was surprised, as no intimation of their arrival had been received before. But though surprised, everyone was immensely pleased also. They were guests for the night, from to-morrow they would join the band of volunteers. So everybody tried now to make them as comfortable as possible. "Let them have our hut for to-night," said Pratap Babu. "We shall pass the night somehow in the hospital tent. To-morrow we shall erect huts for them and for the female ward also. Let them rest now. And we must see to some refreshments for them."

"Please don't bother about us," said Suparnā. "Give us a place where we can sleep. We want nothing more. There is some food with us, that will be sufficient. We don't expect any luxury here."

Sudarshan lived in a hut with three other young men. They vacated it at once, and removed their own things to the tent. Though Suparnā did not want it, yet some warm milk and tea were sent in to them.

Mrs. Roy and Miss Bhadra changed their dresses and sat down to their dinner. These two were paid nurses, though they had agreed to take a more moderate salary than they generally did. But they did not believe in enduring unnecessary hardships. As there was nothing to do that night, they decided to rest. They made a good repast with bread, butter, fruit and milk, then laid themselves down to sleep on the narrow camp beds. Suparnā, too, sat down to eat. But she could not swallow anything except a cup of milk.

"Won't you lie down now?" asked Miss Bhadra.

"I am not feeling sleepy at all," said Suparnā. "I shall lie down after a while." One of the volunteers came for the plates and glasses. "May I go and sit outside for a bit?" Suparnā asked of him. "It is too hot inside."

"Certainly," said the boy. "We have not had our dinner yet, and everyone is awake. Shall I bring a camp-chair for you?"

"A stool would do," said Suparnā. "Do you go to sleep very late here?"

"We cannot retire all together," said the boy. "Some have to sit up on attendance to the patients, and some have to remain on guard over the store. So a dozen people are always awake and about. There is no fear, you can sit out as long as you like."

He went off with the plates and after a while returned with a camp-chair for Suparnā. Suparnā came and sat outside.

The all-embracing darkness seemed like a symbol of her own life. A few points of light were visible here and there coming from the camp. But no such redeeming points of light were to be found in her own life. She had no hope, no joy, no duty even, to the performance of which she could devote herself. Her only relative was her father.

He did not need her. He was perfectly capable of looking after himself. In fact he still worked hard for the good of others. She had no one else. The tyrant husband, too, had faded away from the picture. Suparnā would not let him interfere with her life again. In that terrible night, as she walked alone in the darkness, she took a vow, never again to insult her womanhood for anything on earth. If she had to suffer punishment for it, she would accept it. So she was reduced to a strange position to-day. She was neither a maiden, nor a wife, and not a widow. She had no place in society.

She had gone and taken shelter at her father's house, to give a little rest to her sadly-wounded heart and mind. Pratul understood well that she must have perfect rest, and perfect quietude. So he shut up the house in Calcutta and took her away to Madhupur for a change. They knew nobody there and he hoped Suparnā would be able here to forget the deep sorrow which gave her no rest.

But Suparnā did not like this spot either. She wanted work of some kind, absolute inaction bored her too much. How was she to pass her time? She had never been used to sitting idle. Human beings in happy mood like freedom from work, but to the unhappy, leisure is full of torture. They do not want to think, they do not want to be thrown back on themselves. So Suparnā became very restless. She wanted to devote herself to some work, heart and soul, and thus forget her wretched self.

Fate seemed to point out the way to her. She decided to dedicate her life to the service of afflicted humanity. Having suffered so much, she could understand and sympathize with suffering better than other people. This unhappy land would ever remain full of distress and affliction, she had no lack of money either, and no need of earning a livelihood.

The land was full of the cry of the flood-afflicted people. Many were trying to help them. They needed lady-workers and nurses. Suparnā decided to volunteer her services. She asked advice of her father. He had no objection. "Go by all means," he said. "You will help others, as well as yourself. But I have some misgivings. The relief camp is situated so near your husband's home. I hope he won't try to molest you again."

Suparnā remained silent with a hard face. After a while, she said, "He cannot molest me any further, father. He has done his worst. There is a limit to human power for mischief."

Pratul returned with his daughter to Calcutta. They talked the matter over with the central relief organization, but suitable nurses could not be found easily. Suparnā did not want delay. So she engaged two professional nurses herself and decided to start. As she was paying them herself, nobody raised any objection. She came here determined to fight tyranny in every form.



She had steeled her heart against oppression, but not against love. She did not know her own weak point. She had been prepared to cope with Shribilas, but the sudden appearance of Sudarshan took her completely aback. What was she to do now, where could she escape? Could she remain unmoved in his presence? She knew that her heart still yearned for him. Would not his dear presence render her completely powerless?

She heard the sound of a sigh behind her and looked back fearfully. She knew she would see Sudarshan there. It was he. "Have you finished your dinner?" she asked in a trembling voice.

"Yes," replied Sudarshan. "But why are you sitting up so late? Go and have some rest. You will have to work very hard from to-morrow without rest and intermission."

Suparnā seldom could meet Sudarshan's eyes, his gaze unnerved her too much. But this time she met his glance fully and answered, "If that is so, I shall know that my quest is at an end. I want just that kind of work with no rest and not a moment's leisure."

Sudarshan remained silent and Suparnā too had nothing more to say. But this silence was very eloquent to them. Suparnā felt in her heart that he was asking for forgiveness. Sudarshan too felt that it was impossible for her not to forgive him.

It was Sudarshan, who broke the silence at last. "Did you get my last letter?" he asked.

"Yes," replied Suparnā.

"May I expect an answer to it?" asked Sudarshan again.

Suparnā remained silent awhile, with head bent in thought. Then she raised her head and said, "I have decided not to harbour any false sense of shame and modesty in my heart. These qualities are natural in a woman and they become her too. But my position is so peculiar, that what is proper for other women is not proper for me. If I am to be true to my womanhood, I must be absolutely straightforward. If I try any subterfuge, there would arise endless troubles. So perhaps many of my words and actions henceforward might seem shameless to you."

"You know, that could never be," said Sudarshan.

"Yes, it might, with perfect justification," said Suparnā. "The accusations you brought forward

in your first letter need some explanation from me."

"I don't want to hear them", said Sudarshan greatly distressed. "I have heard everything from Amitā."

"Amitā knows very little about it," said Suparnā. "But if you don't want to hear, I don't want to inflict that harrowing tale on you. If you believe only that my intentions were far from dishonourable, I am satisfied."

"The sudden disappointment had driven me mad," said Sudarshan, "else I could never have written you such a letter. When I came to know all, I could but ask you to forgive me. I did not receive any reply to my second letter and felt that my sin was too great to be forgiven. Was that so?"

"No", said Suparnā in a calm voice, "it is impossible for me not to forgive you."

"Do you understand how difficult it is for me to remain silent after hearing this avowal from you? No man was reduced to such a strange plight before."

"It is no use thinking about that," said Suparnā, getting up from her chair. "Fate means certain persons to walk in strange unusual paths. They have to renounce the usual joys and happinesses of mankind. We belong to that unhappy band."

"It is not Fate, Suparnā," said Sudarshan, "but foolish social laws, that are responsible for our plight. Do you want to bow your head and submit to it? Cannot we fight against it? We are human beings after all, not clods of earth. Why should we admit defeat so easily?"

"How can we fight against it?" asked Suparnā. "I don't see any way."

"We must think out a way. I have never hoped to get you by my side as a fellow-fighter, so I never gave much thought to it. If you only say that you are ready for the struggle, then I will do my utmost."

"I don't think there are any means for my deliverance", said Suparnā. "Yet I don't want to discourage you. But enough for to-night, go in and have some rest." Saying this, she got up hurriedly and retired within the hut. She was trembling all over. She went and laid herself down on the bed. Sudarshan stood for a while, alone in front of their hut, then he, too, retired. He sat on a chair within the camp, thinking and thinking, but found no solution to the problem. Sleep never visited his eyes that night.

*(to be concluded.)*





# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

**HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM RAM MOHAN TO DYANANDA 1821-1884, VOL. I. BENGAL:** *By Biman Bihari Majumdar, Professor of Economics and Lecturer in History, B. N. College, Patna, 1934. Published by the University of Calcutta. Preface vi-ix, pp. 509.*

The book is only the first part of an ambitious programme which seeks to cover the history of political thought in India from the dawn of political consciousness in the early part of the nineteenth century to the time of its collective and full-throated articulation by the National Congress. This volume deals with Bengal's contribution alone. Inasmuch as Bengal played the part of the leader for a fair portion of the time under review, it serves as an adequate introduction to the history of the Indian National movement. Political discontent, centring at first in unemployment and defective administrative procedure, was the virtual monopoly of the class newly created by the British Raj in Bengal. This fragment of the population was nurtured in the English thought of the time and admirably expressed itself in the style of the English writers of the nineteenth century. The terminology of Bentham, Mill, Spencer and others, built up the thought-structure of the educated who counted English language and education through English as the chief benefit of the British rule. Soon there was a reaction in favour of the indigenous and the vernacular, though the ideology remained English practically throughout this period. Thus it was that political consciousness was bound up with the cultural upheaval of the country. Mr. Majumdar's book gives us a chance to peep into the intellectual origins of India today.

Free thought is possible in a free country whereas a subject country can only indulge in cautious criticism and timid speculations—this is the plea of the author for attempting to trace the growth of political ideas through the activities of political organizations. The institutional approach

is commendable on its own merits as well. The book abounds with descriptions of the activities of numerous clubs and associations and bristles with apt quotations from a large number of contemporary journals. The parliamentary proceedings, the press reports, in fact, all available informations relating to the first stirrings of political movement, have been sifted and documented. The bibliography is fairly complete, the index is satisfactory and the two appendices are valuable. The first gives extracts from the 'Petition of the members of the British Indian Association and other native inhabitants of the Bengal presidency complaining for grievances and praying for relief, 1852,' and the second gives an account of the rise and fall of the India League—the precursor of the Congress. In spite of the qualities of scholarship which appear almost on every page the book is not heavy-reading. The author deserves our thanks for writing the first comprehensive account of our political consciousness in the interesting period of its germination. Readers of this volume will wait anxiously for subsequent ones.

The very quality and importance of the book would call for a few comments, even from the pen of one who has been benefited by it. Space would allow one only. The plan of the book as envisaged in the preface has not been rigidly followed. The chapters are:

- (1) Political thought of Raja Rammohun Roy,
- (2) The philosophical Radicals, (3) Political disciples of Raja Rammohun Roy, (4) The Liberal school of political thought, (5) Critics of the Liberal thought, (6) Political thought of Sisir Kumar Ghose, (7) The Muslim school of political thought, (8) Political thought of Bankim Chandra. Now it is clear from the above that such a division is neither institutional nor logical. The chapter-headings, 2 and 4, are familiar to us through text-books, and the remaining ones are *personal*, with the exception of number 7. One explanation of this departure from the declared method might be that the author did not find any prominent landmarks in the political institutions of the period before the Indian National Congress and was fully conscious of the unworthiness of



the Acts of 1833, 1853, and 1861 to act as historical divides; and that in the absence of these he had to depend on the lives of great men. But then, numbers 2 and 4 cannot be explained and, least of all, number 7. The special feature of Muslim political thought in this period was the formulation of a demand for better representation in the services and special representation in the legislature. But, as the author himself shows, Mr. Mahomed Yusuf's claims were for *any* minority community. Otherwise like the rest, the Muslim politicians were Liberals, in politics. This chapter upsets the plan completely.

The treatment of the subject as well, in spite of its fulness, generates the suspicion that the plan of the book was not clearly drawn. The plan seems to waver between two contradictory methods of historical interpretation—by heroes and by heuristics. If the author had on his own account discovered a principle of classification on the basis of the critical social changes occurring in that period, the value of the book would have been different. The author has probably missed the connection between the basic social changes and the vagaries of political demands, or political thought, as he calls it. The incidence of British rule on the development of political thought in our country was only indirect. The direct impact was on our society, on the economic status of its component groups. The true nature of the shock was dimly perceived by the new class, for, being created by the British rule, it was meant to play and did admirably play the rôle of a shock-absorber. Mr. Majumdar has no doubt mentioned this fact in many places, more particularly in his treatment of Bankim Chandra and Sisir Kumar, Rasik Mullick, Tarachand and Bholanath Chandra, but he has not fully seized the opportunity to make it yield what it could. A sociological analysis would have explained 'the cautious criticisms and timid speculations' of our heroes. It would have further explained why the original thoughts of the Raja, in matters of reconciling the historical and analytical methods of jurisprudence and of differentiating law and morality in days before Austin, of Akshoy Kumar Dutta in the formulation of 'the organismic theory of the State' before Herbert Spencer, of Sisir Kumar in basing his theory of punishment on Vai-navism and foretelling the present anti-Imperialistic attitude of the country before Pandit Jawahar Lal were not *socially selected* to continue and vigorously survive. It would also have thrown light on the perplexing question why the new theory of Nationalism had a romantic appeal and a propagandist value to a certain section of the people and when adopted did lead to a blind alley.

The conclusion is that Mr. Majumdar has been too comprehensive and too objectively descriptive. His valuation has consequently suffered. Probably, his materials have handicapped his interpretation, but a proper analysis and an adequate classification are helpful allies in such matters.

DEHJATI MUKERJI

**THE MAIN CURRENTS OF MARATHA HISTORY:** By G. S. Sardesai, B. A. Publisher K. B. Dhawle, Girgaum, Bombay. Pp. 231. Price Rs. 2.

Mr. Sardesai, the greatest living authority on Maratha history, hardly requires an introduction to students of history in India and abroad. In this

treatise the author "supplies reader with an epitome of his eight volumes of *Marathi Riyasal*" which are inaccessible to those who are not acquainted with Marathi language. This book is a unique production, being the interpretation of the history of a great nation by its worthy representative in the field of historical research. Mr. Sardesai's book is a marvellous survey of the philosophy of Maratha history in seven brilliant essays, biographical, cultural and religious. To us it appears the veteran historian has given his best to the world in these learned essays.

Perhaps once and only once did the tide of imperialism in India change its time-honoured course by flowing from the south of the Narmada towards the North under the victorious banner of Maharastra in the 18th century. Its causes have been suggested by Mr. Sardesai in the very first chapter of his book. When the heart of Aryavarta almost ceased to beat under the terrible shock of Islamic conquest in the 13th and 14th centuries, there came in the fifteenth pulsation of a new life from the south with the teachings of Ramananda. This religious movement gathered its momentum for two centuries and assumed a religio-political character with the appearance of Ramdas and Shivaji.

Mr. Sardesai in his third essay, *Shivaji's conception of a Hindu Empire*, maintains that the idea of an all-India Hindu Empire first dawned upon the mind of Shivaji, though it did not materialize till the time of great Baji Rao I. The flow-tide of Maratha imperialism reached its high water-mark during the time of Peshwa Baji Rao. After a temporary check in the field of the third battle of Panipat, the *de facto* Maratha sovereignty in India was re-established by Mahadji Sindhia and Nana Fadnavis. Mr. Sardesai has devoted a chapter in portraying the character and policy of these two great statesmen of Maharashtra.

Perhaps the most instructive and thought-provoking chapter (Lecture VII) of this book is the last one on "the Downfall of the Maratha State." Neglect of the study of science, neglect of artillery and lack of organization brought about the absolute decay of the Maratha State at a time when it suffered also a relative decay by the rise of British power in India. These were, in the opinion of Mr. Sardesai, the real causes of the downfall of the Maratha State and not the much-maligned caste system of Maharashtra, and the alleged partiality of the Brahman Peshwas for their own caste which, however, is only a groundless allegation.

**MALIK AMBAR:** (*A Biography based on original sources*): By Dr. Jogendranath Chaudhuri, M. A., Ph. D. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1934; pp. 181. Price Rs. 2.

Here is a first-rate biography and the only one hitherto attempted—of the greatest Muslim soldier-statesman of Southern India.

Malik Ambar was born of Abyssinian parentage, no one knows when and where. He was brought up in the slave-establishment of a Nizamshahi noble of Ahmadnagar. Up to the age of 45 his career is singularly uneventful. During the last decade of the 16th century, when the army of Akbar under the command of Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim was engaged in the conquest of the Nizamshahi kingdom, Malik Ambar joined the faction of his countryman Abhang Khan, and that too as a petty commander of 150 horse. Soon afterwards he left the service of Abhang Khan, and started his career of independence as a bandit



chief with a following of 2500 men, mostly thieves and highway men who had of their own accord chosen him as their leader. The misfortune of the country of his adoption urged Ambar to take up the cause of the family of Nizam Shah, and repel the tide of aggressive Mughal imperialism which threatened the independence of the Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan. He subdued to his will the mutually repellent forces in the Nizamshahi kingdom, secured the alliance of Bijapur, and called back to life the extinct monarchy of Ahmadnagar by raising to throne a scion of the Nizamshahi family under the title of Murtaza Nizam Shah II (1600 A. D.). Dr. Chaudhuri's book gives us the impression that the difficulties which had beset Ambar's path were much more formidable than those encountered by Shivaji half a century later. During the next 26 years of his active political career, Malik Ambar indeed rode the whirlwind in the arena of Deccan politics, and broke lances with the most capable Mughal generals and diplomats of his time with occasional reverses but with ultimate success. The crowning success of Ambar's life was his great victory over the confederate Mughal and Bijapuri armies at Bhatwadi in October, 1624. Had he lived to follow up the advantages of Bhatwadi, he might have created an Empire as great as that of the Bahamanis. The hero died in his hour of triumph in May, 1626, having made his way, as it were, from Log-cabin to White Hall. Malik Ambar was the precursor of the great Shivaji, whose military tactics and administrative and religious policy he anticipated by half a century. What Sher Shah had been to Akbar, so was Malik Ambar to Shivaji.

The career of Malik Ambar has been unfolded in this book, says Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his highly appreciative Foreword, "by a critical and exhaustive use of all the reliable sources, with an economy of words and a rigid avoidance of irrelevancies that deserves as much praise as its range of scholarship." We congratulate Dr. Chaudhuri on his happy choice of subject and its excellent treatment. His book comes as a flood of light on a dark corner of Indian history. It will, we hope, soon find a place among the text-books of the Universities where the medieval history of the Deccan is taught.

K. R. QANUNGO

**REMINISCENCES OF LENIN:** *By Clara Zetkin. Published by International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, U. S. A. Pp. 64.*

"This book," we are told on the offside of the inner title page, "is composed and printed by union labour." It attempts a narration more of the sayings and views of Lenin than his doings. Besides, the author appears to assume that details of Russian history of the period are all known to the reader and omits to give any systematic account of them. This makes the book somewhat like a picture without a background. Otherwise, it is a well-written book, and is not without interest even to those who may not have sympathy with the great Russian movement. However much many of us may dislike it, the proletariat movement in Russia has come to stay and it is a factor to be reckoned with in world-history today. The leaders of this movement—and Lenin is one of them—are entitled to our recognition. And these reminiscences from the pen of one who was closely associated with him are well worthy of attention.

Some of Lenin's views ought to be very much better known than they are. There is "the famous theory that in Communist Society the satisfaction of sexual desires, of love, will be as simple and unimportant as drinking a glass of water" (p. 49). It is refreshing to know that Lenin regarded this "glass of water theory" as "completely un-Marxist and, moreover, anti-social." (*Ibid.*)

As to Lenin's influence outside Russia, the author of the book perhaps holds exaggerated views. "In America, in Japan, and in India," says she, "rebels against the enslaving power of the possessors gathered together under Lenin's name" (p. 8). Whatever may be the case in America and Japan, we are not aware of such gathering of rebels in India, unless it be the handful of persons who were brought together under the famous Meerut trial!

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

**HANDBOOK OF PRACTICAL GEOLOGY FOR INDIAN STUDENTS:** *By M. B. Pithawalla, Karachi, 1934. Pp. V-59 and two geological maps.*

This brochure is professedly written for students of Engineering who have also to take a course in Geology, and not for the serious student of the science. We hope, it will prove helpful to those for whom it is meant.

**THE NOBLE EIGHTFOLD PATH:** *By Annie Besant and C. W. Leadbeater. Adyar Pamphlets, No. 192. December, 1934. Pp. 35.*

Contains two popular lectures on the eightfold path of Buddhism.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**TALES OF FRIENDSHIP:** *By Professor D. C. Sharma, M.A. Published by the Oxford University Press, Bombay. Price As. 10.*

This book contains three famous tales of friendship—Krishna and Sudama, Mohammed and Abu Bakr, and Vidur and the Pandavas. Krishna and Sudama were sent by their fathers to the hermitage of the sage, Sandipana, to receive their lessons; Sudama, the son of a poor Brahmin, was stupid and lazy, was a glutton and made himself the laughing-stock of all his fellow-students; but Krishna who was a prince was a very intelligent and clever boy and was first in everything, yet in spite of these things Krishna was free from vanity, treated all his friends with courtesy and was most fond of Sudama; their friendship lasted even when they grew old and Sudama was helped a good deal in his distress by his old friend, King Krishna of Dwarka. Mohammed who afterwards became the Prophet of Islam and Abu Bakr who became its first Caliph were great friends; throughout his life Abu Bakr was a constant companion of Mohammed and the Prophet trusted him as he did nobody else; their friendship lasted throughout life and they stood by each other through thick and thin. Vidur was a dear friend of Pandu and at the time of the latter's death promised to help his sons as much as he could; Vidur was all his life loyal to the memory of his dear friend. These three tales of friendship are related in this book under review and have been very charmingly told. The stories are narrated in an easy style and in a delightful manner. Each story of the book is of two-fold value—a joy for the reading and an



instruction on finishing. This book, we are sure, will serve as a very suitable Supplementary Reader for the upper classes of a high English school. The get-up, printing and paper are all excellent.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

**THE NEW HUMANITY:** By Mirza Ahmad Sohrab. (New York, The New History Foundation, J. H. Sears & Co., Inc. Second Edition, 1928, pp. 308.) Price Two Dollars.

The Bahai movement has of late taken a firm grip of the imagination of the American people. In the present volume an ex-companion of Abdul Baha deals with the magnificent rosary of humanizing principles which made the world teacher a new spiritual force of considerable significance to the modern age. Written in elegant style, each chapter brims with vitalizing thoughts which bring comfort to millions of people all the world over. *The New Humanity* ought to appeal most to the occidental public which is characterized to be engrossed more in the things material than in those spiritual. The Indian reader who knows anything relating to Sufism will derive equal benefit from a perusal of this volume.

LANKA SUNDARAM

**KAMAL : MAKER OF MODERN TURKEY:** By Ikbāl Ali Shah. London, Herbert House, 1934. Pp. 297. Price 15s. net.

Ikbāl Ali Shah's *Kamal* reads like a thrilling tale. An astute and adventurous spirit "galvanizes his nation to life, to a life of free sovereignty within the limits of his homeland." The core of the book is the clear-cut delineation of the personality of the Turkish Dictator from Kamal the Silent to Kamal the Eloquent. Ikbāl Ali Shah unfolds the stages of Kamal's great political campaign against the Sublime Porte (79-125), in which his hold upon the allegiance and affection of his countrymen grows stronger and stronger, till the Sultan, "weighed down by the sense of calamities to come" flees from Constantinople on the 17th of November, 1922. "This creature," exclaims Kamal, "who was low enough to consider that his life and liberty could be in danger! He could not stand, even for a moment, at the head of his people.....An incapable and low creature, without heart or intelligence!" (246-248).

Kamal is a man of incomparable fortitude, inflexible will-power and dauntless courage. "A nation that asserts and maintains its unity and its will," says Kamal, "sooner or later will be able to bring any proud enemy who attacks it to suffer for his presumption." (175). Kamal believes that sovereignty belongs to the nation, without restriction and without conditions. "The system of administration is founded on the principle that the people are actually and individually guiding their own destiny." (195).

Kamal's negotiations with the Sublime Porte, his rejection of agreements signed by the Turkish Foreign Minister with England, France and Italy, and his methods in dealing with his own Ministers and foreign Generals (240-250) are incontestable proofs of his great statesmanship. Kamal is, without the least doubt, one of the most striking figures of modern times, a marvellous, constructive and progressive mind and an imperious personality which has made Turkey what it is today (vide Chapter xvi. "Turkey Up-to-Date").

We find at the end of the book a very useful

chronology of Turkey's struggle for independence, in which Kamal shines like the brightness of a sword above the twilight gloom of factions and self-centred interests.

P. TARACHAND ROY

**JOSEPH KERKHOVEN'S THIRD EXISTENCE:** By Jacob Wassermann. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Price 10s. net.

This is the last novel, written by the famous German author. It was completed just before his death at the turn of the year 1933-1934. It is the third of a trilogy, the first two being *The Maurixius Case* and *Etzel Andergast*. But it can be read and enjoyed as a separate novel in itself. The story deals with the last phase of the life of Joseph Kerkhoven a celebrated neurologist. The other main characters are Marie, his wife, Alexander Herzog, his friend, and Bettina Herzog, Alexander's wife. The author leads us into a world, which is strange to lay readers. It is full of abnormal and neurotic beings, but we find our way about it, guided by the author's genius. The novel also embodies a philosophy, which links modern science to religious mysticism. A perusal of the book makes one realize fully why Wassermann was called the "biggest of modern German authors" by Arnold Bennett. His death is an irreparable loss to modern literature, which is unfortunately becoming more and more banal and trivial.

S. C.

**ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE ZAMINDARI RYOTS—ANDHRA ECONOMIC SERIES NO 4:** By Prof. N. G. Ranga, B. A. & others. Published by the Peasants' Protection Committee, Bexwada. Re. 1.

In this small book of 154 pages the case for the Zamindar ryots of the Madras Presidency has been well put, and the hardship and oppression which they suffer from have been thoroughly exposed. It should receive attention at the hands of the Land Revenue authorities. Those who here in Bengal pose as ryots' friends would do well in publishing such a book.

J. M. DATTA

**HINDUSTAN YEAR BOOK, 1935.** M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Ltd., Calcutta. Third Year of Issue. Pp. 169. Price As. 12.

The price of this neatly printed, handy and useful Year-book is very moderate. The third year's issue contains 30 pages more than the second year's issue. Many additions have been made in the present edition. Publicists, students, and in fact all educated persons will find the book very helpful.

C.

**SECRETS OF SUCCESSFUL TEACHING:** By Corrie Fearon (nee Gordon). Published by Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras. Pp. 122. Price Re. 1. 4as.

Young teachers on the threshold of their profession stand in need of some advice as to how they should proceed when they enter their life's work. This book is intended for them. It contains much that will be useful to them and so it will, I am sure, be appreciated



by those to whom it is addressed. The book is written in a delightful and racy style full of freshness and vigour and its appeal is direct.

I agree with the writer that the secret of eventual success surely lies in having a clear conception of the ideal at which we are aiming. To put it in other words it is the right attitude and a definite philosophy of education which alone can steer a teacher to the sure haven of success and joy. And yet most of our training colleges are busy not in creating this right attitude nor in giving the young teacher a philosophy of education but in furnishing him with mastery of this or that method. We still believe too much in methods as if they alone could create the successful teacher. Let us realize that there is no royal road to success in teaching nor is there any cut and dried method to lead to it. One often has a suspicion that really good teachers are born rather than made, though of course it is open to all of us to attain some of success through knowledge and personal efforts, and by cultivating a right and reverent attitude towards our task. I wonder if Mrs Fearon was not a successful teacher first and then a discoverer of the rules which lead to success.

The choice of the title of the book is rather unfortunate. It sounds cheap.

A. N. BOSE

#### SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

**UPAVANA-VINODA :** (*A Sanskrit Treatise on Arbor-Horticulture*). Edited by Girija Prasanna Majumdar, M.Sc., B.L., published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1935. Pp. Super-Royal 8vo 4+128. Price Rs. 2-8.

The present work though very late (13th century) contains many useful informations about the Hindu method of gardening—culled, of course, from various old sources, as has been shown by the editor in his learned introduction. But this excellent work might have been rendered more useful to the scholars by taking more care in its editing. Separate indexes for Sanskrit and Latin names of plants and trees etc. might have enhanced the value of the book. The first thing which pains a critical scholar is its numerous misprints in the Sanskrit text without any list of errors for their correction. By the confusion of व and व्र and the dotting of उ the editor has unintentionally paraded his native phonetic habit. There are other such mistakes besides the wrong grouping of words such as नमः for नमः in stanza 57. Want of space will not permit us to give an exhaustive list of all the errors in printing. A want of strict system in the use of diacritical marks has been a defect of the English portion of the work.

But the above defects, however unhappy, are not of a very serious nature. In the handling of the text and the translation the editor has betrayed a lamentable carelessness. For example, the reading विश्रमते जनः which is grammatically wrong and is not metrically indispensable has been retained in stanza 5 in spite of Gananath Sen's reading विश्रम्यते जनैः. Other good readings from Gananath Sen's edition have been equally disregarded. For example, his readings in stanzas 9, 10 and 21 are evidently much more sensible than the reading adopted by the editor. तृक्ष्णः in stanza 73

ought to have been emended to तृक्ष्णैः. The translation portion of the work betrays the editor's carelessness most glaringly. दूरदक्ष in stanza 36, as opposed to समसूत्रज्ञा in stanza 38, means 'having water at a distance' and not 'having water hidden in its depths' as the editor opines. It may be hoped that the Indian Research Institute in its future publications will try to avoid the shortcomings that have been noticed in the work under review and will give a better idea of Indian culture to the outsider.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

#### BENGALI

**SRI BAMALILA (ADILAHARI) :** By Hari-charan Ganguli Shastri, M. A., B. L. Published by Pashupati Banerji, M. A., Secretary, Bama-sevakasampradaya, 48-2, Benialola Street, Calcutta.

This gives a detailed account of a portion of the life-story of the great *Sadhaka*—Bama Charan Chatterji (popularly known as Bama Kshepa, Bama the mad) of Tarapith in the district of Birbhum in Bengal. In two more parts, to be published later on, the remaining portions of the story will be treated. Besides the story proper, the work deals, incidentally, with various theological doctrines and religious rites. The work bears testimony to the deep regard of the author for his *guru* whose biography he has compiled.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

#### GUJARATI

**RASIK NAN KAVYO :** By Vithabhai Yajneshwar Avsatthi of Bhavnagar. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. Pp. 191. Illustrated Paper Cover. Price Re. 1-8-0.

This is a collection of seventy two poems, including twenty-four for children. The other three sections bear on native and natural scenes, domestic or family incidents and philosophical subjects. These are notes explaining the bearings of the subject-matter of the poems and a list with meanings of difficult words. The poems are all cast in the modern mould and, as stated by the writer of the Preface, Prof. Joshi of the Samaldas College Bhavnagar, have derived inspiration in common with writers of the present generation, from English, Sanskrit, Persian and old Gujarati literatures. There is not much above the normal in these verses, but all the same they disclose that the writer has the genius in him, which is bound to develop as time passes.

**GANGOTRI :** By Umashankar Joshi. Printed at the Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad. Pp. 162. Illustrated Silver Paper Cover, with a coloured frontispiece. Price Re. 1-8-0.

A collection of 115 poems written by Mr Joshi during the last three or four years and published in different periodicals with an attractive cover and nice get-up; this is what Gangotri is. The present agitated state of society is reflected in Gangotri, and it also contains verses on such drab everyday matters as the doings of a Mochi, a Bangle seller, a tonga driver, and a Prize distributor which Mr. Joshi has to present from a higher and poetical level. There are descriptions of rural scenes and rural life also.



## ELECTION OF TWO OF THE EARLY KINGS OF BENGAL

By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

THE very scanty materials relating to the early political history of Bengal include accounts of two unique events and reveal to us in outline the figures of two rulers of men of a type rare in the East. The first of these events is the election of Gopaladeva, the founder of the Pala dynasty, as king by the people themselves (*prakritibhiih*) to put an end to internal dissensions towards the end of the eighth century A. D.; the second event is a political revolution provoked by the oppressive measures of king Mahipala II, and the election of Divya as king by the revolutionaries in the fourth quarter of the eleventh century A. D. The memory of Divya has recently been celebrated at Divair, a village in the Dinajpur district, P. S. Patnitala, where a noble granite pillar 41 feet in height and 11 feet in circumference just above water stands in the middle of a tank called *Divair dighi*. Late Mr. Akshoy Kumar Maitra suggested the recognition of this pillar as a monument of Divya from the name of the tank and the adjoining village.\*

The earliest document that deals with the rise of the Pala dynasty is a land grant of King Dharmmapala, son of King Gopala I. Most of the ancient royal land grants engraved on copper plates open with Sanskrit stanzas containing the panegyric of the donor and his ancestors. The first person named in the land grant of king Dharmmapala is his great-grandfather *Dayitavishnu* of whom it is said :

"As the sea is the birth place of the blessed goddess of Fortune (*Lakshmi*), and the Moon the source of that lustre which gladdens the universe, so *Dayitavishnu*, bright with all learning, became the progenitor of the foremost line of kings."†

Here there is nothing to show that *Dayitavishnu* was a man of princely rank whose grandson could legitimately aspire to the vacant throne of the kingdom. The only epithet applied to him by the official panegyrist is, "bright with all learning" (*sarvavidyadata*). He was a learned man. Of *Dayitavishnu*'s son *Vapyata* it is said :

"From him sprang the illustrious *Vapyata*, who, full of piety, as far as the ocean embellished the earth with massive temples, and became famous as the destroyer of adversaries."

\* The present writer first visited the pillar with Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M. L. C., and late Mr. Akshoy Kumar Maitra, C. I. E. in 1911.

† English translation by Kielhorn, "Khalimpur Plate of Dharmmapaladeva," *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. iv, p. 243, etc.

Here also princely rank is not claimed for *Vapyata*. His embellishing the earth with massive temples shows that he was a rich man. Like every successful man of the world he had to destroy his adversaries. The names of *Dayitavishnu* and *Vapyata* are totally dropped from the genealogy of the Pala kings given in the



King Divya's Pillar

grants of the successors of Dharmmapala. But of *Vapyata*'s son *Gopala* we are told by the panegyrist of his son and successor Dharmmapala :

"His (*Vapyata*'s) son was the crest-jewel of the heads of kings, the glorious *Gopala*, whom the people made take the hand of Fortune, to put an end to the practices of fishes, whose everlasting



great fame the glorious mass of moonlight on a fullmoon night seeks to rival by its whiteness in the sky."

The translator, late Professor Kielhorn, thus explains the words put by me in italics: "Gopala was made king by the people to put an end to a lawless state of things in which everyone was the prey of his neighbour." When people make a man their king the action is called the election of the king. The story of the election of a king by the people of any country in the sub-continent of India in the eighth century A. D. must startle many people. Evidently it is for this reason Kielhorn has not used the word in his translation. The original text reads—

मात्स्यनाय मपोहितुं प्रकृतिमि लैन्मथाः करं ग्राहितः

श्रीगोपाल इति—

The text literally means, "Gopala was married to the goddess of (royal) Fortune by the subjects." *Prakriti* denotes the subject of a king. When subjects undertake to make a king they have either to select one of the rival candidates belonging to the old ruling family or families, or elect one of themselves. The pedigree of Gopala given above shows that he did not belong to a princely family. His elevation to the throne was a case of election of a man, not on account of his pedigree, but on account of his merit. Among the merits of Gopala must be included the wealth that he had inherited from his father Vapyata who embellished the earth with massive temples, i. e., built numerous massive temples. According to the panegyrists of his descendants Gopala was a great and a good king. In the copper-plate grants of Devapala, the grandson of Gopala, it is said of him:

"Possessed of matchless prosperity, Gopala was the husband of Fortune as well as the lord of the earth. While he, the type of a well-conducted (king), carried on his beneficent rule, even kings like Prithu and Sagara came to be believed in." \*

Gopala was a *Saigata* or a Buddhist, and so were all his descendants who recognized the Buddha as the highest of beings. The copper-plate grants of all the kings of the Pala dynasty beginning with Narayanapala opens with this stanza:

"Victorious is the illustrious lord of the world, Dasavala (Buddha)—and that other (lord of the world), Gopaladeva; whose heart was resplendent with the jewel of compassion; whose mistress was Maitri; whose wisdom, (arising from) perfect knowledge, washed off ignorance, as the pure water of a river does the mud; and who having overcome the power of those who were acting according to their own desires (in the case of the Buddha Mara) attained everlasting peace." †

\* English translation by Kielhorn, "The Mungir Copper-Plate grant of Devapaladeva," *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxi, p. 253.

† English translation by Hultsch, *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. xv, p. 30.

There may be considerable exaggeration in these eulogies. But no other Indian Buddhist king has been compared to the Buddha by the panegyrists of his successors. Therefore the eulogies of Gopala cannot be considered baseless. He must have been an exceptionally virtuous and able man. The other questions that demand discussion in connection with this momentous event in the history of Bengal are, where and how was Gopala elected king? In the Kamauli copper-plate grant of king Vaidyadeva of Kamrupa and the *Ramcharita* by Sandhyakara Nandi, both composed in the reign of Madanapala, the last king or the last but one king, of the Pala dynasty, Varendri, Northern Bengal, bounded on the west by the Ganges, and on the east by the Karatoya, is called the *Janakabhu*, the fatherland, of the dynasty. The election of Gopala presumably took place in Varendri. In those days Varendri with Radha (Western Bengal) and Magadha (South Behar) constituted the kingdom of Gauda. This powerful kingdom came into being after the disintegration of the Gupta empire. Sasanka, the earliest known king of Gauda, flourished early in the seventh century A. D., and was a rival of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. According to Vakpati's *Gaudavaho*, a historical poem in Prakrit written by a contemporary, king Yasovarmadeva of Kanauj, invaded the kingdom of Gauda early in the eighth century A. D., and in the battle that followed between the invader and the army of the king of Gauda, who is also called the king of Magadha, the latter was defeated and slain. After subduing the kingdom of Gauda Yasovarma invaded Banga or Eastern Bengal including the delta of the Ganges. The king of Banga submitted to the invader and acknowledged him (Yasovarmadeva) as his overlord. Before Gopala was elected king, Eastern Bengal probably declared herself independent in the absence of a recognized lord of Gauda, and Magadha was far off. So, evidently the population of Northern and Western Bengal took active part in the election of Gopala.

Who were the electors of Gopala? In those days when the villages were autonomous units, there were much larger number of politically-minded people in this country than there are even now. Above the village headmen were the circle of minor chiefs, *samanta-chakra*. It were the major chiefs, entitled Rajas, Maharajas, and Mahamandalikas, whose long continued struggle for the overlordship of Gauda (Eastern India) must have caused the anarchy described by the poet as "the practices of fishes". Therefore, it was evidently a confederation of the village headmen and the minor chiefs that elevated Gopala, a wealthy, capable, and virtuous minor chief to the throne of the lord of Gauda, for all the sovereigns of the Pala dynasty were known as lords of Gauda.





Delegates crossing the river by boat with their 'bus.

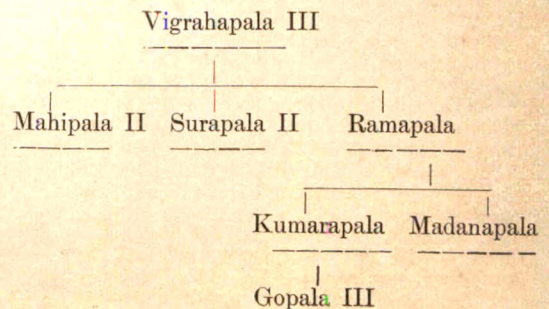
Gopala fulfilled the expectations of the electors, restored political unity and peace in Eastern India, and founded a powerful dynasty that ruled for nearly three centuries and a half. In the grants of his grandson Devpaladeva it is further said of Gopala :

"When he conquered the earth as far as the sea, he set free his elephants, regarding them as useless train ; and they with tears (of joy) saw again in the forest their kindred whose eyes became filled with tears.

The panegyrist here states that Gopala "conquered the earth as far as the sea," *i. e.* subjugated Eastern Bengal, and even had time to set free his war elephants, *i. e.* after consolidating the Kingdom of Gauda reigned for some time more in peace.

About three centuries after the election of Gopala the population of Varendri again undertook the task of determining their own political destiny. In 1897 late Mahamahopadhaya Haraprasad Sastri collected a curious manuscript from Nepal. It contained an original Sanskrit poem called *Ramacharita* by Sandhyakara Nandi with commentary. The original poem,

consisting of 272 stanzas, is complete. But the commentary is incomplete ; it extends from the beginning to canto II, stanza 36. The entire poem with the commentary has been edited and published by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. III, no. 1, pp. 1—56. The poem bears double meaning throughout. In one sense it narrates the story of the *Ramayana* of Valmiki, and in another sense it is the annals of the later Pala kings. Their genealogy is given below :





As the main story of the *Ramayana* of Valmiki is Ravana's abduction of Sita and her recovery by Rama, the main story of the *Ramacharita* is the occupation of Varendri (*janakbhu*), by Divya, and her recovery from the possession of Divya's nephew, Bhima, by king Ramapala. The name of Ramapala, the reconqueror of Varendri suggested the comparison. Sandhyakara Nandi, the author of the *Ramacharita*, is not the only poet who has compared the loss and reconquest of Varendri by Rama [pala] with the main story of the *Ramayana*. Mathana, the author of the eulogistic stanzas in the Kamauli copper-plate grant of Vaidyadeva, king of Kamrupa, says of Ramapala that he spread his fame over the three worlds by crossing the sea of war (as Rama crossed the sea), killing Bhima, the ruler of the world, (as Rama killed Ravana), and recovering the fatherland (*janakbhu*, Varendri) (as Rama recovered Sita).\*

The name of Divya also occurs in the Belava copper-plate grant of Bhojavarmmadeva, issued from Vikramapura. Herein it is said of Jatavarmmadeva, the grandfather of Bhojavarmmadeva :

"He spread his own imperial dignity by emulating the glory of Prithu, the son of Vena ; by marrying Virari, (the daughter) of Karna ; by spreading his fame over Anga ; by surpassing the glory of Kamarupa ; by eclipsing the fame of the valour of Divya ; by reducing the power of Govardhana ; by distributing wealth among the Brahmins versed in the Vedas."

In the *Ramacharita* it is said of Vighrahapala III (I. 8-9), "Having defeated in battle and then protected Karna, he wedded the earth and Yauvanasri." In the commentary it is said that Yauvanasri was the daughter of Karna, king

of Dahala. The Chedi country was then known as Dahala, and Tripuri (in the Jabbalpur district in the Central Provinces), was its capital. Karna, king of Dahala, reigned from 1041 to about 1072 A. D. Karna's Virasri whom Jatavarmmadeva married was evidently another daughter of the same king Karna of Dahala. So Vighrahapala III, Jatavarmmadeva and Divya were contemporaries. The fame of the valour of Divya which Jatavarmman is said to have eclipsed probably spread in the reign of Vighrahapala III. We shall presently see, Divya occupied a high rank in the court of Vighrahapala's eldest son and successor, Mahipala II. So the fame of Divya said to have been eclipsed by a contemporary of Vighrahapala III was probably acquired as a general of that king. In the Amgachi copper-plate grant of Vighrahapala III, dated in the 12th or 13th year of his reign, it is said of him :

"Whose war elephants, resembling clouds, having drunk clean water in the eastern country abounding with streams, having freely roamed in the sandal-wood forest on the Malaya table-land (south), having cooled themselves with thick spray in the desert (west), then betook themselves to the girdle of the Himalayas."

This is a poetical account of the conquest of the four quarters (*digvijaya*) of India by the victorious army of Vighrahapala III. The reference to the invasion of the eastern country, or eastern Bengal, contained herein cannot be treated lightly. In the *Ramacharita* (III, 4) it is said that the Varmman ruler of the eastern country propitiated Ramapala, son of Vighrahapala III, by presenting a good elephant and his own horse. The invasion of Eastern Bengal by Vighrahapala III probably had the effect of gaining the allegiance of Jatavarmma, the founder of the Varmman dynasty of Eastern Bengal. Perhaps Divya was in charge of this expedition and compelled Jatavarmma to acknowledge the overlordship of Vighrahapala III.

Vighrahapala III was succeeded by his son Mahipala II (about 1075 A. D.). The story of the revolution that followed is briefly told by Sandhyakara Nandi. Mahipala "followed the wrong course of conduct"; "he always undertook measures that are opposed to right policy"; "he disregarded truth and right line of action." Mahipala put his younger brothers, Surapala and Ramapala, in chains, and shut them up in prison. According to the commentary on the *Ramacharita* I, 31, all the chiefs (*anantasamanta chakra*) advanced against the king with a great army consisting of infantry, cavalry, war-elephants and war-boats. Mahipala, disregarding the advice of his wise and experienced minister, plunged in battle with them, accompanied by a small body of demoralized troops. He was defeated and slain. About Divya and his part in the revolution it is said (I. 38), he was a servant of the king of very high rank. Perhaps

\* *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II : Maitra, *Gaudalekhmalā*.

† गृहं नैवययुश्चिदं परिणयन् वरार्णस्य वीरश्रियं  
योद्धु प्रथयच्छ्रियं परिभवन्तां कामरूपश्रियं ।  
निन्दन्दिव्यभुजश्रियं विकनयन् गोवद्धनस्य श्रियं  
कुर्वन् श्रोत्रिः साच्छ्रियं विततवान् स्वां सावर्भौमश्रियं ॥

Mr. N. G. Mazumdar, the latest translator of this inscription, renders this stanza thus : "He spread his paramount sovereignty, by eclipsing even the glory of Prithu, son of Vena, by extending his dominion over the Angas, .... by bringing to disgrace the strength of the arms of Divya..." Prithu, the ideal king of the Hindu legend, may be rivalled, but not eclipsed. According to the Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevi (*Ep. Ind.* vol. ix.) Mahana, the maternal uncle of Ramapala, was the king of Anga. So Mahana was a contemporary of Vighrahapala III and Jatavarmman, and the latter could not have extended his dominion to Anga without first conquering Varendri and overthrowing Vighrahapala III, the overlord of Gauda. But no such claim is put forward on behalf of Jatavarmma, and there is no independent evidence to show that he ever held possession of Anga. *Nindan* primarily means blaming, and not causing to be blamed (bringing to disgrace).



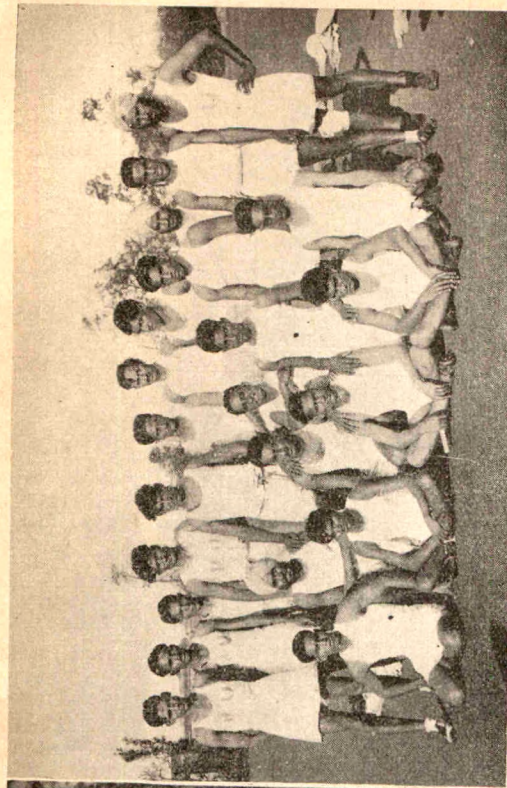
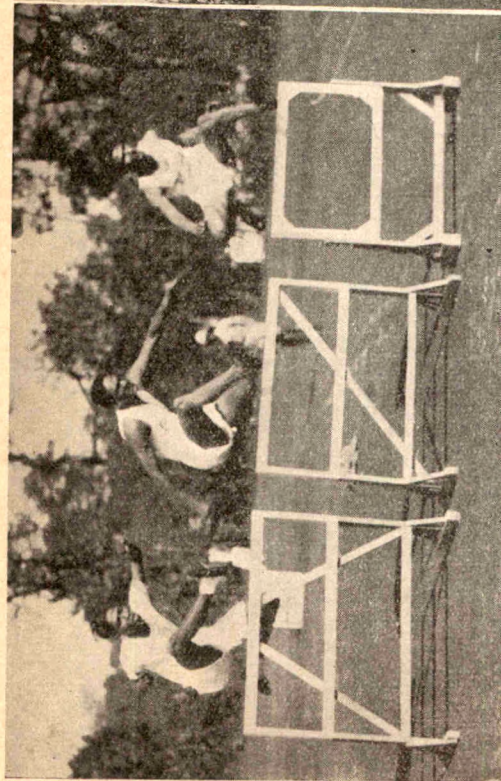
# WORK OF MR. RAMESHWAR PRASAD VERMA



From top to bottom. First Row : 1. 'Expectation', 2. Hawk and Spider, 3. Radha-Krishna.  
Second Row : 1. 'Light of Asia' (appreciated by Queen Mary), 2. The Sun (Water-gilding), 3. Pencil-sketch from life.

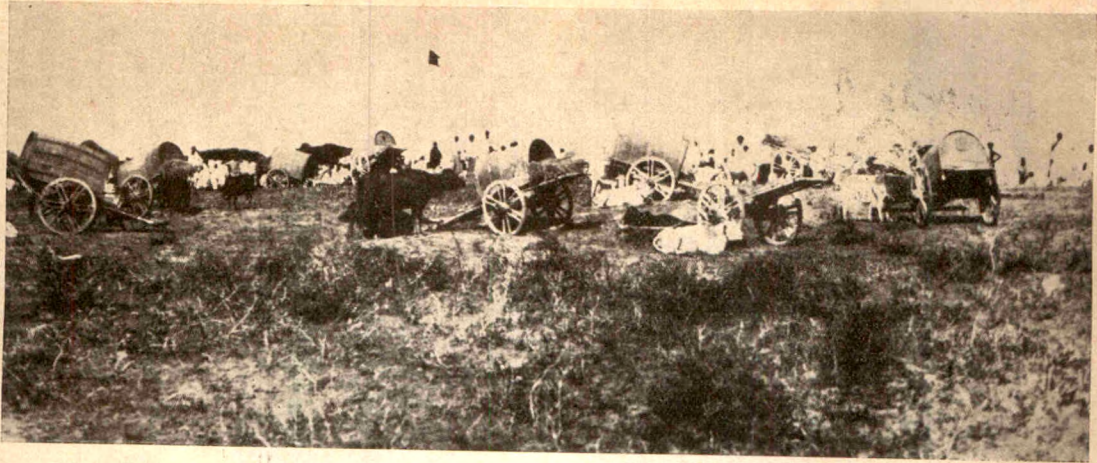


THE INTER-UNIVERSITY SPORTS HELD AT EDEN GARDENS, CALCUTTA, ON THE 14TH FEBRUARY, 1935



*Left : (1) 120 Yds Hurdle race won by Basir Ahmed (Punjab) in  $16\frac{4}{5}$  Sec., (2) 220 Yds won by Z. H. Khan (Calcutta) in  $22\frac{4}{5}$  Sec.,  
Right : (1) Competitors from the Panjab University, (2) Competitors from the Calcutta University. Photos : Debabrata Chatterjee, M.Sc.*





Delegates going on carts to attend meeting held in memory of King Divya

he was the wise minister who advised king Mahipala not to give battle to the army of the rebel chiefs with a small body of undisciplined men. But after Mahipala's defeat and death, it was Divya who, "Like a robber took possession of the fatherland (of the Pala king) as Ravana abducted Sita." But the poet draws the line of distinction between Ravana and Divya by a significant epithet, *upadhivratī*, "disguised as one observing a vow." Ravana abducted Sita disguised as a religious mendicant; Divya took possession of Varendra disguised as a rebel. The meaning appears to be, Divya was not a rebel himself, but was elected king by the rebel chiefs after they had defeated and slain Mahipala II. The commentator says that the line of action adopted by Divya is called *vrata* because it was for him an unavoidable task (*avasyakartavya*). When the rebel chiefs offered the crown to Divya, there was no other course open to him but its acceptance. Divya must have been an old man when he was called to the throne of Varendri. Soon after (*trasta*) he died and was succeeded by his younger brother

Rudaka's son Bhima. The war that Ramapala waged against Bhima for the reconquest of Varendri is described in some detail in the *Ramacharita*, and the poet admits that the kingdom grew prosperous under the latter.

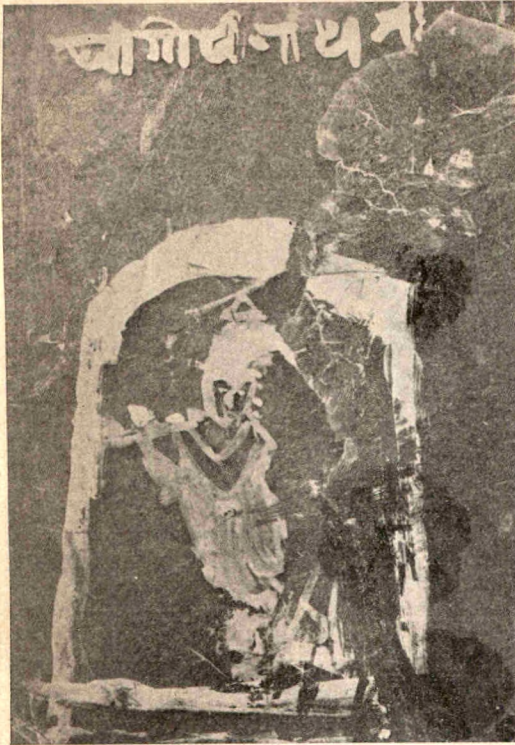
The scanty materials at our disposal enable us to draw only incomplete outlines of the careers of Gopala and Divya. But even with these outlines before us it may be affirmed that the political annals of man do not show many such heroic figures, and the annals of India other than the epic legends show very few leaders of men of the type of Gopala and Divya. The powerful kingdom founded by Gopala was shaken to its very foundations by the revolutionary wars in Varendri in the fourth quarter of the eleventh century. About half a century later the last Pala king (Madanapala) was driven out of that province by Vijayasena, and at the end of the twelfth century the fatherland (*janakabhū*) of the mighty Pala kings was occupied by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar without encountering any opposition.

## ARTIST RAMESHWAR PRASAD VERMA

MR. Rameshwar Prasad Verma has just returned to India after spending five years in England and on the continent. In London Mr. Verma joined the Royal College of Arts and won the highest diploma which one can obtain today in this branch of learning. He went through the full course of studies at this College for three years and qualified himself in mural painting, decorations and book illustrations. He made a special study of aquatint and line etching, acquired knowledge of the way in which plates are printed and specialized in designing. His experiments in different mediums of egg, tempera,

oil and milk were considered to have given very interesting results. After securing the diploma of Associate of Royal College of Arts he spent two more years in England and learnt with considerable success portrait painting and restoring work. He was fortunate to have the advantage of having private lessons from the well-known British artist Mr. Martin A. R. A., and learning direct from him the technique of portrait painting. The restoring work which Mr. Verma has been able to learn, will prove of real usefulness, because there are lots of old paintings in India which are on the verge of ruin owing to the ravages of time and badly





Sri Krishna. The first painting by Mr. Verma require restoration in order to be preserved. Unfortunately there are not many artists in this country who possess this special knowledge.

Mr. Verma comes from a family of hereditary artists at Patna to which may be ascribed the origin of the Patna School of Art of the Mughal times. He is the second son of Mr. Ishwari Prasad Verma, a well-known artist, who a short time ago retired as a professor of the Government School of Art, Calcutta. Mr. R. P. Verma, before going to England completed the full course of Indian painting at the Government School of Art in Calcutta. He acted as the Head Master of this School for some time. Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan appointed him as his State artist, and while so employed he made a name as the author of many well-known paintings and came to be regarded as a specialist of the Mughal style of eastern paintings. Now he has acquired a knowledge of Western art as well. It is noteworthy that during his long sojourn in England Mr. Verma made his living by wielding his brush.

Mr. Verma exhibited a number of his pictures in various exhibitions in England and they received recognition and appreciation from many eminent artists and art critics. Several museums in England invited him to present them his paintings. One of his paintings entitled "Radha-Krishna" has been taken by the India House and kept there as one of its permanent exhibits.

Mr. Verma has also been carrying on researches in the region of Art. He has discovered a technique of painting in gold and water, which he calls "WATER GILDING" and claims that this special technique gives permanency to pictures and enables them to escape the ravages of time like Ajanta Paintings.

## THE ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE INDIAN SOCIETY OF ORIENTAL ART, CALCUTTA

**T**HE twenty-sixth annual exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Art was opened by the Hon'ble Khan M. Azizul Haque Bahadur, Minister of Education, Bengal, on the 23rd December last at the rooms of the Society before a large distinguished gathering. For the last quarter of a century the Society has endeavoured to cater to the public the best production of the year by Indian artists, and has always been successful in their efforts. The public had also this time the opportunity of viewing the work of such eminent artists, as Abanindranath Tagore, Gogonendranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose, Khitindranath Majumder, Mukul C. Dey, D. K. Deva-Varman, R. N. Chakravarty, M. B. Gupta, B. N. Tagore, D. S. Bhattacharya and others. The most noticeable exhibit in the show was that from the brush of the versatile artist S. J. Gogonendranath Tagore. "The Panoramic View of the Himalayas" reminds one of the time when Gogonendranath made himself famous by his paintings of the mountains. The picture under review is practically a two-colour composition ;

the glowing orange of the sky intensifying the serene blue of the unchangeable but ever changing hue of the mountains. The next thing that caught the eye, were the delicately drawn and already famous pictures of the "Arabian Nights" series ; the most wonderful thing in these pictures are the sense of composition of the artist and the mastering of details in a limited space. Nandalal Bose was represented by some seven paintings. His "Santal Village" is a masterly work, showing the great control this artist wielded over his brush and palette. It is a wonder to be seen what a great deal of movement could be put in a picture with merely a few strokes of the brush ; the road, the huts, the trees, and even the sky is moving along with the wayfarers. K. N. Majumder, sent works ; amongst which "The Passing of Haridass" showed the artist at his best. The body of the saint is still pliant but the approach of death is already portrayed in the rigid drying lines of his clothes and the quivering figures at the background. Mukul C. Dey's etchings are well known to the





Above : Jaidev and Padmavati—By Kshitindra Nath Mazumdar. Below : Dusmanta and Sakuntala—By Kalipada Ghosal



Hara-Gauri (plaster cast)—By Shridhar Mahapatra

Calcutta public ; but we are delighted to see a few delicate water-colour paintings by him this year. R. N. Chakravarty exhibited five paintings, one of which "The Birth of Buddha" is a very large one which has plenty of colour strength and boldness of lines but is marred by the stiffness of the figures. His smaller pictures are of vivid colours and show remarkable balance of composition. M. B. Gupta took a bold step in submitting a few water-colour sketches ; though they might not be the finished products of this artist but they point out a new line to others which may be profitably used by them in creating a new school of thought. Sudhansu Choudhury's line-drawings are beautiful in their compositions, and perfect drawings, lacking in strength. B. N. Tagore's large painting "Their Home," was well composed and some thing in the colour scheme. Amongst works of the students of the Society and other schools, S. B. Gupta's deserve to be specially mentioned. This young artist has shown great promise in all his works. Works by N. K. Roychoudhury, S. K. Sengupta, Sm. Sudha Dasgupta, Miss P. N. Banerji, I. B. Gupta, Chintamani Kar, Nirmal Guha, S. B. Shaha, and a few works of Ladies' Institution in Hydrabad, Sind, and works by the students of Shantiniketan—specially that of Sm. Nivedita Ghose and of Martanda Parekh as also the stone and wood carving by Sridhar Mahapatra and his students, deserve special mention.



## THE MIME OF KATHAKALI

By RAJENDRA SHANKAR

**K**ATHAKALI is a special and characteristic product of Kerala, that exuberantly verdant and snug little region lying in the south-west corner of India, isolated geographically by the sea on the west and skirted on the other sides by the ranges of the Malaya Parvata and the Prascima Paridhi. Kerala has on this account developed her own marvels in the way of drama, dancing, music and literature.

Dealing with the confusing lot of types that prevail, one finds these dramatic and other representations classifiable into the religious, semi-religious and secular varieties.

The performances going under the names of Bhagavati Pattu, Tiyyattu, Pana, Pattu and a host of others are termed religious inasmuch as they are performed mainly in the temple or temple precincts of the goddess Bhagavati or even at home in honour of the goddess on special and auspicious occasions.

In the semi-religious variety might be included such highly technical and evolved arts as those of Kuttu, Krisnattam, Sanghakkali and others. These are regarded as semi-religious, because there is an atmosphere of sanctity and holiness about them due perhaps to the abundance of Sanskrit in the language, or the religious themes forming the subject of the play.

The third and the most popular type is classed as a secular variety and includes Tullals, Mohiniyattam, Kayyukottikkali, Pathakam and, among others, Kathakali, including between them the arts of acting, singing, dancing and putting on special costumes and make-ups.

There are so many bewildering stories current regarding the origin of Kathakali that one is indeed led to believe, from the primitive aspect of the art, that it would be impossible to come to some definite historical data that might be adduced to shed some light on the subject. Fortunately all seem to agree that Kathakali is the transformed and improved state of a more ancient type of performance called Ramanattam. One of the most authorized versions of this, for which I am indebted to Professor Pisharoti of the Annamalai University, runs as follows:

A certain Zamorin of Calicut organized a kind of performance called Krisnottam, under which name it survives even to this day. From the various points of resemblance it might be inferred that this was built on the model of Jayadeva's *Geetagovinda*. The success of Krisnattam spread all round, and a neighbouring chief on the eve of some festive occasion begged for a loan of the troupe of performers. On account of internal feuds and political rivalry, ever rife

between chieftains of neighbouring countries, the Zamorin not only refused to send the performers but insulted the chief by remarking that none at his court would be able to either appreciate or understand anything on account of the high artistic standard of the performance.

On hearing this the chief retaliated by organizing a parallel mode of entertainment which in contradistinction to Krisnattam he called Ramanattam. It is this Ramanattam which gave rise subsequently to what is to-day called Kathakali or Attakatha.

The date of the first staging of Krisnattam is available from the Kali chronogram, 'Grahya stutirgathakaih,' which approximates to 1657 A. D. From this it may be safely conjectured that Kathakali came to exist sometime about the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The theme of Ramanattam is the complete story of Ramachandra, starting from the 'Putrakamesti' sacrifice (sacrifice for obtaining a son) of Dasaratha and ending with the siege of Lanka, the citadel of Ravana. The costumes in the beginning were mere imitations of those used in Krisnattam, and masks without any head-dress were used to portray the different characters of the Ramayana. The play lasted for seven days and the language used was a mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam.

The introduction of many important changes is attributed to the prince of Vettat Svarupam, who started with the rejection of the masks which became boring after some time, and killed all realistic expressions of the face by hiding them. A head-dress was put on and some sort of a coat was used to cover the body. Originally the musicians were the actors, but at this epoch the addition of special people to play on the drum and sing gave the actors a much greater scope to concentrate on their work and expressions. The characters thus approached more perfectly the stage of a pantomime, and have been thence building more thoroughly on the *abhinaya* (acting) side, of which we will speak later.

The costumes and make-up are so appropriate that it would be wrong not to allude to them in passing. To begin with they are divided into three main classes.

The first is termed 'Minukku' which means smoothening the face, and consists of the simple procedure of dusting the face with a thick powder made of yellow and red pigments. The face is often decorated with white dots with some sort of paint. Black, greasy collyrium is applied to the eyes and lashes while the white of the eye



is turned blood-red by putting in a few young seeds of *Solanum Pubescens*. The lips are also painted red, and the forehead often adorned with a caste mark. Sages, Brahmins and female characters use this kind of make-up.

The second variety is known as 'Teppu' and is further sub-divided into 'Pachcha' and 'Kathi.' The Pachcha consists in painting the front part of the face green, and a broad white ridge of rice and lime, 'Chutti,' runs over the lower jaw and goes up to the head touching the "Chuttinata," the hem of the head-dress, on the forehead. This kind of painting is meant for the hero of the play and such characters as are of princely rank, and includes the five Pandavas, Indra, Nala, Rama, Krisna and other noble personages.

The second variety of Teppu, called 'Kathi,' is more elaborate than Pachcha. Red paint is put round the nose up to the forehead and over the eye-brows, while the rest of the face is smeared with green. There is an addition of another ridge or chutti around the nose, while two knobs (white) are put on the tip of the nose and the forehead, and are technically known as 'chutti-puvvu'. This type generally represents a fierce character who stands against the hero of the play, known as 'pratinayaka', or others having demoniacal blood in their veins, like Ravana, Keechaka etc.

The third variety, 'Tati,' is of red, white and black. The white variety known as 'Veluppa Tati' prescribes a white beard and fur coat, 'chutti-puvvus' on the tip of the nose and middle of the forehead, the face being painted with a mixture of red and yellow pigments, while a chutti runs round the eyes meeting the Chuttinata instead of circling round the nose as in the previous varieties. The spaces round the eyes, lips and chin are dyed with a sort of black unguent. The white Tadi is given to characters like Hanuman, the monkey warrior and sage.

The red or 'Chokanna' tati uses a red beard and coat with the face coloured red, and the chin, lips and space round eyes dyed black. Sometimes bits of paper are stuck fluttering up on either side of the nose and chin to give the notion of waving whiskers and adds considerably to the ferocity of the character. Bali, the monkey king, is often represented in this guise, while for Sugriva, Kalakeya, etc., the same dress is employed.

'Kari' or 'Karuppa' Tadi, indicating the black, consists in using a black beard, coat and make-up, as is seen in the case of Kali, Kattalam (the hunter) etc.

Another variation of the last type is evidenced when over the black paint is drawn a crescent in red in the middle of the cheeks, as in the case of Shiva when he assumed the disguise of Kirata (hunter).

Besides these another shocking type is often met with known as 'Ninam', where a mutilated and victimized character has to be introduced,

such as women with breasts cut off or nose chopped, as in the case of Putana, Surpanakha, etc. Generally speaking the green represents Satvik, red Rajasic and black Tamasic natures, while yellow combines Satvik and Rajasic together.

The other items of costuming are in accordance with the facial paint and the character assumed, of which the most distinguishing happen to be the head-dress. The two main types are known as 'Kesabharam Kiritam' and 'Muti'. The first consists of a circular disc mounted at the back of the hollow cone that fits on to the head. For every vile and wicked types possessing at the same time a sort of regal dignity, like Ravan, Sakuni, etc., the disc at the back is proportionately bigger, while in the case of other characters the disc is smaller. The Muti type of head-dress is very simple and resembles a conical dome corresponding to the coronet of hair of the sages, and is worn by divine agents or allies. The simplest instance is seen in the case of Narada. For Hanuman a protruding fringe is added round looking like an umbrella and is called 'Vatta' Muti. The hunters and characters like Surpanakha, etc., put on a sort of head-dress that opens out on top, and is distinguished by the name of 'Kari' Muti. In the case of Krishna and Rama again, the Muti is adorned by peacock feather on top instead of the spherical crown. At the base of the head-dress on the forehead runs a decorated hemming called Chuttinata forming a harmonious blending between the make-up and the abrupt rising of the head gear.

For the ears are provided the 'Kundalams', a small convex disc of wood, beautifully coloured and gilded, and the 'Chevikkuttu', a smaller sized circular bit of concave ornament, worn above the Kundalam. Both the Pachcha and Chutti varieties of make-ups employ the two types of ear ornaments, while the female characters and Tati generally wear only Kundalam.

Besides the ear rings there are the bracelets, armlets, finger nails of silver, necklace, garland, a girdle round the waist, breast cover and a pair of anklets to make some pleasant sound when the feet are moved. The Kotalarum, or the cover over the breast, decorates the body, while saintly characters use garlands. The other characters use many pieces of upper cloth hanging round the neck and coming down to the knees, and are called Uttariyams, of which one at least is red while the other white. The actual number varies with the status of the character in the play. This resembles a 'chaddar' folded lengthwise with the ends terminating in a beautiful big knot. The fore-arm has a 'Katakam', while the 'Velas' or bangles are worn above it. The female characters put on false breasts with necklace made of glass beads.

The loin is covered by means of a spacious skirt worn over drawers and are made of long



white pieces of cloth sewn together with its border adorned with lace work. The skirt is so made as to ensure perfect ease of movement for either acting or dancing. To either side of the skirt are attached embroidered cloth, while in front hangs a bit of decorative flap termed 'Munti'.

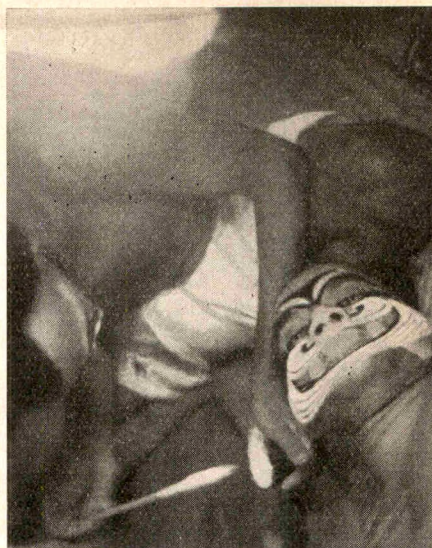
The popularity of the Kathakali is so great because it is not confined to the temple grounds and hence no one is precluded from witnessing the performance.

When a troupe of Kathakali gives a performance, the instrumental musician, Chendakaran, sees that the news is broadcasted by means of the beating of his drum in a special way known as Kelikottu. The sound is heard over a radius of two miles and makes everyone aware of the forthcoming performance. As a rule the first performance called 'Sevakali' is given free at the temple of the village deity, which serves the dual purpose of pleasing the people by the respect shown to the presiding deity of the village, and making *reclame* for themselves by giving a foretaste of their wonderful work of art. Another speciality is that no tickets are sold, and that everyone is allowed free entrance. In this respect it resembles the Jatra in Bengal and the 'Rasa' and similar performances in the United Provinces. They need no stage nor elaborate arrangements beyond a temporary small shed.

The facility with which these performers adjust their movements, without impairing the quality, to the limitations of a small or the spaciousness of a big stage is hardly short of uncanny. The front curtain is simplified into an oblong piece of thick and coloured cloth with the figure of a god or lotus drawn in the centre. Two people hold it stretched from either end and one of them draws it aside when a character appears on the stage. The audience usually sits on mats spread on the ground. The lighting is produced by means of several thick cotton wicks burning in cocoanut oil in a beautiful bell-metal lamp standing at a height of about four feet, and is put in the middle of the fore part of the stage. The only furniture on the stage is an inverted wooden mortar in the absence of a civilized stool, to serve as a seat or foot-rest when some characters have to proclaim how great they are by lifting and putting one of the feet on the seat. The musicians stand behind in no special costume, and the music consists of singing accompanied by a pair of heavy cymbals producing a very shrill sound, a gong, a drum, 'Maddalam,' of the mridanga type, and another two-faced drum called 'Chendal' played with a stick and possessing a very penetrative sound.

The dressing takes a long time and so the performers retire to the 'green' room, which is improvised somewhere in the corner, much ahead of time. They lie down on a mat with a block of wood under the head, while in the

flickering dim light of an oil lamp the expert in the line makes up their faces according to the rules prescribed. The process is so



The actor lies down while in the dim obscure light the expert make-up master raises the 'Chulli' etc.

tedious that the actor often falls asleep. Slowly on the face rise perfectly proportioned ridges and one cannot help watching them fascinated as with the primitive appliances at their disposal they produce such difficult and wonderful instances of facial make-ups with unflinching accuracy. When the actors wake up and look at their transformed appearances they seem to go in a trance, beginning to live actually in the world of which they bring the message to the audience.

About nine in the evening the performance starts. The curtain by the two men is brought up and the character that will make the first appearance stands hidden behind. Soon regular singing and playing of the instruments with their ear-splitting sound is heard while the character behind dances and moves about; the whole thing combining to awaken a feeling of expectancy among the audience. This prelude behind the curtain is called 'Totayam', and resembles the 'Purvaranga' of Sanskrit dramas. After this the hero comes out and performs what is technically termed 'Totayam purappatu,' comparing very well with the 'Nandi' of Sanskrit dramas. Besides these preliminary points of similarity, one finds a lot of other things that must have been borrowed from the Bharata Natya Sastra. The reason why the gesture language is so well preserved in the art of Kathakali is easy to understand. This is a



pantomime and hence the actors never speak.\*

The singers in their beautiful verses explain what is happening and the actors with their gestures and codified movements of the hand, known as 'hasta' or 'Mudra' interpret the musical dialogues. They have, therefore, all the different movements of the body and parts as given in the *Natya Sastra* and there is hardly any actor who can beat the expressions that these Kathakali players give to the face by the movement of the eyes and eye-brows, lips and the different muscles on the face, even difficult to imagine as capable of moving until one sees them actually working at will. It is more a drama than a dance, and the movements are generally always manly and warlike. It is essentially meant for men and hence no women ever take part. If a female character is needed men have to dress up for the roll, and the costume is always of the most ordinary kind. They all talk in mudras to which life is given by the appropriate expression on the face. At the end of the conversation there is a bit of marching about and dancing, known as 'Kalasa.'

They take into account the eight Rasas or sentiments as mentioned in *Natya Sastra*,† not including 'Santa' (tranquil) which Abhinavagupta and Sarangadeva, etc., add to the list. This exclusion is natural as *santa* hardly finds a place in a lively type of acting or dancing. This is the only school of a popular variety which is keeping alive the scientific treatment of the Rasas. They also admit the eight *sthayi bhavas* (permanent moods: tenderness, laughter, sorrow, anger, enthusiasm, fear, aversion and wonder—Ch. VI. 18., Baroda Series) and can show any of them at a moment's notice. Besides these I have often noticed them showing the accessory moods like debility, envy, weariness, painful reflection, recollection, bashfulness, joy, despondency, longing, sorrow, sternness, alarm, having thus chosen out the most important of the 33 accessory moods mentioned in the *Natya Sastra* (Ch. VI. 18 to 21 Ben. Ed.). To show these they have evolved a very carefully worked out technique.

Next we come to the consideration of the gesture of the hand of which the names and signification have to a great extent changed from those mentioned either in *Bharata Natya*, *Sangita Ratnakar*, *Abhinaya Darpana* or other texts. Yet there is nothing that they cannot express with mudras and gestures. They have twenty-four distinct

mudras mixed and unmixed (single and double-handed) called the Pataka, Tripataka, Kartarikukha, Ardhachandra, Arala, Sukatunda, Musti, Sikhara, Kapittha, Katakamukha, Suchimukha, Mudra, Sarpasirasu, Mrigasirsa, Anjali, Pallava, Mukura, Bhramara, Hamsapaksa, Vardhamana, Mukul, Urnanabha and Kataka.



The Raudra or furious sentiment for which the bhava or mood is anger.

It is very interesting to note the training that the actors have to undergo. At the comparatively early age of 12 to 14 years the pupil is admitted to a sort of gymnasium where he starts his studies. He is made to wear a 'Katcha' or piece of rough white loin cloth not more than 6 inches broad. Oil is rubbed on his body and he is then instructed to move his limbs in all the different manners. When he perspires, he is made to lie on the ground and a vigorous kneading is given with the feet or rather the big toe, going round all the joints, etc., a process requiring not less than half to one hour. The student then takes his bath and meals. About noon he is taught how to dance. Next comes the exercise of the eyes, eye-brows, cheeks and lips, etc., and he is then instructed in their use according to the

\* The demons and wicked characters are permitted to groan, squeak or shout aloud in a characteristic way, but the gods and noble characters never open their lips to utter anything.

† Chapter VI, verse 15 makes a mention of Sringara (erotic), Hasya (comic), Karuna (pathetic), Raudra (furious), Bhayanaka (terrible), Veera (heroic), Vibhatsa (disgustful), Adbhuta (marvellous). Benares Edition.



Rasas. At the same time he has to practise the different mudras and their use, elaborately and with the proper intonation and collaboration of the other parts of the body. The last training is in learning the Tala, or regulation of rhythm in respect to the movements of the hand and feet. The minimum period for learning this, if the boy is exceptionally gifted and supple, is four months, but it takes years before he is given any serious part in a performance.



The *Bhayanaka* or 'terrible' sentiment indicating the extreme fright.

Before concluding it will be of interest to note in passing that some remarkable differences in technique are observed between what might be termed the northern and southern schools of Kathakali, or more definitely between what the writer has seen in Trivandrum and the Kerala Kalamandala, established by the great poet Vallathol in Cochin State. It seems that two Namputiri Brahmins are responsible for introducing this change, which now no longer exists with respect to costumes and make-ups, but still persists in the use and significance of the mudras and amount of actual dancing permitted. It is generally accepted that the north possesses more of dancing steps while the south has concentrated to a greater extent on *abhinaya* and acting.

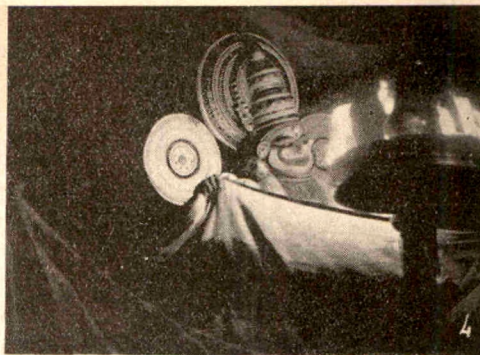
If we are to believe that the art of Kathakali is as recent as the latter half of the seventeenth century, we have to assume that even at this period Bharata Natya Sastra was actually practised. If this assumption is invalidated on the ground that we hardly have any good manuscripts of Bharata Natya Sastra which would not have been the case if it were in vogue till the seventeenth century, we must admit that there were other forms living and built on the model of this encyclopaedic work from which all the classical forms in the Deccan have been drawn upon. The commentaries of Abhinavagupta in the tenth century and writings of Sarangadeva in the thirteenth century indicate that Bharata Natya was living enough to make the necessity of writing and commenting on it so deeply felt. But today for all sorts of revival of this classical art of dancing or acting we have to turn to the rich mines of the south and more specially to Kerala.

It was painful to see the young generation so callously neglectful of the art of their own country. Uday Shankar's enthusiasm over these Kathakali players seems now to have awakened some more interest, and they are beginning to think that there must be something remarkable in this if it attracts artists from other places. I do sincerely hope that the new generation will not smother the spirit by innovations of a modern type.\*

\* All the photographs except two are taken by the writer.







- (1) Shree Krishna of 'Pachcha' variety (2) 'Karuna Tadi' (Photos : Alice Boner),  
 (3) Ravana with 'Kundalam' and 'Kiritam', (4) Ravana's first appearance,  
 (5) Performance of 'Otam Tullal', (6) Bhima, Panchali and Yudhisthir,  
 (7) Interlude between Ravana and Rambha.





(8) "Attractive" with the Mudras, (9) 'Hasya' (comic) Rasa, (10) 'Karuna' or pathetic sentiment, (11) 'Veera' or heroic sentiment, (12) Showing jealousy in Sringara Rasa, (13) Showing a full-blown lotus in Sringara Rasa, (14) 'Adbhuta' or marvellous sentiment, (15) 'Vibhatsa' or disgustful sentiment.



## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Government of India Bill No Solution of Indian Problem

Unity of Chicago writes editorially :

"The new constitution for India, now the chief business before the English Parliament, is obviously no solution of a problem which can of course only be solved by a drastic grant of liberty to the Indian people. The praise of the Manchester *Guardian* proves at least the high intellectual quality of the document, and the serious purpose behind it. But one wonders why statesmen, however able and sincere, should fool themselves with half-way programs which can never satisfy either of the parties in contention, least of all give content to the party in grievance and complaint, and thus never bring peace to the disordered battlefield. One thinks of the Simon Report which was dead before it was born. This present plan of Indian settlement is not thus dead perhaps, for it has life enough to rend the Tory Party in twain, and to stir India to such as the nation has not known since the first days of the Simon Commission. But that the plan will be adopted, or, if adopted, will be accepted by the Indian people, is altogether out of the question. What will happen is two things which will complicate the problem beyond all confusion hitherto experienced. On the one hand, the Tory Party will be hopelessly divided, and Britain therefore thrown into vast political disorder. The duel between Baldwin and Churchill will shape the land as by an earthquake, and clear the way for an eventual Labor triumph, which will straightway end all settlement, or even consideration, of the Indian problem as now proposed. On the other hand, the All-India Congress, and indeed all India itself, cast into dissension in recent years, will be once again united, and thus immeasurably strengthened for the fight ahead. Gandhi will in due course return to active political leadership, and a new era of Indian independence be once more begun. By compromises, evasions, pretenses, Britain thus weakens again her cause, and arouses her enemy to new hope and greater determination.

"Tis an old tale and often told,"

says Scott, in a phrase far more widely applicable than to his own romantic narrative. History, in other words, repeats itself, and will repeat again, until India tomorrow, like America yesterday, is free."

### The Responsibility of the Educated Citizen

Virginia Faulkner observes in *The National Student Mirror* of America :

"The grumbling, bitter, hopefully hopeless last five years must have demonstrated to us that democracy is not as easy as evolution. For the principles of "survival of the fittest" and "natural selection" we substitute the idea of "selection of the fittest." No matter what doctrines we subscribe to—Communism, Socialism, Fascism, or Democracy—the fact remains that *we* are individuals and a mass movement is only concerted and directed individual effort.

"Our individual responsibility in a democracy is voting, and it is not enough just to vote, to go down the ballot as the class dunce marks a true-false test. The voter must know what he is getting without merely relying on party trademarks; he must rid himself of the fetish that if a man is stamped "Democrat" or "Republican" he is a prize-package.

But while it is all very well to vote intelligently it frequently happens that the gentlemen who offer to assume charge of the nation do so as the alternative to being public charges. A writer who turns out brilliant political articles observed one day that good government was the ability to choose the lesser evil; a cynical truth which probably has always held. Yet it seems to me that the educated citizen—under which proud classification college gentry automatically fall—might do a good deal toward making certain not only that the lesser evil is chosen but making the evil a little less."

### Indoctrination

George S. Counts writes in *The Modern Thinker* :

"In my judgment every educational program contains elements of indoctrination, or at least, of imposition. The term indoctrination is perhaps too severe and harsh to apply to what is inevitable and desirable. Education from top to bottom involves a selection of materials, of teachers, of equipment, in short, of the whole environment in which the child is placed. This selection is made neither by God nor by chance. It is made by responsible authorities, by teachers or by parents working through the schools. The real question is not whether there is indoctrination, or imposition, as I prefer to call it, but what is the character of this imposition."

### New Movements

Writing on New Movements in the new British periodical *Conspiracy*, Mr. Amiya C. Chakravarty observes :

"There is the League of Nations ideal, there is the non-violent Satyagraha of India for settlement of national disputes; there are men of light and leading who are above all national bias, but we have not yet given them their real place in our life. The Modern Age with its new range of values is there, we know that, but we have not really accepted it. As Tagore says, we know it as a fact and not as a truth.

"I conclude by stressing this challenge that our Age has posed for our thinkers and workers everywhere. New Britain must face these questions squarely, with its sanity, in full sunlight. We believe in Internationalism; but are we sure we are not assuming that we know exactly what is good for the other nations, and foisting cloaks of the same size on every good fellow in an indiscriminate rush for uniform results? Do we allow units to develop so that unity may be achieved? and today, all national units must have their chance when even that other hemisphere, half of the human world,



is no longer *terra incognita*. Internationalism of any sort, of the proper sort, cannot pass the test if it cannot guarantee freedom and equality in human relationships as its primary concern, if it does not make for collaboration of Nations so that they can meet and confer in an atmosphere of perfect candour and faith, to arrive at a common measure of agreement on vital questions. I am afraid this attitude is not the usually accepted one, especially if we include the materially weaker races in our dealings, and we have found that there are professional humanists who try to exalt their hidden prejudices. Divine humanity, yes, but does it imply special monopoly over the entire human race in favour of any one institutional form of religion? Does it limit the manifestation of the divine to any particular manifestation?

"Education of the masses: what of our history books and blue books, and newspapers—are they compelled to subserve reason and knowledge instead of passion and prejudice? Why is a book like Wells' "Outline of History" not allowed to be taught in many of the most up-to-date idealistic schools, on the openly declared ground that children should first be given strong doses of Nationalism through their history and geography courses? Are we prepared to challenge and expose such systems of "Education"? Then, are we going to leave the manning and planning of trade and business, both internal and international, to profiteers, colonisers, and to specialists who won't explain?"

### War as a Muddle

Mr. L. P. Jacks writes in *The Inquirer* :

Civilization has now reached a degree of complexity which renders the control of the forces at work extremely difficult even by the most powerful statesman, the efforts to control them (of which there are many) often serving to increase the confusion. Many contemporary instances of this might be cited. Spengler has predicted that civilization will collapse through lack of brains to carry it on. This might happen in either or both of two ways. The brains might decline, or the conditions might become too complicated for the existing brains to deal with intelligently. There seems to be more danger of the second than of the first.

At the present time even political dictators, to say nothing of political parties, seem to be completely beaten by the "problems"—unemployment, disarmament and the like—they are expected to "solve." They accuse each other of incompetence to solve them, but when the accusers get their turn, they are as helpless as the accused—or more so. The reason for this may not lie in the lack of brains—though it sometimes does—but in the complexity of conditions and the strength of forces more than a match for the brains of any man, or of any body of men.

### Maternal and Child Welfare in India

Cedric Dover in concluding the above article in *Mother and Child* suggests some tangible ways by which the present maternal and child welfare activities in India can be ameliorated. They are :

It is realised that the fundamental requirements for the development of maternal and child welfare work in India are official centralization and co-ordination,

together with a greater expansion of practical provincial activity.

This provincial activity should be directed by a special maternal and child welfare officer, preferably a woman, working under the director of public health in each province. Each provincial health department also requires a first-class officer to take charge of medical relief and other problems concerning women. The acute need for medical and social relief for Indian women by women is shown by Lady Chatterjee's (1926) and Das's (1931) surveys of female labour in India; also by the fact that there is roughly one woman doctor for 0.3 million of the female population.

The duties of the maternal and child welfare officer would be the administration of all maternal and child welfare activities in the province, including a model welfare centre, nursery, and school for health visitors and midwives. Voluntary activities—which up to the present have been the main ones—would have to come up to a prescribed standard and be correlated with official work, grants in aid being paid where necessary.

The activities of the officer in charge of relief work would help the maternal and child welfare officer's work to achieve maximum productivity, while both officers would collaborate with the educational authorities of the province. The essential qualifications for all such administrative appointments must include a Western study tour and a period of research at a central bureau.

Such a central bureau, co-ordinating provincial activities, is an obvious corollary. It would, of course, be in co-operation with a wider organization—indeed, it should be part of a central department for public health in the widest sense of the term. Apart from administration, the duties of this bureau should be basic research in collaboration with universities and other research centres. It should help to direct provincial research, which should be confined to surveys, the collection of data, and collaboration in comprehensive studies outlined and controlled by the bureau.

The work of the bureau must also be supported by All-India Acts determining the registration and status of welfare workers and midwives. If China can record (Yang, 1930) outstanding successes in the control of practising midwives, similar achievements are surely possible in India. The proper recording of births is also necessary.

These are the bases on which radical progress in maternal and child welfare activities in India must depend. The procedure outlined may be regarded as Utopian, but it is now widely recognized that, given the will, the centralization and expansion of all welfare activities is a practical, economic proposition deserving immediate attention.

### Forestry in India

Mr. A. D. Blascheck, late Inspector-General of Forest, India, dwelt upon the commercial as well as the economic aspects of the subject before the members of the Royal Society of Arts. His speech appears in *The Journal* of the Society. Mr. Blascheck observes :

India now enjoys the results of some seventy years' regulated use of her forests and development of their yield. Progress in silviculture and in the utilization of forest produce has been continuous but, until a small staff of research workers was appointed at Dehra Dun in the United Provinces, the success of individual forest officers was frequently unknown beyond the division or



beyond the province in which they worked. In 1914, the first Forest Research Institute was opened, and very shortly war demand for forest produce proved the need of still wider research. Plans for expansion were made, and in 1929 the present Forest Research Institute, the finest in the Empire, was opened. The Institute undertakes and co-ordinates both silvicultural and economic research and the associated botanical, entomological and chemical investigations. On the other hand, economic forest research in India not only has to determine the properties of timbers and other products, but it has to supplement private enterprise by developing and encouraging their use.

In India as a whole many timbers need to be made better known, and both the home and the export trade need better organization. The scope for development is undeniable in view of the immense variety of timbers and other forest products available. In some cases their properties have still to be scientifically determined, in other cases supplies have to be surveyed, and in the case of timbers recognised grading rules must be applied. Most of the research work can only be done at the Forest Research Institute, but the results must be demonstrated and applied and means of extraction improved with the co-operation of the Forest Departments in the provinces; private enterprise and trade initiative are not enough. The Grading Rules for Empire Hardwoods issued a year ago by the Advisory Committee on Timbers at the Imperial Institute will give an invaluable lead to better organization of the timber trade in India, and application of the rules should help expand the export market.

### Buddhism, the Fountain Head of Intellect

In the course of discussing the above subject Mr. Junjiro Takakusu makes a reference to the Pali language in which the sacred 'Tripitaka' and 'Abhidharma' works are written. He writes in *The Young East* :

We all agree that the Pali language was one of the Indian dialects, but to what district it belongs has not been fully decided among the scholars. But according to the most up to date opinion, it was most probably the language of Pataliputra, the present Patna, the capital of Magadha in middle India at the time of king Asoka. The Greeks called it Palibothra in the days, when India and Greece had frequent communications, and it is still so called in Thibet. If this view is correct, then it happily coincides with the spread of Buddhism, the impetus of which was mainly given by the conversion of king Asoka to the faith. Shortly after this epoch-making event had taken place, the king himself called a convention in the year 235 after Lord Buddha's Nirvana, at the capital, for the purpose of compiling the sacred Tripitaka. It is said that at this meeting the contents and number of volumes forming Sutra and Vinaya texts finally took definite shape, and the seven books of Abhidharma decided upon for the first time. The last of these seven Abhidharma works, Katha-vatthu is a discourse of Moggaliputta-Tissa, the chairman of the convention. It was an attempt to solve the thousand difficult problems on Buddhism existing at that time. Prince Mahinda and Princess Sanghamitta, son and daughter of the king, and disciples of the chairman Tissa were elected as missionaries. The following year both proceeded to Ceylon carrying with them a set of newly compiled Tripitaka with a bough

of the Bodhi-tree and other presents. Since then the original texts of the "Tripitaka" were handed down in the Pali language, but their commentaries were written in Sinhalese, until the year 420 A.D. or thereabout, when a famous bhikhu, Buddhaghosa from Budhagaya, proceeded to Ceylon and retranslated the commentaries into the Pali language again. From this time onwards both the Tripitaka and commentaries were written in the Pali language and universally adopted by the Southern School of Buddhism. This school regards all problems realistically and endeavours to preserve both the form and spirit of Lord Buddha's teaching in its pristine state. Moreover, it also strives to follow the disciplinary laws in Vinaya text literally. Thus we may call this school an orthodox formalist. It is usually regarded as nearest to the original Buddhism and venerated as such.

What we call Northern Buddhism is practised at present in northern countries. The nearest Buddhist country to India is Nepal, a province lying at the foot of the great Himalayan range and overshadowed perpetually by its snowy peaks. Although it has lost its former glory yet it still retains enough splendour to awaken in us the memory of the grandeur of Buddhism when it prospered in India. There are still many sacred texts written on palm leaves and papers and the language used is Sanskrit.

### The Balkan Dispute

The news of complete conciliation of the Balkan dispute is the subject of extensive press comments throughout the world. *The Christian Century* editorially writes :

News of the complete conciliation of the Balkan dispute has been received throughout the world with a deep sigh of relief. War was just on the point of blazing out. There had actually been some crossing of the Hungarian boundary by loose detachments of Jugoslavians. This was preceded by the cruel wholesale deportation of thousands of non-naturalized Hungarian residents of Jugo-slavia—aged men and women, little children, whole families, sick and crippled—who went streaming with their possessions in wagons and on their shoulders, a tragic procession, back to Hungary. First reports put the number at 20,000. Later reports at 3,000. The Hungarians retaliated in kind, compelling Jugo-slavs living in Hungary to pull themselves up by the roots and go back to Jugo-slavia. This human misery was the physical focus of enraged public passion on both sides. The government of Hungary was charged by the Jugo-slavian government with complicity in the murder of King Alexander on the alleged ground that the murder plot was hatched in Hungary with the knowledge and connivance of responsible officials. These charges had been formally preferred before the League of Nations. But the league was at first slow to act, and the deportations ensued. Confronted with the most tense and solemn situation which has developed in Europe since the war—in details an almost exact duplication of the events which precipitated the world war—the council of the league met swiftly in Geneva.

What happened thereafter will go down as one of the bright chapters in league history. It will go far to cancel the loss of prestige which the league suffered in the Sino-Japanese affair. It was distinctly a league triumph. No other pacific instrumentality can claim a share in it. The major figures of European diplomacy were present: Laval of France, Eden of Great Britain, Benes of Czecho-slovakia, Litvinov of Russia, Titulescu



of Roumania, Aloisi of Italy. The atmosphere was charged with the possibilities of conflict. Hungary had actually been caught with the goods and, whether responsibly guilty or not, gave no assurance of a disposition to punish the criminals and the Hungarian officials who aided them with forged passports. Italy herself, probably as guilty as Hungary, though no formal charges were brought, backed Hungary. The little entente—Roumania, Czecho-slovakia and Jugo-slavia—stood together for Jugo-slavia, backed by France. Great Britain kept a judicial temper. Titulescu's reminder that Roumania had a non-aggression and mutual assistance pact with Russia which would bring the Soviets to their side, finally made it clear that Hungary had no supporters save Italy. Thereupon, milder language displaced the superheated charges and counter-charges. Titulescu was persuaded to extend an olive branch to Hungary by declaring that neither he nor any member of the little entente intended to impugn the "national honor" of Hungary, or to include the people of Hungary in the charges made against certain officials. This gesture brought a response in kind. The ice began to melt and the two chief disputants were ready to submit their wounds to the salve which the council had prepared in the shape of a healing formula.

### Nobel Peace Prizes

On the occasion of the award of Nobel peace prizes, the same paper observes :

Nobel peace prizes were awarded to Sir Norman Angell and Arthur Henderson for the years, 1933 and 1934 respectively. The awards of the committee will find general ratification in public sentiment. The first reflection that they bring to the minds of informed Americans is the pleasing assurance that the committee is not moved by campaigns in behalf of eminent citizens who have made no particular contribution to the cause of peace but who permit their friends to seek this honor for them. Angell and Henderson have both attempted and accomplished much. Sir Norman, as a writer, has—in the words of the presentation—done as much as anyone in our time "to remove the wrong conception that war benefits anyone." After an education in England and France, he spent several years in America as miner, rancher and newspaper man, thus laying a foundation, of wide acquaintance with the people of three countries before beginning his career as a writer on social, economic and international affairs. Mr. Henderson is president of the world disarmament conference. It is credited to his determined and intelligent efforts that the conference did not entirely crash, that it still retains such vitality as it has, and that there is some chance of its survival. To appreciate the value of his service it is not necessary to cherish exaggerated hopes of immediate success for the conference. Whether it succeeds or fails, such efforts are the stuff out of which pacific adjustments among the nations must ultimately be made.

### Jewish Minority Problem in Germany

Mr. Paul Kiniery has contributed to *The Catholic World*, an illuminating article on the above subject. His study of the minority question rests upon most reliable data. Mr. Kiniery concludes his essay thus :

In view of the contributions made by the Jews during the War, in lives and money, it seems unreasonable to bar them so definitely from civil or governmental

positions. It would be far more reasonable to admit at least the number to which they would be entitled on the basis of their population. If certain Jews circulated ideas subversive of German welfare, these Jews could be dealt with by the constituted authorities. There is no need or justification for a general condemnation of all Jews.

In conclusion, then, we may ask what our attitude should be toward the oppressed minority of Jews in Germany. Personally, I think it should be the attitude we should have toward a government which oppresses any group, minority or majority, when such oppression constitutes a violation of human rights. It is a violation of human rights to deprive a man of the right to continue making his livelihood in a legitimate trade or profession. The Nazi administration has done that in Germany. Fair-minded and intelligent people should openly condemn such intolerance whenever and wherever it rears its head. To remain silent at such a time is equivalent to granting it an approval. I am not indicting all the German people. It would be as unfair to indict them for what Hitler is doing, as it is for him to indict all the Jews because of the activities of a few so-called leaders.

It is as contemptible for a government in Germany to persecute a Jew because, he is a Jew, as it is for government in Russia to persecute a person because he is a Christian, or for an administration in Mexico to persecute an individual because he is a Catholic. It could not be more contemptible. There are limits to human depravity. The governmental administrations of present day Germany, Russia, and Mexico are all outside the pale of civilization. No administration which so arbitrarily limits human freedom as does each of these nations is entitled to the respect of the liberty-loving American people, and it is necessary for us to condemn oppression wherever it appears. The world of today is too small to allow such practices to develop and infect the rest of the nations.

### The Lloyd Barrage and the Future of Sind

In 1903, the Indian Irrigation Commission recommended that a scheme should be formulated, on the lines of General Fife's (1855) proposals for perennial canals on both banks of the Indus, with the important variation that their supplies should be protected by a weir or barrage at their heads near Sukkur. Lord Lloyd, during his Governorship of Bombay, took an unflagging interest in the progress of this project and laid the inauguration stone of the barrage, which now bears his name. On January 13, 1932, the Viceroy declared the barrage open. Sir Arnold Musto spoke very recently on this subject before the East India Association. An extract of his speech is quoted below from *The Asiatic Review* :

The total water supply which reaches Sind by the Indus passes through the Punjab and part of it through Kashmir. The Punjab has constructed great canal systems which utilize so much of the small winter discharge of the Indus and its tributaries that the remainder passing down to Sind is, in some years, barely sufficient to meet the requirements of the Barrage canals. Moreover, the Punjab has under preparation or lying ready several projects for constructing additional canal systems.



which would reduce still further the supplies passing down to Sind. One such scheme was on the point of being constructed last year, when the Bombay Government, discovering the fact, appealed to the Government of India for the protection of Sind's interests. This protection was secured and the works in question were not undertaken.

Under the proposed constitutional changes the Government of India would be unable to intervene in a similar case, and the construction of further works in the Punjab or Kashmir might reduce the Barrage canals to ruin.

In a document entitled "The Separate Government of Sind and the Ruin of the Sukkur Barrage" Sir Henry Lawrence refers to this danger. Sir Henry suggests as a means of avoiding the rivalry of the Punjab and Sind for the use of the waters of the Indus that these two provinces should be amalgamated, thus making their interests mutual instead of rival. The suggestion has much to commend it and should be thoroughly considered.

Another suggestion which is believed to be under consideration in certain quarters is the amalgamation of Sind and Baluchistan. Whatever advantages might accrue from such a union, it would still leave the combined province subject to this danger. Similarly, if Sind remains as part of the Bombay Presidency, the Punjab danger is perpetuated. Unless, therefore, some competent authority be established, with power to enforce its decision, to adjudicate on all interprovincial disputes or proposals for the use of the Indus waters, a separated Sind, or a Sind amalgamated with any province other than the Punjab, will always be in danger.

The solution of the difficulty is a matter of high politics on which I do not venture an opinion. Discussion on this matter may expose views which will be of great value when a decision has to be made on the future constitution of Sind.

### The Crusades viewed through Eastern Eyes

A study of the Oriental-Occidental relations by John W. Kitching appears in the *World Unity*. The introduction of the discourse runs :

The other day I paid a visit to a cottage at a lake. The boy of the family, a lad of twelve years of age, claimed one of the rooms as his own. Around the walls he had arranged a number of colored prints illustrating episodes from the Crusades.

It was plain that all the ingenuity of the artist had been expended upon making this series of pictures a portrayal of all that was chivalric, romantic and heroic.

The representations of mail-clad warriors in knightly armor with the sign of the cross emblazoned on shield and helm and waving pennant, made an heroic appeal.

It would have been difficult indeed to persuade the

boy that between the artist's conception and the actual occurrences there was an incalculable difference.

These brilliant illustrations were like the false prophet's silver veil in the eastern tale. The prophet declared he wore the silver covering to hide his divinely-endowed beauty. When however the veil was raised, it disclosed not brightness or glory but foul and baneful ugliness beneath.

An impartial examination of the historical documents reveals the fact that at the inception of this so-called Christian movement, false and lying propaganda was deliberately resorted to, in order that popular enthusiasm and fanaticism might be aroused.

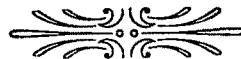
In the prosecution of the Crusades there was involved all the brutality, horror, social confusion and futile waste of human life and property which mark any war whether "religious" or otherwise.

### To Jose Rizal

In sacred memory of Jose Rizal, the Filipino hero, who was martyred in December, 30, 1896 by the Spanish Government of the Philippines, the following lines appear in *Orient* :

To every Filipino wherever he may be, the 30th of December in each year is a day of solemn significance, for that day in 1896 the stupid Spanish government of the Philippines put to death the great national hero Jose Rizal. Other than Filipinos may well observe this same anniversary for it marks the passing of what was probably the most extraordinary human being of whom we have any record.

He was still a young man but he had attained in his brief career to an eminence of brilliant achievement in many diverse lines of human activity that must mark him always for the wondering admiration of all mankind. He was, in fact, great in so many ways, that one's mind is dazzled to account for his attainments. He was primarily and by profession an oculist, one of the greatest of his times; so that his discoveries made him celebrated in his profession throughout the world. But he was also a great scientist, discovering specimens of life that still bear his name; he was a great novelist, writing two conspicuously powerful works of fiction; he was a great poet, writing with equal facility in three languages; he was a sculptor and an artist of rare ability; he was a great engineer, constructing waterworks to which engineers of today still point with wonder; he was a great educator, and the real author of the present educational system of the Philippines; he was a great publicist, writing with insight upon questions of taxation and statesmanship; he was a great linguist, fluent in most of the languages of Europe; and he was a great patriot, throughout his life patiently devoted to his country and his people.





## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### The Evolution of a Left-Wing Programme in India

Prof. K. T. Shah concludes the above paper in *The Hindustan Review* thus :

Finally, it must likewise be admitted that the scope for a Socialist reconstruction of society is very limited in this country. India has not that extreme contrast between those who have and those who have not, that disfigures the social system in the West. By far the largest proportion of our population,—probably over 90 per cent—are lost in a common measure of abject poverty, which denies them the merest necessities of life on the crudest standard of living. That does not, of course, mean that there are not some rich—excessively rich—people in India, as against many excessively poor. But the intensity of the difference, even if it exists, is nothing to compare to the corresponding difference, in the West. Again, there is very little to redistribute among the socialized people, for the land is even now held under such customs of equal inheritance, as to make the process of redistribution, if and when adopted, productive of very little positive gain. True, the socialized land could be cultivated and exploited to a degree and in a manner that is impossible while vested interests remain to block and thwart programmes of reconstruction or rationalization. Even in Industry, and all its accessories, the task of the Socialist in India will lie, more in the direction of recasting the entire system for a new spurt in production, than in trusting merely to the readjusted means of production yielding automatically an increased quota for distribution on an equal and equitable basis. For that purpose of a comprehensive, socialized planning, it is certainly necessary to have first, a transfer of political power, without which such social reconstruction is impossible. The bourgeois also uses the term "Planned Economy" as an ideal for a nation. But bourgeois planning is not the same thing as a socialized planned economy; if allowed to take effect, the former may even create new forces that would further impede the realization of socialist ideals.

Under these circumstances, the Left-Wing programme in this country must necessarily be indefinite and constantly evolving; and we cannot in reason expect anything precise. The fact, however, that such parties and programmes are forming, may justly be taken as evidence of the new life and consciousness in the body politic.

### Ashramas of the Present Day

Ashramas are springing up in all parts of India. They are doing a lot for the good of mankind. An important paper in *Vedanta Kesari* discusses the ideals of service they represent, as well as the activities of the Ashramites. The paper is quoted in part :

From the standpoint of society as a whole, the benefit is the greater in proportion to the

number and variety of the Ashramas that spring into existence. Of each Ashrama itself, the value for society changes in accordance with the special qualifications of the aspirants who get into it for moulding their spiritual life. Thus while we may expect an artist to develop into a saintly artist in any genuine Ashrama that he may accept as his own, no Ashrama can organize society in the field of art unless some aspirant with such predilections chooses to take up Ashrama life and successfully trains himself to dedicate his capacity for the service of the Indwelling Lord.

This leads us to another important point. With the existing types of aspirants,—and their sympathizers, admirers and friends—Ashramas as a class have been able to infuse a certain amount of life and energy into our land and rouse her up from her long sleep. A greater and more all-round revival will be possible if people with much greater capacities can understand the full potentialities of Ashrama life and regulate themselves,—directly through formal entry into an Ashrama or privately in their own manner—in accordance with its twofold motto, "Renunciation and Service."

### Administration of Co-operative Societies

*B. N. R. Employees' Journal* comments editorially on the administration of Railway Employees' Co-operative Societies :

The important point in respect of a Railway Employees' Co-operative Society is neither to establish nor question whether it has any connection with the Railway administration (as that is a fact beyond all sophistication) but that how far such connection will be given scope to concatenate so as to influence the management with a view to defeat the just rights of the shareholders in the pursuit of their legitimate aim of effective and clean self-help. This last is the real object to attain which Co-operative organizations are professedly founded.

The provision of the Co-operative Societies Act apparently does not pay any heed to the existence of Railway or any other organizations in the matter of the management of the Co-operative Societies of its respective employees. The constitution of the Managing Committee and its relations and responsibilities to the general body of shareholders are all that the Act provides. If the interference of officers of the Railway administration *ex-officio* has any ground to stand upon, it is not by the virtue of the 'Law' but by the virtue of an 'understanding' and all 'understanding' is subject to revision.

When therefore, we reflect upon a matter of course, defence of such interference with a total disregard of the provisions of the Act, its honest administration and also of the written constitutions of individual Societies, which are also in cases illegally altered, it sets up an anomaly hardly to be explained except by the assumption that there is an under-current of intent on the part of the authorities not to let any Co-operative Institution grow to its natural shape and size under able and honest



popular management for popular benefit. The vagueness of the Act and its thousand reservations in favour of the State, the weathercock manner of its administration, and lastly, the non-chalant way of giving all this sanction when coupled with the concrete instances, published or unpublished of the management of such institutions frittering away public fund under cliques and malpractices (apart from politic dishonesty) make the Co-operative organizations a dead show for the people and helpful only to a peculiar class of men who can make interest with the authorities.

### We are Gods in the Becoming

Srimati Sakuntala Devi writes in *The Young Builder* :

The world in its present state is a lake in the bosom of which are buried vast stores of priceless gems and riches untold. The agitators, the destroyers of the old order, set to work. All is in a tumult, the bosom of the lake is roused from its slumber of peace, great are the shocks of earthquakes followed by storms and hurricanes. The mighty insurgent waves toss up the hoards of buried treasure, which are thrown recklessly from one end of the shore to the other. Some brave and capable knight-errant launches out to rescue the treasure lest it all sink back into the depth of the unknown. Having rescued every gem, these are taken to the jewellers to form them into a beautiful crown for the New Civilization.

### Is the Existence of the I. M. S. Justifiable ?

*Journal of the Indian Medical Association* writes editorially :

The main justification for the existence of the I.M.S. is to be found in the existence of the British army in India—a fact which we might concede. But, there is no justification whatever for the retention by the I.M.S. of civil medical posts that control the medical destinies of the whole country, on the plea of providing a reserve of experienced medical officers in the event of war. To do so, as Col. Bhola Nauth pointed out, is to orientate the country to military interests. In other countries a large body of medical practitioners form in effect a military reserve and we have no hesitation in affirming, indeed experience during the Great War supports our contention, that the same would hold good of India. How is it such an arrangement is never put forward in England? It would be laughed to scorn, but, of course, in regard to India it is always safe to assert that conditions are different. Actually, the plea of the war reserve is a hoax, for it is not possible that an adequate reserve is to be found in 200 men. The last war wanted them in thousands. Regarding the affirming of the I.M.S. organization, this is amply exposed in Col. Bhola Nauth's speech. It is largely figment of the imagination, but the painful fact is that civil medical interests suffer thereby.

Again, it is claimed that retention of civil medical posts by the I.M.S. is necessitated by the requirements of European civil servants. These requirements together with those of the army are stated to have an overriding claim. We do not know what these requirements are, so far as European civil servants are concerned, but it is well known that it springs from a prejudice against Indian medical men. Apart from the inferiority implied towards Indian doctors, this hardly forms a justifiable

ground for retaining civil medical posts for members of the I.M.S.

Despite the futility of the plea advanced for the claims of the I.M.S. to civil medical opportunities, the J.P.C. Report spares no pains to make the position of this service as secure as possible. Service rights and privileges are to be continued and specially safeguarded in keeping with those of other services. In regard to recruitment we cannot understand why, if the system of competitive examination is found adequate in other services like I.C.S., etc., the system of nomination should be continued in the case of the I.M.S.

### Hours of Work in Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Undertakings

The following extracts from *Labour* will prove instructive :

According to a study issued by the I. L.O. on hours of work in postal, telegraph and telephone undertakings, the total number of persons employed in these three services was approximately as follows for the years given; 30,000 in Austria (1931), 28,600 in Belgium (1930); 5,700 in Bulgaria (1931); 46,000 in Czechoslovakia (1929); 18,500 in Denmark (1932); 1,300 in Estonia (1932); 173,000 in France (1931); 336,000 in Germany (1931); 234,000 in Great Britain (1931); 22,200 in Hungary (1931); 12,000 in the Irish Free State (1932); 740 in Luxemburg (1931); 22,000 in the Netherlands (1931); 32,000 in Poland (1931); 24,800 in Switzerland (1931).

The I.L.O. has examined the regulations affecting the working hours of the staff of these three services in the countries named above, and also in Spain, Finland, Italy, Latvia, Norway, Portugal, Roumania, Sweden, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

It was found that the regular hours of work are most frequently seven in the day or forty-two in the week in the administrative and some of the business services, and eight in the day or forty-eight in the week in nearly all the technical and most of the business services.

The staff in nearly every case have fifty-two rest days in the year, and these fall as far as possible once a week.

In several countries a limit is placed on the time which employed persons, and particularly travelling staff, may be required by their duties to spend away from their headquarters. The maximum number of hours of absence from home is fixed at above 300 a month.

The staff of the postal, telegraph and telephone undertakings receive, moreover, annual holidays without loss of pay; their length varies, but lies in most cases between one week and four weeks.

[But who cares for the dumb millions of the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Departments—Ed.]

### A New Year Message to India

A message from Prof. Sylvain Levi has been published in *Advance India*. Part of it is given below :

I wish that India establishes, as early as possible, an institution comparable to the School of Athens or the School of Rome—an institution where the elite of Indian Youth, artists, savants, writers—in short, all those who



will make and form part of the India of To-morrow—can live in a fruitful intimacy (each, say, for a period of two or three years), exchanging among themselves their knowledge, their techniques, their aspirations, and their dreams, and discussing together the doctrines and the tendencies that will advance their country's future.

It is only in such a *Residential School of Indian Youth* that a lasting national unity can be forged. The school should be established not far from real life so that the young people would not lose touch with practical contexts, but sufficiently far away from the big towns so that they would remain uncontaminated by the hectic caprices of artificial modernism.

I am, in fact, having in mind an Ashram, a real Ashram, an abode of peace and meditation, where the presence of the assembled youth would be enough to create a happy, peaceful and serious atmosphere. It is needless to say that the Youth of India should be admitted to this Ashram irrespective of Caste, Creed, or Province.

The question of selecting the boarders of this Ashram is indeed a delicate one. I suggest that a sort of Academy, a body of eminent personalities, should, in the first instance, be constituted. The members of this body are to be appointed by an electorate made up of the Universities and the big Colleges that teach arts as well as crafts. It is wise to include within this electorate the leading members of the Press through whom a close and continuous liaison between the Academy and the Public could be established and maintained. One of the duties of the Academy will be to receive and examine all the applications for admission to the School, and select, on grounds of merit alone, the most deserving applicants.

At the commencement of each academic year, the school will take within its fold a new batch of Youth, bringing from outside the confused ideas that agitate the masses. The older residents of the school, already united among themselves by an *esprit de corps*, will filter those ideas and purify them of their confusion. Even thus, they will be leading their younger brethren—to use the language of the Upanishads—'from obscurity to full light.'

### Adventure in Education

In an interesting paper in *The Educational Review* Mr. F. G. Pearce writes :

While I confess to a considerable admiration of the way in which Mussolini has 'cleaned up' Italy, made its trains run punctually, its streets clean, its marshes into fertile fields;—while I admit to a deeper admiration of the way in which the Russians have altered the entire face of their country, changing it in an almost incredibly brief space of time from a dark stronghold of Middle Age dirt and despotism to a land where, whatever other disadvantages it may still have, illiteracy is almost wiped out, the most modern methods of agriculture widely prevail, and where alone among all countries of the world, unemployment is unknown, and the poorest have the same facilities for health and recreation as the rich have in other lands—and while I even also admit my admiration of the way in which Hitler and his friends, whatever else they may have done, have at least brought new hope and confidence into the hearts of despairing millions (though, alas! those hopes seem to be in a dangerous direction, and the confidence once more relates to warlike, not to peaceful, achievements),—in spite of all this, I say with the utmost emphasis at my command, that I *thank my stars* that, as a teacher, I live and work

in the bosom of a society and a system in which, after all, it is *not* a crime to teach children to *think for themselves*, and to try to find out new ways of helping them to do that most effectively.

India has produced great patriots, great philanthropists who, realizing and feeling intensely for her need of knowledge along the lines of *mineralogy, textiles, farming and cattle-breeding*, have come forward to establish and to endow Institutes where that knowledge may be gathered and from whence it may be spread. Have we none who love our *children* at least as much as they value our *cattle*, our *cotton*, and our *oil*? Have we none who will provide the means to get knowledge of *children* and their needs, the children of the future, without whose *right* training the *cattle* will be useless and the *cotton* and the *oil* will rot or run to waste?

### The Religion of Buddha

Prof. Ernest P. Horowitz writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

Buddhism is prized for its lofty morals. But why should Western folks study Eastern ethics? In our complex state of society it is hard enough to live up to our own moral standard, to live the Christian life; why then take up Buddhism? There are at least two reasons. First, about 400 millions of Asiatics are more or less swayed by Buddhist morals, and educated Westerners should know something of the faith of Asia in this age of close international relations. Secondly, no ethical code is absolute, but relative to time and clime, tradition and environment. It is perfectly correct for a Protestant to eat meat on Fridays, but to a good Catholic it is a grievous sin. And an observing Buddhist regards it altogether as immoral to interfere with life wantonly, and slaughter animals. A study of comparative ethics will broaden and liberalize our minds; we shall not giggle any longer when we see other people follow a moral law differing from our own.

Buddha held morality in higher regard than theology, and inculcated conduct rather than dogma. He was in the first place a moralist and social reformer. The Vedic priesthood ruled with an iron hand over the Hindu people. Buddha weakened the autocratic grip of the Brahmins, and relaxed the national faith in the efficacy of elaborate and expensive sacrifices, offered to imaginary gods. He attacked rigid ritualism and traditional religion, and inculcated self-sacrifice as the noblest and simplest offering on the altar of a chastened heart. Men of all classes were freely admitted to the Buddhist order; the old unyielding caste system began to totter and crumble. Furthermore, Buddha rejected choice Sanskrit, the literary language of Hindustan. He preferred to preach in plain Pali, the common tongue of Kosala.

### Comparative Study of Philosophy

Mr. P. T. Raju writes in *The Aryan Path*.

Even a grouping of valuable similarities cannot be a philosophy. For philosophy is a consistent and connected expression, and a mere aggregate of statements cannot lay claim to the title of philosophy. Properly speaking, there is no philosophy which is comparative philosophy, just as there is no religion which is comparative religion. There is only a comparative study of philosophy just like the comparative study of religion.



This progressive thought would therefore be an ever renewing systematization, which includes all presented facts and yet transcends them. It is claimed by Kant that he has reconciled rationalism with empiricism and transcended both. He could do so only by comparing them. He did not stop with finding out what is true or false in both, but brought together what is valuable in both, and gave the combination a new shape. And in the attempt he brought about what he called the Copernican revolution in philosophy. Such is the nature of every important advance in thought. Every systematization adds to the facts systematized a new quality which the facts by themselves do not possess. Prof. Radhakrishnan said in the sixth International Congress of philosophy that the philosopher looks not only backwards, but also forwards, whereas Hegel remarks that the owl of Minerva does not start on its flight until the evening shades of twilight begin to fall. So the former, unlike many philosophers, seems to be more sanguine, for to him philosophy is not merely a systematic survey of what already has been accomplished but also creative.

### Physical Culture for Girls

The following extracts are taken from an article by Dr. Mrs. N. B. Kagal in *The Progress of Education* :

We should not emphasize in the curricula such games as the majority of the girls are not expected to continue in life. The games are meant to form habits and therefore, the inconvenience of having to give up a game which one begins to love and play during the formative period of life is easily imaginable. I am inclined to attribute the present tendency of young men to crowd in towns and cities, to the games-habits formed during college-life and the absence of facilities for such games in the mofussil and villages. This works to the detriment of mofussil and village life, and leads incidentally to unemployment. I may be permitted to assert that this should be a sufficient warning for us in planning women's education.

For the sake of brevity, I will enumerate the following as our objects, the reasons for their inclusion being appreciated in the light of the foregoing remarks. The girls should be taught :

(1) to learn the value of physical culture; (2) to appreciate games as builders of body and grace; (3) to encourage team work and team spirit; (4) to manage the details of games-organization and thus be initiated in the principles of administration; (5) to learn to appreciate defeat; (6) to learn to tolerate success; (7) to learn when to stop and deny yourself when feeling like having more; (8) to form habits of physical culture; (9) to keep fit and practise physical culture after school life; and (10) last but not the least, to teach their own children the value of physical culture.

In the above list different educationists would be inclined to have different orders in point of merit and importance. To me, however, items 5 and 6, namely, to stand up to defeat or success and item 9, the formation of the habit of keeping fit in life after school, are extremely important. Next in order I would place item 2 to encourage girls to manage their games-committees with as little interference as possible from the staff. Here we should lay the foundations for training girls to run their committee meetings in an orderly and efficient manner. I have no doubt that persons who have

had the misfortune to be inflicted with endless and irrelevant talk during committee meetings would appreciate my suggestion.

On two points there can be no difference of opinion:

- (1) that the games must have an abiding interest for girls as a recreation during the later stages of their life; and
- (2) that it must be remembered that India is a poor country and games that entail a large expenditure of money cannot be a practical proposition although certain privileged institutions may be able to meet heavy expenditure from their funds.

### Say it with Colours !

Mr. Philip Otley writes in *Stri-Dharma* on the effect of colours. Part of it is given here :

Is it true that baby boys should be dressed in blue, and little girls in pink? Sometimes we wonder if there is any truth in this very old legend of the nursery. Yet our nurses and mothers may be wiser than they know. For colour today is being used in all sorts of new ways, commercial and otherwise. And many fascinating experiments are being made to see how colours affect different people. Some experts in modern advertising even go so far as to say that they have found that men do really prefer blue, and that women favour red. They have discovered this fact in estimating the attractive power of posters or illuminated advertisements, so far as men and women are concerned. So we take off our grown-up hat to nurse !

Some authorities even go the length of saying that the colours we most like are those which are in tune with our own characters. They argue that there is a sort of scale of colours which harmonize with the qualities we possess. It sounds far-fetched, but many people assert that, to highly-sensitive sight, their friends' characters appear in certain definite colour schemes! When a friend gets angry, they always seem to see a flash of red! Anyone in love gives them a feeling of being surrounded by a beautiful rose colour. Depression or melancholy seems to express itself in all sorts of drab scenic effects. There are even schools of Colour Healers who assert that they can produce any mental state of feeling in their patients by subjecting them to treatment by appropriate coloured lights—an extension of the artificial sun rays treatment, which is already so familiar. Wherever we look, in fact, we see that Colour has become a scientific problem of the first importance. And its use is becoming more widely understood in all branches of life today.

### Communal Reservation in Public Services

Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta writes in *The Twentieth Century* :

The Mohammedans throughout British India, and more particularly in Bengal and the Punjab, demand a share in the services proportional to population; sometimes they want their share to be proportional to their political importance, (or as some wag put it according to their 'present day incompetence') which is always greater than their population ratio according to them. And if they cannot come in by the open and front door



of competition and merit they want to come in by the trap-door of reservation—the back-door of nomination being out of the question in these days of democracy and reform. They want their share to be reserved for them; and for this end they have propounded the doctrine of minimum qualifications.

Munsiffs are appointed by the High Court from among those who after passing the B. L. Examination have continuously practised in the district courts for more than 3 years and are below a certain age. The number of Mohammedan B. L.'s is only 6 per cent. of the total. It is a notorious fact that the average age of Mohammedans passing a given examination is several years higher than that of the Hindus. Mr. W. H. Thomson, the Census Superintendent writes "that the average Mohammedan develops intellectually later than the average Hindu," and "that the average Hindu boy who learns to read and write attains the art at about the age of 8½ but the average Mohammedan boy does not reach the same standard till he is about 11½" i.e., until 3 years later.

It is also a fact that the Mohammedan B. L.'s do not practise law in the same proportion as the Hindus, partly because he is absorbed in other departments of the Government, and partly because his staying-power is small. But all the same, the proportion of the Mohammedan judicial officers is 15.1 per cent; and if we confine ourselves to the munsiffs only, their proportion is 16.3 per cent. Because the Mohammedans form 55 per cent. of the population in Bengal; and because the Mohammedans are not 55 per cent. of munsiffs, Sir Abdur Rahim wanted to take away the power of making appointments from the High Court, and vest it in the Local Government, so that political and communal considerations may have free play.

And what are the consequences of this reservation? A certain share in the services, either proportional to their population or to their political importance, is reserved for the Mohammedans, because they cannot get in by open competition. The first and immediate effect of reservation is to lower the average ability of the Mohammedan entrants to the public services. This reacts on the qualifications of the future entrants; for if a Mohammedan knows that by passing the B. A. examination he can secure service, why should he waste his efforts in passing the M.A.? The second result is, therefore, to take away the incentive to further efforts among the Mohammedans.

### How to Know the Future Life

Mr. Stanley Smyth has contributed a thoughtful article to *The Theosophist*. Part of it is quoted below :

The belief in the mercy and compassion of God which often seems so ridiculous in a world of sorrow and suffering; that terrific and irresistible faith in ultimate love and bliss that springs spontaneously and inexplicably so often from the most unlikely soil—these are the workings of the soul, as such, in precisely the same way.

As we develop this more exalted side of ourselves; as we forget the urge to be rational, and to treat ourselves as neat little self-satisfied individuals; and as we develop the powers of self-sacrifice and love that do not count the cost; as we grow strong and splendid in spirituality; as we build up our spirit and supermental

life; as we now try to build up our mental life—so must we, reasonably, come to learn the laws and conditions of super-mental life as we now know some of the laws of mental life.

*Then and then only can we know whether or not the soul survives death.* We shall then know with the positive conviction that we now know that to the mental problem of "What is twice two?" the correct answer is four.

The world's great religious teachers, who have always taken for granted and strenuously taught the immanence and superiority of the life after death, have invariably explained the necessity of super-mental or spiritual activities to gain any knowledge whatsoever of these super-mental or spiritual spheres. The exercise of the mind, the study of the law—even of religious law—must be subordinated to the all-absorbing love and service of God—or, in other words, to concentration on super-mental qualities.

### Kalidasa as Artist

In an important paper on the above subject Mr. S. V. Venkateswara writes in *Government Victoria College Magazine* :

Kalidasa's comic sense is too genial to descend to the spirit of satire, to cast ridicule on human nature. Nor would he sting a character under a semi-caress, even with a moral object, in an ironical vein. In his treatment of his clowns he shows humour of a high order. Heart and mind laugh out at the clown, and he laughs at the world, though not without occasional lights of tragedy in his laughter. Sometimes he is a well of sparkling wit or boisterous fun. Always there is a rosy geniality. These are oases in the wilderness of royal wander-lust, grief or despair. The clown of Vikrama is a 'laughing blad-plate' indeed. He tells his love-mad king: 'I shall devise some means of assuaging your grief. Meantime, pray do not disturb my thoughts by your lamentations.' To him half-risen lunar orb looks like the broken sphere of a ball of sweets. The comic here, though primed with wit, is capped by the grotesque. It is marred by the barbarity of the senses in the remark of the clown of Dushyanta: 'When a lady is so captivating, ethics must bow down before erotics.'

The comic spirit depends largely on the relation of the sexes. And Kalidasa's women have no veils over their faces. They mix with the men and reveal a mental richness and sunlight. They are all educated or cultured. Uma had acquired all the branches of knowledge by education at home. The Yaksha's wife is able to compose songs with letters drawn from her husband's name. Malavika is able to sing and dance, and her self-consciousness tingles to every wave of folded-drapery. In Urvasi is planned a perfect beauty uniting the graces of Diana, the rapture of Venus, and the charms of Mercury in the perfumed bosom of the radiant Spring. In her, astuteness and idiosyncrasy are in evidence. But the typical girl of Kalidasa is one who is loved or is in love, the nymph of the radiant smile or sidelong glance; unconscious of her charm or innocently conscious of it; with no fluttering fussiness or idea of the Van Fair. We miss women like the Vedic Maitreyi hidden behind philosophical theories, or nuns poring over the Buddha's word by midnight. Nor do we get Vasantasena full of the intensity of life, scintillating as business-like. Kalidasa's women appeal to the affective



as well as to the intellect. His men are honest and shapely, seldom overblown or conceited. There is no falling from virtue or stooping to folly; hence no scope for the higher reaches of comedy, irony or satire. Our poet felt that the spheres of the two sexes are complementary and co-operative, not competitive or conflicting. The woman has her sphere in the home, is queen of the affections, and tells by sweet persuasiveness and non-co-operation, rather than by being naughty or headstrong or adopting masculine ways. We do not have

a portia or a Cordelia, not to speak of a Lady Macbeth or a Shrew to tame. When Kanwa sends Sakuntala under the guidance of his pupil Sarangarava, Kalidasa reveals the relations of the sexes at the age of adolescence. Students were trained to regard with a brotherly eye the tender-eyed maidens of the Guru's household. There is a certain sense of innocence and freedom which puts the carnal idea to shame: 'If you be chaste, here is your home; if you be even as your husband describes you, what use is it your returning to your father's home?'

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

RANI LAKSHMIBAI RAJWADE, the gifted wife of the army member of the Council of Regency, Gwalior, is the life and soul of the movement for the uplift of women. Her fascinating personality, her golden eloquence, her clear grasp of the most tangled questions, her enthusiastic devotion to the cause of progress all along the line, her ardent zeal for emancipating the members of her sex from the galling yoke of custom, have made her the fountain-head of inspiration alike to the old and the young so that thrilled by her shining example, they are straining every nerve to beat down conventions which keep woman's spirit imprisoned within deadening limits.

She is in the vanguard of the revolt against the barbarous survivals in society—she hates oppression and immorality—alone among the cultured women-folk in the Indian States and even beyond she embodies the Shelleyan ideal, starry-eyed, fresh as sea-foam, sending up an incense like the perfumed altar-flame.



### ADDENDUM

'K. M. J.' has reviewed the Gujrati Books in the *Review* section.

Rani Lakshmbai Rajwade



# NOTES

## *Illogical Distribution of Seats in Indian Federal Legislature*

The population of the Provinces in British India to which representation is to be given in the Federal Legislature has been taken to be 257,100,000 in round numbers, and the population of the Indian States of which the Rulers will nominate their representatives in that Legislature has been given in a schedule of the Government of India Bill as 78,801,912, the total population of these two units being thus 335,901,912. Burma is to be separated from India.

There are to be 375 seats in the Federal Assembly, which is to be the lower house of the Federal Legislature. Though the people of the Indian States have been absolutely ignored, let us assume that their Rulers will nominate as representatives, not the representatives of themselves, but the representatives of the people of the States. So the 375 representatives in the Federal Assembly will represent 335,901,912 persons of India as a whole. Dividing 335,901,912 by 375 we get 895,738. So every 895,738 persons are to get one representative each. Therefore the 78,801,912 inhabitants of the Indian States are entitled to 87 and a fraction seats—say 88 seats, and the 257,100,000 persons of British India should get 287 seats. But the Indian States have been given 125 seats—37 more seats than they are entitled to, and the Provinces have been given 250 seats. In reality they have been given 246 seats; for out of the 250 given to them 4 have been kept apart as “Non-Provincial Seats.” So the Provinces are to get 41 seats less than they are entitled to on the basis of population.

Let us now come to the distribution of the 246 seats among the provinces themselves. These seats are to be filled by the representatives of 257,100,000 persons. Dividing 257,100,000 by 246 we get 1,045,121. That means that every 1,045,121 persons are to get one representative each. We give below the number of seats which each province should get on their population basis, and the number which has been actually given to them in the Bill. It will be seen that the population put down against Bombay, Madras, Bihar, and Orissa are somewhat different from the Census figures of 1931. The difference is due to the facts that Sind and Aden are to be separated from the Bombay Presidency, and some areas are to be taken from the Madras Presidency and to be given to Orissa, which again is to be separated from Bihar and made a separate governor's province. The population figures in the table printed below are adapted from the J. P. C. Report on which the Government of India Bill is based.

Provinces.	Population.	Seats they should get.	Seat they have been given.
Madras	45600000	43.6	37
Bombay	17940575	17.1	30
Bengal	50114002	47.9	37
U. P.	48408763	46.3	37
Bihar	32400000	31.0	30
Panjab	23580852	22.5	30
C. P. & Berar	15507723	14.8	15
Assam	8622251	8.2	10
N.-W. F. P.	2425076	2.3	5
Orissa	6700000	6.4	5
Sind	3887070	3.7	5
British Baluchistan	463580	A fraction	1
Delhi	636245	Do	2
Ajmer-Merwara	560292	Do	1
Coorg	163327	Do	1

Calculating on the assumption that there would be the 78,801,912 persons of the India



States who would get 125 representatives, we should find that there would be one seat for every 630,415 of them, whereas in British India a seat is given to every 1,045,121 inhabitants. If the people of the States had been given the vote, this difference would not have been absolutely objectionable or very objectionable. But the fact is some 150 Rulers of some 150 States will nominate 125 representatives. That amounts to saying that each of these mighty supermen are to have the same voting power as each aggregate of more than one million persons in British India.

From what has been written above it will be observed that the Provinces of British India and the Indian States have not been given seats according to their population, which they should have been. That Provinces, States, Districts, Towns and constituencies in general should have representatives according to the numerical strength of their population, is not a mere theory or a new-fangled idea. Under the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act, 1928, of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, "the seats in Great Britain were redistributed on the basis of one member of the House of Commons for every 70,000 of the population. By a separate Act, redistribution in Ireland was made on the basis of one for every 43,000 of the population." There are similar rules in Australia, Canada, Belgium, etc. As India is going to be a Federation, the law and practice in the United States of America, which is the most important Federation in the world, should be instructive. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition),

"Much controversy had raged over the conflicting principles of the equal representation of the states and of representation on the basis of numbers, the larger states advocating the latter, the smaller states the former principle; and those who made themselves champions of the rights of the states professed to dread the tyrannical power which an assembly representing population might exert. The adoption of a bicameral system made it possible to give due recognition to both principles. One house, the Senate, contains the representatives of the states, every state sending two; the other, the House of Representatives, contains members elected on a basis of population. The two taken together are called Congress, and form the national legislature of the United States."

Similar arrangements existing in other Federations may also be cited.

In the proposed Indian Federation also, there are to be two houses, the Federal Assembly and the Council of State. But in neither House is either of the principles followed in the United States of America to be observed. In both the Federal Assembly and the Council of State unequal representation is given to the Provinces and the States jointly and severally in quite an illogical manner.

We have dealt with representation in the Federal Assembly in some detail. It is unnecessary to do so in the case of the Council of State. Suffice it to say that "The Council of State shall consist of one hundred and fifty-six representatives of British India and not exceeding one hundred and four representatives of the Indian States" (clause 18 of the Government of India Bill). As the inhabitants of the Indian States number less than one-third of those of British India, too many seats are being given to the States—or rather to the Rulers of the States. For, as said above, the people of the States have been absolutely ignored.

It may be objected that, as the Indian National Congress has rejected the J. P. C. Report (and consequently the Government of India Bill, which is based on it, in advance), and as no section of the people is quite satisfied with the Bill, what is the good of criticizing the allocation of seats in detail? But as in spite of what the Congress and other organizations may say the Bill will become law and as even the Congressmen and members of other organizations will enter the Federal Legislature constituted according to that law and will take part in its proceedings, it is necessary to know how illogically and unjustly that legislature is going to be constituted. It may also be objected that our exposition of the constitution of the future legislature may give rise to inter-provincial and Province-State jealousies and bickerings. Should they do so, it is not our exposition which would be to blame for it, but rather the British parents of the future constitution of India who have drafted the J. P. C. Report and the Government of India Bill. Just as he who fully exposes the mischievous character of the Communal Decision cannot be called the father of the mischief, so the critic of the constitution of the future Federal Legislature of India



cannot be held responsible for its direct and indirect undesirable consequences.

Representation is meant for human beings, not for stretches of soil, or grass and trees growing on them, or for sand or dust, or for wild and domesticated animals. And, therefore, it will not do to say that representation has been given according to the area of the Provinces and the States. But supposing that representation on the basis of area could be justified, it would be quite easy to show that the framers of the Bill did not follow even that principle. Nor has the number of literates in the different provinces, etc., been made the basis of the distribution of seats.

We may be permitted to add here incidentally that in October, 1927, we sent a paper, somewhat similar to this note, on "The Voting Strength of our Provinces in the Legislative Assembly," to the Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, the Secretary, Muslim League, the Secretary, Indian National Federation, the Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha, and the Secretary, Non-Brahman Federation. But not one of them even acknowledged its receipt.

That seats in the Federal Council of State have not been distributed according to any equitable principle will appear from the fact that the rulers of the Indian states ruling a population of about 79 millions have been given the right to nominate 104 members and the people of British India, more than thrice as many in number (more than 257 millions), have been given 150 seats, the remaining six seats to be filled by persons chosen by the Governor-General in his discretion. In British India also, no just principle has been followed in giving seats to the provinces, as will appear from the following table :

Provinces or community.	Population in millions.	Seats.
Madras	45.6	20
Bombay	18.0	16
Bengal	50.1	20
U. P.	48.4	20
Panjab	23.6	16
Bihar	32.4	16
C. P. & Berar	15.5	8
Assam	8.6	5
N.-W. F. P.	2.4	5
Sind	3.9	5

Provinces or community.	Population in millions.	Seats.
Orissa	6.7	5
Delhi	0.6	1
Ajmer-Merwara	0.6	1
British Baluchistan	0.5	1
Coorg	0.2	1
Anglo-Indians		1
Europeans		7
Indian Christians		2

That the distribution of seats in British India has not been according to the areas of the provinces will appear from the following table :

Provinces.	Area in sq. ms.	Seats in Assembly.	Seats in Council of State.
Madras	142,277	37	20
Bombay	77,221	30	16
Bengal	77,521	37	20
U. P.	106,248	37	20
Panjab	99,200	30	16
Bihar	69,348	30	16
C. P. & Berar	99,920	15	8
Orissa	13,706	5	5
Assam	55,014	10	5
N.-W. F. P.	13,518	5	5
Baluchistan	54,228	1	1
Ajmer-Merwara	2,711	1	1
Coorg	1,593	1	1
Delhi	573	2	1
Sind	46,378	5	5

If, according to the principle followed in the United States of America, all provinces, whether large or small, had been given an equal number of seats in the Council of State, the reason could be understood. But that has not been done. Nor has the basis of population or area been followed ; nor, even population-cum-area, if that were at all possible according to any kind of arithmetic.

The distribution of seats in the two Houses of the Federal Legislature has not been made according to the number of literates in the units. For the British Provinces contain a total literate male population of 15,845,287 and a total female literate population of 2,239,046, and the Indian States contain a total male literate population of 4,488,674 and a total female literate population of 919,761. In



British India the distribution of the literate population is as follows according to provinces :

Province.	Literate Male.	Literate Female.
Madras	3,706,975	611,905
Bombay		
(including Sind)	1,730,010	273,375
Bengal	4,033,262	660,451
U. P.	2,043,410	216,228
Panjab	1,097,044	150,713
Bihar & Orissa	1,574,506	129,360
C. P. & Berar	790,918	76,784
Assam	591,690	74,626
N.-W. F. P.	89,058	11,308
Baluchistan	31,986	3,858
Ajmer-Merwara	51,478	7,783
Coorg	19,892	5,444
Delhi	73,377	16,095

It is not our idea that the inhabitants of the very small provinces should not have any representation. But in our opinion, areas with a population which would not be entitled to even one seat on the population basis should not have been constituted into separate provinces. They should be amalgamated with some adjacent big province, and then their inhabitants can have representation by becoming parts of some constituencies. But if they cannot be amalgamated with big provinces, groups of them can be given one seat each, just as has been done in the case of the smaller Indian States. Or these smallest provinces may be given a seat by rotation. None of these arrangements may be satisfactory. But neither is the allotment of seats according to the schedule of the Government of India Bill at all satisfactory.

For giving seats to small provinces, or for giving extra seats by way of "weightage" to some provinces, some other provinces have been deprived of some seats to which they were entitled. And this deprivation also has not been carried out according to any just principle.

Britishers have taken full advantage of the divisions of race, religion, caste, language, etc., which exist in India, and in addition they have set up new divisions. One of the objects of this Note has been to show that, as in the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution, so in the Government of India Bill now under discussion in the

House of Commons, not only have communities, classes, races, etc., been favoured or discriminated against, but provinces also. This shows that British imperialists are adepts in the application of the *divide et impera* maxim.

It is quite usual for people, whether they be nationalists and patriots or not, to condemn favouritism and discrimination, when they are not the party favoured and when they are discriminated against. But what is expected of true patriots and nationalists is that, if in pursuance of the *divide et impera* maxim or of some other Machiavellian policy, they are favoured, they should reject such favours with disdain. No favoured race, community, province, class, etc., in India has yet acted in accordance with this ideal.

### *Basis and Principles of Representation in Some Countries*

It has been stated in the previous note that under the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act, 1928, the seats in Great Britain were redistributed on the basis of one member of the House of Commons for every 70,000 of the population. By a separate Act, redistribution in Ireland was made on the basis of one for every 43,000 of the population.

According to the constitution of the Irish Free State, "the total number of members of Dáil Eireann (exclusive of members for the universities) shall not be fixed at less than one member for each thirty thousand of the population, or at more than one member for each twenty thousand of the population: provided that the proportion between the number of members to be elected at any time for each constituency and the population of each constituency, as ascertained at the last preceding census, shall, so far as possible, be identical throughout the country."

In the United States of America, the Senate consists of two members from each State. In the House of Representatives, the number of members to which each State is entitled is determined by the decennial census. By the Appointment Act following the census of 1910 the number of representatives was 433 (one for every 210,415 inhabitants), but in 1912, with the admission of Arizona and New Mexico, it became 435. The census of



1930, while leaving the total membership at 435, suggested an alteration, due to population shifts, in the representation of 36 out of the 48 States; this redistribution, as determined by the census, became effective in 1933, by virtue of legislation passed by Congress in 1929.

In Belgium Senators are chosen on the basis of one for 200,000 inhabitants. The number of members of the Chamber of Representatives, at present 187, is proportioned to the population, and cannot exceed one for every 40,000 inhabitants.

In the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, "One Deputy shall be elected for each forty-thousand inhabitants. If the excess population of an electoral area is more than twenty-five thousand, an additional deputy shall be elected for that area."

In Bulgaria, the members of the National Assembly are elected at the rate of one member to every 20,000 of the population.

In the republic of Mexico, Congress consists of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. Deputies are elected at the rate of one member for 100,000 inhabitants. The Senate consists of 58 members, two for each State and the Federal District.

The highest authority in Soviet Russia is the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which consists of representatives of town Soviets on the basis of one delegate for 25,000 electors, and of Regional Congresses of Soviets on the basis of one delegate for every 125,000 inhabitants.

In Sweden, the country is divided into 28 constituencies, in each of which one member is elected for every 230th part of the population of the Kingdom it contains.

In Switzerland, in the Swiss Federation, the Nationalrat or National Council consists of 187 representatives of the Swiss people at the rate of one deputy for every 22,000 souls.

But we must stop.

### *Major Graham Pole on Declaration of Dominion Status in Government of India Act*

The following letter of Major D. Graham Pole appeared in the leader page of *The Times* of January 28 last :

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—When so much doubt has been cast on the pledges that have been given India by Cabinet Ministers, Viceroy, and even by the King-Emperor, it must indeed be gratifying to Indians to see in the leading article of *The Times* today that "there has been no deviation by so much as a hair's breadth from a single one of the pledges given to India by the Sovereign, his Viceroy, and his Ministers in the last decade." As *The Times* points out so forcibly, "the Secretary of State can make this clear when he introduces it (the Government of India Bill), and it is essential that he should do so." This is the more necessary because India has been very much perturbed by the words of the Chairman of the Conservative M.P.s' India Committee in the House of Commons during the debate on the Joint Committee's Report, that "no pledge given by any Secretary of State or any Viceroy has any real legal bearing on the matter at all. The only thing that Parliament is really bound by is the Act of 1919." This attitude was explicitly reaffirmed in the House of Lords by Lord Rankeillour, on December 13 last, in these words: "No statement by a Viceroy, no statement by any representative of the Sovereign, no statement by the Prime Minister, indeed no statement by the Sovereign himself, can bind Parliament against its judgment." While Lord Rankeillour's words are no doubt technically true in a strictly legal sense, as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has pointed out, "it is very poor statesmanship to say so and to act on it."

As *The Times* points out, there is no preamble to the present Bill, so that "the preamble of the 1919 Act will remain on record, and during the debate . . . the Government will make it clear that they adhere to all the pledges which have been given to India and that they have no doubt in their minds as to what the ultimate future of India should be." What Indians now realize, however, is that the only thing that is binding on Parliament is the actual text of an Act of Parliament—and that nothing said in a Parliamentary debate can be taken as interpreting or qualifying that text. There is much force therefore in the contention of H.H. the Aga Khan and the other British-India delegates who sat with the Joint Select Committee, that "since it is apparently contended that only a definite statement in an Act of Parliament would be binding on future Parliaments, and that even the solemn declaration made by his Majesty the King-Emperor on a formal occasion is not authoritative, we feel that a declaration in the preamble is essential in order to remove present grave misgivings and avoid future misunderstandings."

From my close touch, by mail and cable, with Indians of all shades of opinion, I feel certain that only such a declaration in the Act itself will remove Indian doubts as to our *bona fides* and enable us to get the co-operation in India that we all so earnestly desire.

Yours faithfully,

D. GRAHAM POLE,

Vice-Chairman of the British Committee  
on Indian and Burman Affairs.

We agree, with this addition that the Act should contain provisions making for Dominion Status automatically, that the provisions



should be such as would enable Indians to obtain Dominion Status for their country (including the right of secession at option) within a definitely fixed period, without further reference to and enquiry and legislation by the British Parliament.

### *Mr. P. Kodanda Rao's Tour Abroad*

Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, the able and well-informed secretary of the Servants of India Society and Editor of *The Servant of India*, Poona, is now in the United States of America engaged in serious study in the Department of Race Relations in the University of Yale. Before returning to India, he wishes to visit some of the countries in which Indians are settled in some numbers and study their problems. Our countrymen there would do well to give him every assistance to become fully conversant with their problems and discuss with him as to how they could be best solved. Organizations which would like him to visit their countries may communicate direct with him. His address is: Hall of Graduate Studies, University of Yale, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.

### *Mr. C. F. Andrews on "Repression in India"*

The following letter on "Repression in India," from Mr. C. F. Andrews, appeared in *The New Statesman and Nation* of February 2, 1925:

#### REPRESSION IN INDIA

SIR,—We have blamed France, year after year, for not taking count of the rising tide of national feeling in Germany after the war; yet when we ourselves are put to a similar test in India we seem to be equally foolish. The defencelessness of India today, under the present rule of repression, which has reached something near to martial law in Bengal and the North-West Frontier Province, . . .

We have made the press law so severe, that the editor of the *Modern Review* has been warned twice, and threatened with what would amount to confiscation, for publishing Tagore's articles. . . . The number of detenus, many of whom are kept for long years in imprisonment, seems to be continually increasing. Concentration camps, where they are kept, make life intolerable for them, as their whole future is blighted and their families brought to ruin.

The following information has been given me by one whose family has thus suffered.

"Those in jail have been there in many cases for over six years without trial; and yet the Indian penal code itself has few punishments of over five

years. Many were placed before the Courts, discharged, and then rearrested. Here, there could be no question of want of evidence which could be placed before the Court. Available evidence must have been produced and have been insufficient for conviction. There are cases where a man, convicted in connection with Civil Disobedience, has been arrested at the jail gate as soon as he was released."

The writer then gives specific instances, which need not be detailed here. He goes on as follows:

"Numerous instances of suicide, insanity, infection of tuberculosis, have come to light, and the pitiable tales of neglect, . . . are many. These reach hundreds of homes in Bengal and accounts of them are sent to members of the Legislature. The ventilation of such cases brings sharp denials, accompanied by rebukes such as were given by Sir Harry Haig in the Legislative Assembly. I wish a Committee of M.P.'s could come out and receive facilities for inquiring into the misery of the detenus and their families. My own relation (he gives the name which I omit) is a detenu, at a malarial village, going through his fifth year of detention. His allowance has been reduced to 15 rupees (under £1 3s. 0d.) per month. He was a college student, champion swimmer, musician, and sportsman, and must have been quite incapable of any direct connection with terrorism. He is now broken in health and was at one time suspected of being tubercular."

My friend then goes on to mention in his letter a schoolmistress, who had been arrested under similar conditions and is now shattered in health, after nearly four years' imprisonment; also a college professor, who has been in jail (as a Regulation III prisoner) for very many years and his family brought to ruin.

No one in this country can ever imagine the horror that is connected with this "detention" system. Recently, conditions have been made less inhuman, owing to continued public pressure, but the whole process of detention without trial is rotten to the core. The innocent suffer with the guilty; . . .

I am writing about what I know from personal experience, and my only regret is that I did not write long ago. While wearing Bengali dress, and therefore mistaken for a Bengali, I have been myself maltreated by the police. Some of my own students from Santiniketan, who were as innocent of terrorism as I am, have been arrested and imprisoned. Sir Harry Haig denounced in the Legislative Assembly one who signed his name to a petition asking that the Andamans should no longer be used as a penal settlement. I myself signed that petition, and came under the same condemnation. If any attention in India is called to these things the answer is usually a prevarication, and a bullying tone is adopted.

The writer from whom I have quoted states further that the number now imprisoned or interned must have risen to nearly 2,000 detenus. He gives details about the different "camps." He then goes on to say: "With the grant of reforms, under which they could honourably undertake to give up subversive activities, a huge majority would come out. You can—I am letting you know on good authority—yourself offer such assurances."

This letter is already long, but one of the deepest regrets of my life is that I did not take up this cause actively before; and I would wish to redress that mistake now if I possibly can do so.

C. F. ANDREWS.



Mr. Andrews states that we were "warned twice." We do not remember how often we have been "warned," but it is not less than twice!

Mr. Andrews' letter evoked a reply from a member of parliament, named Mr. Godfrey Nicholson. One extract from it will suffice to give an idea of the whole. Says he:

.... detenus are not interned because of "subversive activities," but because of their connection with a campaign of murder.

As to the conditions in detention camps, I can personally vouch for the fact that the detenus live a life of comparative luxury, in much greater comfort than the ordinary student at an Indian University. They have every opportunity for games and recreation, as well as for study, receiving a monthly allowance of 10 rupees from the Government to buy books and sports requisities. As far as food is concerned, each detenu is allowed 30 rupees a month, a sum which would easily keep in food three Indian working-class families. The detenus are waited upon and valeted by convicts.

Very many persons have been prosecuted and convicted "because of their connection with a campaign of murder." If the detenus were so connected, why were they not prosecuted?

The Editor of *The New Statesman and Nation* submitted Mr. Nicholson's letter to Mr. C. F. Andrews, who commented as follows on it:

I have to write in haste because I am just going abroad. Mr. Nicholson views this detestable system of imprisonment without trial, with its evil shadow of the "informer," entirely from the outside; I have seen it from within and can point to innocent people whom it has destroyed. He, as a Member of Parliament, has been conducted recently over a jail and an Internment Camp; I have lived for more than thirty years in the homes of the people, speaking their language, sharing their food, wearing their dress; therefore I can tell of things I know by heart. Only at long last—far too long!—have I spoken out my mind. What I have said is neither ridiculous, nor absurd; it is the naked, tragic truth.

Nearly thirty years ago, this . . . began. Its two earliest victims, Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra and Lala Lajpat Rai, became my close personal friends. The one nearly died in prison, the other had his whole career blighted. Both of them were as innocent of violence as I am. The evil course, once begun, led farther, until hundreds, and then thousands, were imprisoned without trial. This very same evil was embodied in the Rowlatt Acts. The passing of these led on directly to Amritsar. If a Gibbon, at some future date, writes a new "Decline and Fall" of British rule in India, he will place his finger on this fatal spot. For young men and women, who may now be numbered by many thousands, have been shut up in prison during the past years in Bengal, and prevented . . . from having any open trial in an open court of law. It

is not a fact, as Mr. Nicholson supposes, that every one thus imprisoned has been guilty of taking part in an act or an attempt of murder.

One thing Mr. Nicholson does not understand. The family life in Bengal is a single unit. One imprisonment of this kind, under suspicion, may wreck, not merely the individual thus suspected, but the whole family. If he were to study the facts, as Mr. Mackarness studied the facts of prison-torture some years ago, he would find that people have been driven insane, families ruined, and suicides attempted. We condemn these things when we hear of them among other nations; let us look first to the beam which is in our own eye.

I had already half drafted a second letter to this paper in order to point out the effect of one generous action, which shone out like a ray of light in the darkness on last Christmas Day. The Governor, Sir John Anderson, commuted the death sentence of a poor misguided lad, who had tried to shoot him. This act has done more to put an end to terrorism in Bengal than all other efforts put together. I hate terrorism and assassination just as much as Mr. Nicholson, and wish, with him, to get to the root of the evil. But I have always found the deepest root to be a burning sense of injustice, maddening the mind of youth. This can never be removed by detenus being allowed sports in jail, while their families starve.

In the course of an editorial note, the Editor of *The New Statesman and Nation* wrote thus:

Meanwhile the tragedy of India itself develops; while English politics are enlivened by our squabbles about what is good for India and whether we are "giving India" too much or too little the terrible poverty of Indian villages is untouched, and, as the letter from Mr. C. F. Andrews in our columns this week shows, the repression of the Indian Government is so sustained . . . that we may well wonder if this country will have a friend left there by the time the new Constitution is ready.

### Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer

Of the late Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, whose impressive speeches as a Congress delegate we have not yet forgotten, *The Servant of India* writes:

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, though latterly not much in the public eye, was at one time one of the most active of Indian public workers. He was for several years a member of the local legislature where his work was characterized by marked ability and earnestness of purpose which drew unstinted praise even from his adversaries. In the humbler sphere of local self-government too he rendered meritorious service to the public of the Madras Presidency. In politics Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer was a Liberal whose faith in constitutionalism remained undimmed till the end of his days. He presided over the Liberal Federation session held at Allahabad in 1921. This was when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms had not been in working order even for a whole year. But he fearlessly exposed



their shortcomings and made out a cogent case for a larger political advance. That is a testimony alike to his unerring political judgment and to the independence of his character. Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer used to be a prominent figure even on the Congress platform in its pre-non-co-operation days and his speeches always bore the mark of deep study and mastery of details. A more sweet-tempered man it would be really difficult to come across. As a charitably disposed person he had very few equals and his hospitality was dispensed to persons of varying status with equal cordiality and without the least discrimination. Of young students in need of the wherewithal to prosecute their studies Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer was the most unpatronising patron. When such a person is called away, it is stating the barest truth to say that the country is poorer by his death.

### *Lala Shiv Dyal*

*The Tribune* writes :

We deeply regret to announce the death of Lala Shiv Dyal, M.A., the Honorary Secretary to the Dayal Singh College Trust Society. The deceased was one of the earliest graduates of the Punjab University and had spent the whole of his life in furtherance of the educational advancement of the Province. He was one of the first Indians to be appointed an Inspector of Schools in the Punjab and both in that capacity and as the Director of Public Instruction in the Patiala State he rendered distinguished service to the cause of education. After his retirement from the Education Department, he placed his unrivalled experience as an educationist at the disposal of several important unofficial educational institutions, who were anxious to make use of it. The Dayal Singh High School, the Dayal Singh Library, the Dayal Singh College, the Hindu Victoria Diamond Jubilee Technical Institute and several other smaller educational institutions were indebted to him for the most valuable assistance which he rendered to them without regard to his own convenience. His death has caused a serious loss to all these institutions; while the Punjab has lost one of its veteran and ablest educationists.

### *Lala Nand Lal*

The Panjab has lost another prominent public worker by the death of Lala Nand Lal. He was a veteran prohibitionist.

### *Rai Bahadur Ishan Chandra Mukherji*

The late Rai Bahadur Ishan Chandra Mukherji of Jaipur, Rajputana, was the son of the late Rao Bahadur Kanti Chandra Mukherji, a former prime minister of that State. Ishan Chandra also was a *jaigirdar* and a chief officer of the State and rendered valuable services to it in ordinary times as well as at times of crisis.

Sir Reginald Glancy, C. I. E., C. S. I.,



Rai Bahadur Ishan Chandra Mukherji

President, Council of Regency, Jaipur, 1923, referring to Babu Ishan Chandra Mukherji's services in bringing to book the culprits who took undue advantages, during the illness of the late Maharaja Saheb Bahadur, wrote that he "was the one member of the Council proposed to investigate . . . and was mainly responsible for his (culprit's) being brought to justice."

In the course of a letter addressed by Lt.-Col. G. D. Ogilvie, C. S. I., President of the Council (now A. G. G., Rajputana States), to Rai Bahadur Ishan Chandra Mukherji, on August 28, 1925, that officer wrote :

"You have had a long and honourable connection with the administration of the State, in recognition of which you have been rewarded more than once."

In a letter of condolence from Mr. F. S. Young, C. I. E., I.-G. of Police, Jaipur, to Babu Satkori Mukherji, eldest son of the Rai Bahadur, the writer said : "He was for so many years an ornament and a tower of strength to the Durbar, that his passing is the removal of a landmark in the development of the Jaipur State."

He was a man of unassuming manners and a perfect gentleman. As a man of culture, he possessed a fine library, to which he was making constant additions of books in English,



Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi and Urdu. He took enlightened interest in architecture and painting. Gardening was almost a hobby with him.

### *Delegates of the Burma Indian Labour Deputation*

Mr. E. P. Pillai, M. L. C. (Burma) and Dr. Lanka Sundaram are the delegates of the Burma Indian Labour Deputation to the Government of India, appointed by the first All-Burma Indian Labour Conference. They



Mr. E. P. Pillai

Dr. Lanka Sundaram

are ardent advocates of a regulated system of Indian labour emigration to Burma in which the responsibility of the Government of India and the standing committee on emigration of the Central Legislature would certainly not be minimal.

### *An Indian Globe-trotter*

We are indebted to Mr. Ramesh Chandra Banerji of Narail Victoria College for the photograph and following particulars of an Indian Globe-trotter of the name of Mr. A. K. Bootwala, who hails from Bombay :

"Mr. A. K. Bootwala, globe-trotter, aged 31 years, started from Bombay on October 20, 1928, bare-footed and bare-headed, on a world tour. He is a member of the Taheri Sporting Club, Bombay and a shoe-merchant. He proposes to complete his world tour on 28th October, 1946 at 1 P. M., when he expects to return to Bombay. He claims to have already traversed several countries of Asia walking 23050 miles

and has many adventures to his credit. He killed a tiger in Rajputana with his spear, which he always carries with him. His belongings



Mr. A. K. Bootwala, Globe-trotter.

including bedding and miscellaneous articles weigh 60 pounds. He is now proceeding towards China and Japan *via* East Bengal and Burma. His photograph was taken at village Muhammadpur in the district of Jessore by S. S. Saroj Kumar Banerji of the same village on 5th February, 1935."

### *"Blatant Self-interest" and Mute Philanthropy !*

*The Servant of India*, organ of the Servant of India Society, an article of whose funda-



mental creed is the belief in the permanence of the Indo-British connection, writes :

How clear-sighted is the *Times of India* upon foreign affairs! The Congress of the United States passed an Act conferring independence upon the Philippine Islands. This law, our contemporary is clear, was not born of any generous impulse towards raising the position of a politically backward people. Foreigners are quite foreign to such an impulse. It is only the British who are inspired by the unselfish thought of giving freedom to subject peoples. The *Times* says: "Congressional haste in the offering of the gift (of independence) was merely due to blatant self-interest. (Where this was concerned,) it did not matter what other great issues were involved. The Philippines had to get independence quickly for the sake of trade interests."

Yes, but is it not better for the United States to give freedom to the Filipinos for the sake of American trade interests than for Great Britain to keep Indians out of their freedom for the sake of British trade interests? How we wish the British Parliament would desire to give independence to India in order to safeguard the true interests of the British commercial classes! And is not Britain supporting the preposterous demands of the Princes, knowing well that all such demands are at bottom in the British interests? If self-interest is the common motive of both England and America, it impels America to do the noble thing and England to do an immoral thing.

And even when independence, selfishly offered by America, was refused by the Filipinos, it was withdrawn and a search is being earnestly made to find out a substitute which would be to their liking. England, however draws up in her self-interest a hateful constitution and forces it down the throats of Indians. If unselfishness makes her do so, we wish she were a little less unselfish.

### *South Africa would not Participate in Imperial Defence*

According to a Reuter's message, dated

Cape Town, Feb. 5.

The reasons why South Africa is not prepared to join the general Imperial defence were given in a noteworthy speech by Mr. Pirow, Minister of Defence, addressing the Imperial Press Conference. Mr. Pirow at the outset declared that there was no anti-British feeling in South Africa. Nevertheless, speaking from past experience, he expressed the opinion that if the Government attempted rashly to commit South Africa to participation in another overseas war there would be disturbances on a large scale, possibly a civil war. Hence the Government would not participate in the general scheme of Imperial defence. The object of the British Navy was not to protect South Africa but the British ships of trade.

### *No Overcrowding in Third Class Carriages!*

In the Legislative Assembly on 6th February last,

Mr. Rau, answering Mr. Ranga, said it did not appear that there was any general overcrowding in third class carriages, necessitating the adoption of special measures. While there had been a decrease of about 14 per cent in the number of passengers in 1933-34, as compared with 1930-31, the number of third class seats were practically the same.

Sir Henry Gidney, Dr. Ziaud-din Ahmed, Mr. James and Mr. Rajan all emphasised that overcrowding existed, specially on main lines.

Mr. Rau said that all he claimed was that the position regarding overcrowding had improved during the last four years.

As we have recently seen overcrowded third class railway carriages and have also travelled third class during the period mentioned by Mr. Rau, we are constrained to say that special measures are necessary for doing away with overcrowding in them. Arithmetically, there may have been some improvement, but that is not at all sufficient.

### *Universities Exist For What*

The Government as well as the educated people of India are thinking whether universities ought to undertake "bread and butter education" or confine themselves to pure learning, whether in the Arts or in the Sciences. A different aspect of the *raison d'être* of Universities is laid stress upon by Professor Harold J. Laski in an article in *The New Republic of America*. Says he :

Universities exist for the promotion of learning, and to that end their obligation both to teach and to research is, no doubt, essential to their life. But their function is not complete when they have performed these tasks. A university's title to respect is a function of its insistence that it can neither teach nor research save in the atmosphere of freedom. To the degree that it fails in its service of freedom, to that degree also it destroys the indispensable condition of creative achievement.

The enemy of the university without, therefore, is orthodoxy. It may present itself as the servant of wealth, of a political or economic creed, of a religious faith. In so far as any university submits to the demands of these, it prostitutes its power to serve truth. For, by such submission, it limits, both for its teachers and its students, that power to let the mind range unimpeded over fundamental questions through which alone essential discoveries can be made. Academic freedom is the nurse of intellectual inventiveness.

As orthodoxy is the enemy of the university without, so are inertia, love of power and lack of courage the enemies within. The only duties the teacher owes to the university are the duties to think hard, to think freely and to think independently. He has the obligation to devote himself to his subject. He has the obligation to allow no convention to stand in the way of announcing the truths to which his instructed judgment may lead him. He has the obligation, finally, to call no man, be that



man party or government or church, his master. Those who are silent because the truth within them may be inconvenient or costly or dangerous, in the end will become silent because they have nothing to say. The man who suppresses the thing he believes he knows to be truth will in the long run neither teach well nor research well. For neither task can be performed when one has the lie in one's soul.

### *The Bengal Government and the Jute Mills Association*

Mr. Siddheswar Chatterjee writes to us :

If the Government of Bengal comply with the request of the Indian Jute Mills Association, controlled by British-managed jute mills, for compelling by legislation a few small mills owned by Indians to reduce the hours of working below what are required by Factory Act, they will be perpetrating an act of grave injustice. We all hope that better counsels will prevail and a number of British industrialists will not succeed in their attempt to use "the arm of political injustice," in the words of H. H. Wilson, to check the natural aspiration of Indians to have a share of the profits of jute, of which Bengal practically holds the world's monopoly but with little or no advantage to her millions of agriculturists engaged in raising this golden crop.

The appalling disparity between the prices of raw and manufactured jute continuing for decades and operating with disastrous consequences in recent years during a period of depression will make the future historian pause and reflect why the Government with its transferred department of agriculture remained a silent spectator for years and then evolved a voluntary scheme of restriction which was foredoomed to failure. If any legislation were needed, compulsory restriction should have been given effect to. Far from doing that, the Government is now being goaded to help the mighty jute-mills organization which keeps down the price of raw jute to the lowest level possible and sells the manufactured article at an abnormally high rate so that it may declare dividends of one hundred per cent and more for its shareholders, pay its general managers princely salaries and provide them with palaces on either side of the Hooghly to live in. This inequity has been possible on account of the lack of competition, which, according to Professor Marshall, is another name for economic freedom. More ocean freight required for raw jute than for the finished product, shippers' profits and high labour charges outside India naturally place the jute-mills here in a position of advantage.

In the past they were all European-managed and formed a strong ring and decided among themselves from time to time the maximum price for jute, which, compared with the prevailing prices of gunny and hessian, was always very low, except in the year 1925-26, when a shortage of crop was feared and the price soared up. These mills consumed more than 50 per cent of the total jute crop. Of the mills outside India a very large number was situated in Scotland. It was thus an easy task for the British-managed jute-mills to maintain their policy of cheap jute and dear gunny and hessian.

Formerly the notion was prevalent that to start a jute mill a very large amount of capital was necessary. For this reason Indians were slow to go in for the industry. When at last some mills under

their management were established, the British-managed mills began to feel competition for the first time. Indian mills did not become members of the Association, which enjoined that about 40 hours should be worked in a week so that production might be less and maximum profit might be earned for minimum labour. The present Governor of Bengal in the beginning of his term made the mills outside the Association reduce their working hours at the point of passing an ordinance for this purpose. Now a Bengalee industrial genius in the person of Srijut Jiban Krishna Das started for a Marwari capitalist a small jute-mill at Howrah with only twenty looms and a capital of twenty thousand rupees. Since then a number of small jute-mills has been springing up and the total number of their looms at present is, according to the President of the Jute Mills Association, only 500 as against 60,000 of the mills obeying the Association. The Association now urges on the Government "with all the emphasis at its command the necessity of bringing into line with the Association Mills those concerns who have so far remained aloof." In plain language it means that the outside mills should not be allowed to work as many hours as permitted by the Factory Act but only so many as suit the British-managed jute mills in Calcutta and suburbs.

The small jute-mills provide that element of competition which is so urgently needed, if the agriculturist is ever to get a fair price for his crop. They are already paying two annas per maund more than the big buyers. If the Government do not interfere, such mills will go on increasing in number and will become a formidable rival of the larger mills. One result of the keen competition that will follow will be that the price of jute will go up not by two annas but by several rupees and that of gunny and hessian will come down leading foreign countries to do away with paper and cotton-bags and use more jute manufactures. This will require larger cultivation. In the past European-managed jute-mills used to buy 'Deshi' jute through Indian dealers. They are now buying more and more of this stuff grown in Western Bengal through European brokers. They patronise their own insurance companies. A very large portion of this business may in future benefit Indians. If manufactured jute sell at a reasonably low price, it will not pay foreign jute-mills to carry raw jute all the distance and then manufacture. The entire business will thus be conducted within the country giving employment to double the present number of labourers. Nearly all countries have shut their doors against Indian immigrants. It is, therefore, a natural desire that maximum advantage should be taken of our monopoly crop. The Government of Bengal in acceding to the request of the Association, if it does so, will go against economic forces which now tend to operate to bring about an equilibrium between the conflicting interests of the poor agriculturist and the Indian industrialist on the one hand and the European-managed mills which reaped colossal profits during and after the Great War, on the other.

The writer's contention appears to us to be reasonable.

### *Among Indians Whom Has the Communal Decision Not Wronged ?*

In the second paragraph of his statement



relating to the British Government's Communal Decision the British Premier said :

"We have realized from the very first that any decision that we may make is likely, to begin with at any rate, to be criticized by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands."

This was calculated to mislead the Indian public and the world public as to the real object and worst fault of the Decision. We have pointed out several times that "The Decision is not to be considered mainly as against the interests of this Indian community or group or that, but as against the *national* interest of all Indians, as *pro-Britain* and *anti-India*." We have also pointed out repeatedly that its worst faults are that it strikes a heavy blow at national solidarity, militates against the essential conditions of democratic and responsible government, makes joint and mass action very very difficult, if not impossible, deprives each class, community, race and sex of the cordial co-operation of others for the advancement of all, and sets different sections of the people against one another. But Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald has succeeded in misleading even Indian publicists who are professed nationalists. For we find a contemporary writing in its issue, dated the 23rd February, when the Anti-"Award" Conference met at Delhi :

The Anti-Communal Award Conference which is meeting in Delhi under the presidentship of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani will have an extremely delicate task before it. That the Award has done great injustice to the Hindus, especially in Bengal and the Punjab, it is admitted on all hands, but the most practicable way of getting rid of it is not by mass agitation against it at the risk of exacerbating communal feelings, but trying to arrive at a settlement amongst ourselves and thus replacing a super-imposed decision by a voluntary agreement. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya realizes the importance of private negotiations as fully as others and if only the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the Congress are at one in finding a solution to the communal problem, the exploration of possibilities could be rendered easier. The demonstration shows the intensity of Hindu feeling on an issue that involves injustice to them but which can only be settled by mutual accommodation between Hindus and Muslims, eliminating the baneful influence of the third party.

Of course, the so-called "Award has done great injustice to the Hindus, especially in Bengal and the Panjab." But that is not at all a full statement of its mischievousness.

As for the risk of exacerbating communal

feelings, we suppose openly accepting the Communal Decision "so far as it goes," as Mr. Jinnah's party has done, and practically and implicitly accepting or acquiescing in it by not voting against its acceptance, as Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's party have done, does not in the least exacerbate communal feelings! For does not "communal feelings" mean only the feelings of the Muslims? The feelings of the Hindus and the Sikhs and the other non-descripts do not at all count—they are not communities!

As regards "trying to arrive at a settlement among ourselves," though we are not at all against it, we are not very hopeful of success in that direction. Sir Samuel Hoare succeeded in unsettling a previous settlement by making a higher bid for Muslim "co-operation." Sir Samuel Hoare continues to be in a position to make the highest bid, and Muslims as a community (barring a few honourable exceptions) continue to possess the mentality to profit by such a bid. So, how can the most generous or the most abject compromise on the part of the Hindus and the Sikhs bring about a settlement? Even if the Hindus and the Sikhs accept the entire Communal Decision without the least alteration in it, British imperialists will succeed in keeping the Muslims at a distance from the national movement by giving them something more in addition to what they have got by the Communal Decision. In fact, already the Muslims have got their Communal Decision No. 2, in the shape of the guaranteed big share of the jobs in the public services. So the Hindus and the Sikhs must accept Communal Decision No. 2, as well as Communal Decision No. 1 in order to placate the Muslims. If that is done, that may be followed swiftly by Communal Decision No. 3! If that, too, be accepted, there may again be Communal Decision No. 4! And so on and so forth. Therefore, no settlement can be arrived at by following the methods of bargaining and auctioneering.

We may be asked, "Do you think 'mass agitation against it' will unsettle the Communal Decision?" Our answer is, "We are not and do not pretend to be prophets. We are not sure what the consequence of agitation will be. We must place before the public



the right political ideas, irrespective of immediate success or failure. We think agitation against the Communal Decision cannot lead more to its perpetuation than anti-national acceptance of or anti-national and weak acquiescence in it."

"The baneful influence of the third party" can be eliminated only by the growth of real nationalism among all communities—at least among the major communities, not by weak acquiescence in disintegrating decisions of imperialists.

We find in the papers that both Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai consider that the holding of the Anti-"Award" Conference when Jinnah-Bajirajprasad talks were going on, was inopportune. We cannot subscribe to that wrong view.

### *All-India Anti-Communal "Award" Conference*

The All-India Anti-Communal "Award" Conference, held at Delhi under the presidency of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, was largely attended both by delegates and the general public. The Conference passed the following three resolutions on the 24th February last :

(1) Resolved that this second session of the All-India Anti-Communal Award Conference condemns without reservation or qualification the so-called Communal Award as being grossly unjust (to the Hindus and Sikhs particularly), as making for increased communal discord, as being anti-communal and undemocratic and as rendering it very difficult for the legislature to function on non-communal lines for the amelioration of the condition of the people as a whole, as well as because it will have the effect of strengthening British domination over India.

(2) Resolved that this Conference is firmly of opinion that the Government of India Bill is full of provisions, including the so-called Communal Award, injurious to Indian interests and obnoxious to Indian opinion and should therefore be withdrawn.

(3) Resolved that this Conference appoints a committee of persons named, with power to add to their number, to take steps in co-operation with other associations with similar objects to carry on agitation against the Communal Award, as well as the Government of India Bill as a whole.

The speech of Dr. A. C. Sen, Chairman of the reception committee, was brief, to the point and telling. Said he :

We are painfully conscious of the fact that the arbiters of our destiny and the traditional bearers of the white man's burden still look on Indians as eternal babies who have to be spoon-fed, carried about in prams and amused with constitutional dolls.

It is time this concept of perpetual stewardship be once for all liquidated. It is time our masters realized that Indians are not to be listed as a lower species of humans, bearing the marks and stigmata of feeble-mindedness and who can be easily fooled for all time.

After briefly narrating the history of communal representation in India, he observed :

The system of representation adopted in the Communal Award in the name of the protection of minorities, is thus vitiated by a lack of uniformity of principles, is unjust, and is calculated to convert India into a permanent battle ground for inter-communal strife and discord. In the constitutions of the world a political or social minority (e.g. communist, Depressed classes, etc.) is not recognized and protection is provided to a minority in the matter of the use of their own language and script, in the practice of their religion, in the protection of their personal laws, customs, etc. Separate communal representation is non-existent in any other part of the world. In India it has intensified inter-communal differences.

A mixed or joint electorate constitutes an unifying agency, a nationalizing force, which compels leaders of different communities to meet each other and discuss various problems affecting national life and to give due regard to the needs of all citizens without any distinction of caste or creed or race.

Communalism is a great canker which is eating into the vitals of the body politic. It is a perpetual stumbling-block in the path of national progress, and a sure menace to the working of any constitution based upon the principles of democracy and nationalism.

I appeal to all my countrymen to unite to kill this canker, to sink all domestic differences, to close up our ranks, and to stand together as comrades determined to win freedom and to realize our common destiny.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the president, pointed out in his able address that 'Communal Award' is a misnomer, as it is not an arbitral award and therefore does not deserve the name, while it is much more than merely communal. He also clearly proved that it is the decision of His Majesty's Government.

How could the head of the British Government make an 'award' in his individual capacity? Suppose his colleagues in the Government did not approve of his 'award,' how could it be carried into effect? Consultation by him with his colleagues and the approval of his 'award' by a majority of them would in any case be a condition precedent of the announcement of his award.

Mr. Chintamani observed :

I am free to confess, ladies and gentlemen, that a smile, at once incredulous and irreverent, is forced to the lips when one hears solemn asseverations of complete British disinterestedness in the treatment of India's communal problem. Mr. Gokhale once said to me: "He makes a mistake who thinks that India's political struggle is a duel between the British and Indians. It is more of a triangular fight



among the British, Hindus and Muslims." He added that Euclid's proposition was not less true in politics than in geometry, that any two sides of a triangle are greater than the third. The natural thing would be for Hindus and Muslims to make common cause in the service of their common Motherland. Unfortunately this has not always happened: I will not pause to attempt an apportionment of blame for the regrettable result.

As regards the openly expressed notion cherished by some Muslim publicists that it is easy for Hindus as the majority community to pose as nationalists, the president said :

A distinguished Muslim publicist now no more, alleged that it was easy for Hindus as a majority community to pose as nationalists, and object to measures of minority protection on nationalist grounds. But I ask, first, whether the Hindus of Bengal and the Punjab are the majority community in their respective provinces and whether they have asked for concessions such as minorities elsewhere and majorities in those very provinces have been insisting upon. I ask next whether Hindus where they are the majority have objected to the adequate representation of minorities in those provinces. They have only objected to the division of the electorate into water-tight compartments.

He might have added, "Did not the Hindus agree to Muslims having 32 per cent of the seats in the Central Legislature, though they are less than 25 per cent of the population?"

The real reason for the failure of all attempts at a settlement is stated thus in the presidential speech :

The truth as I see it is that all attempt at a settlement failed because of the assurance in the Muslim mind that the British were behind them and they need not yield to the counsels of reason and justice. I ask you to tell me this. If in a suit before a court of law the plaintiff has foreknowledge that the trying judge for any reason is biased in his favour, would he ever come to terms with the defendant? The judge might declare from the bench in all solemnity that the subject-matter of the dispute is one eminently fit for settlement out of court, but if the plaintiff has reason to expect a decree with costs in his favour, why on earth should he forego any part of his exaggerated claim? In the present case the British Government encouraged the Muslim deputation of 1906, the Viceroy committed himself against territorial and in favour of communal representation without waiting to hear a word on the other side,—in fact almost without the other party knowing what was happening,—agitation in favour of separate electorates was countenanced when the Secretary of State betrayed unreadiness to allow them, and the Government, in the face of strong adverse agitation committed themselves to the novel pledge that separate electorates would be kept up for as long as the Muslims wanted and would not be abolished except by their leave—as if no non-Moslems had a stake in the country—, and Muslims of Nationalist opinions were kept at arm's length in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference.

In moving the first resolution Pandit

Madan Mohan Malaviya made an impressive speech in Hindi. Towards its close he was almost overpowered with emotion. The following is a very brief summary of what he said :

He said that the Award would not help any community except the European. . . . Unity, he said, could not be achieved between the Muslims and the Hindus so long as there remained a third party. Their efforts which were crowned with success at Allahabad were frustrated by the Secretary of State. He declared that if only Indians were allowed to govern India on a joint electorate system, there would not remain a single member of the Depressed Classes and the economic condition of everybody would improve by leaps and bounds. Contrasting the conditions here with foreign countries, especially Japan, he said that, while during the last 50 years Japan had built up a huge trade and industry, India had gone down under foreign domination.

In supporting the first resolution Maulvi Abdus Samad, M.I.C. (Bengal), said

That by the Award the British Government had now secured a division between the Hindu and Muslim communities and the day was not far off when even the Muslim community would be thus divided into several sections.

Mr. Abdul Majid Khan of Lahore declared :

The communal electorates would not help the Muslim community economically in the least. They had created in the community a body who were exploiting Muslims and were helping the bureaucracy and themselves.

The Communal Decision is intended to punish those against whom it discriminates and it has really punished those sections of the Indian people whom it favours, as they have been thus largely deprived of the sympathy and co-operation of other sections of the people.

### *Dr. Moonje's Address at Andhra Congress Nationalist Conference*

Dr. B. S. Moonje presided over the first Andhra Provincial Congress Nationalist Conference held at Guntur on the 20th February last. His presidential address begins with a lucid exposition of the principle of what is known as Responsive Co-operation, a phrase coined by Lokamanya Tilak. Dr. Moonje said that, both by temperament and conviction, he was a Responsivist and the philosophy of non-violent non-co-operation did not appeal to him.

The address deals with various other topics in the frank manner characteristic of the speaker. One of its outstanding sections is



that in which he seeks to exorcise the defeatist mentality of the Hindus and make them a confident and virile community. He tries to combat the belief, common among Congressists, that Swaraj cannot be won without Hindu-Moslem unity. It is this belief which has given most, if not all, Muslim leaders their bargaining power both with the Government and the Congress. They appear to have felt that if the Hindus cannot win Swaraj without their co-operation, that fact places them in a position to lay down the terms of that co-operation. The British rulers, too, know that the political movement in India will acquire great momentum if the Muslims join it *en masse*. That leads them to offer inducements to the Muslims to keep aloof from the national movement.

There is no Hindu leader who would not value Muslim co-operation if it could be had without sacrificing nationalistic principles. But there are some leaders who think and feel that the Hindu community can win Swaraj by its own efforts. Dr. Moonje is one of them, and he has the courage of his convictions. He declares in effect in this address: "We are determined to win Swaraj. We would welcome non-Hindu collaboration in this great endeavour. But if the worst comes to the worst, if non-Hindus do not make common cause with us, if British imperialists continue to succeed in isolating the Hindus, that ought not to keep them back from the great national enterprise of winning self-rule."

Mahatma Gandhi said at least once, and probably more often, that, not to speak of the entire Indian population, the people of Gujarat alone can win Swaraj for India. Now, the Gujarati-speaking people, mostly Hindus, are one crore in round numbers. If it be possible for a crore to win Swaraj for India, why should it not be possible for twenty-six crores of Hindus to do so? Of course, Swaraj would not mean Hindu raj, though the Hindus alone might win it. In a self-ruling India Hindus and non-Hindus would all be free citizens enjoying equal civic and political rights.

There is nothing absurd in the idea of Hindus alone, if need be, winning Swaraj. Has not the struggle for Swaraj been actually carried on up till now mostly by Hindus? Have not the Hindus suffered and sacrificed

most for it? We do not in the least undervalue the sacrifices made by non-Hindus. But the facts are as stated above.

India's struggle for freedom, so far as we can see, must depend for success on non-violent methods—though, of course, in the present state of human civilization Indians must be prepared to have recourse to arms to defend and maintain that freedom when won. But just as in armed endeavours for freedom, it is only sections of the peoples struggling to be free who are actual participants in the fight, so in our non-violent endeavour to be free it can be only a small part of the population who will be the actual workers—though they must have the backing of the rest. There is nothing incredible in the Hindu community practically supplying both the workers and the backers.

The ideal for each section or group of the people should be to strive for democratic Swaraj. The co-operation of other sections or groups should be welcome. But if such co-operation was not received, still each section should continue the endeavour with all its strength.

### *Gubernatorial Powers Neither Hindu Nor Muslim, Nor British*

Following the White Paper and the J. P. C. Report, the Government of India Bill gives the Governor-General of India and the provincial Governors the power to enact Governor-General's Acts and Governor's Acts individually as they may think fit. Hindu sovereigns can and could become despotic oppressors but they did not and do not possess the power to make laws. To rule lawfully, they must rule according to the sacred laws of the Hindus and Hindu customs. Similarly, Muslim sovereigns could and can become tyrannic oppressors, but they had and have no power to make laws by themselves. For their rule to be lawful, they must rule according to Islamic law, custom and tradition. Therefore, the power to make laws according to their will which the Government of India Bill proposes to give the Governor-General and the provincial Governors is entirely foreign to Hindu and Muslim ideas, ideals and traditions. Nor is it in consonance with British ideals and practice. The British sovereign cannot



himself make any law. Hence the gubernatorial powers going to be given to the chief satrap and subordinate satraps of India virtually make them more powerful than Hindu, Musahnan, and British sovereigns !

### *Need of Political Sannyasis*

Speaking at Meerut as president of the Servants of the People Society anniversary, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel rightly stressed the need of whole-time political workers. He said :

Amateur and holiday politicians could not do justice to their work and to the country. "We need political sanyasis pledged to the life of poverty and sacrifice," he added.

Referring to the present political situation in the country he said, "There is no cause for dejection. We have not abandoned the struggle but had changed the front. We boycotted the councils in order to demonstrate the nation's strength to the Government and we are entering them again in order to undo the wrong done by previous members of the Assembly when Congressmen were rotting in jails. We are not ashamed to acknowledge our defeat but it is only to strengthen our energies and am sure there is no power on earth which can combat the next fight."—*United Press*.

### *The Princes' Resolution Regarding Federation*

A meeting of the Princes and their Ministers was held on February 25 last at Bombay for the purpose of discussing the Government of India Bill and Instrument of Instructions. Practically all important States were represented, these including Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Travancore, Bikaner, Bhopal, Patiala, Indore, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Bhavnagar and Kashmir. Nearly forty Rulers of Indian States and nearly double that number of Ministers are reported to have attended the meeting :

The Secretary to His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes has issued the following communique about the meeting.

"A meeting of the Princes and their Ministers, which took place today under the Presidency of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala considered the report of the Committee of Ministers on the India Bill and the opinion of counsels who had been engaged to advise the Princes on this question. A full discussion took place in which Their Highnesses the Nawab of Bhopal, Maharaja of Bikaner, Maharaja of Patiala and the Maharaja of Rewa, and Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer took part, and it was emphasised that before the Bill could be considered as accept-

able to the States it was necessary that it should be amended in certain essential respects, and the conference unanimously endorsed the recommendations of the Ministers' Committee and in conformity with these recommendations decided to put forward certain amendments. A resolution indicating strong feelings of the States on the present proposals was also passed."

It is understood the following resolution was moved by the Maharaja of Patiala, seconded by the Nawab of Bhopal and supported by the Maharaja of Bikaner :

"The Princes and their representatives present at this meeting have examined the Government of India Bill and the draft of the Instrument of Accession and read and considered the report made by the Committee of Ministers presided over by Sir Akbar Hydari, which has recently dealt with some of the important provisions of the said Bill and Draft of Instrument of Accession. They have also considered the opinion of legal advisers and experts, whose views have been obtained thereon. While reserving to themselves the right to offer further observations and criticism in due course, the Princes and the representatives of States present at this meeting fully endorse the observations and criticisms contained in the report submitted by the Committee of Ministers to the extent that Committee have been able to deal with the matters in question. This meeting desires to emphasise that in many respects the Bill and the Instrument of Accession depart from the agreements arrived at during the meetings of the representatives of the States with the members of His Majesty's Government and regrets to note that the Bill and the Instrument of Accession do not secure those vital interests and fundamental requisites of the States on which they have throughout laid great emphasis. This meeting is of definite opinion that in their present form and without satisfactory modifications of and alterations to fundamental points the Bill and Instrument of Accession cannot be regarded as acceptable to Indian States."

"The Princes' Conference passed the resolution by an overwhelming majority."—*Associated Press*.

The Princes' decision has caused some sensation, as the House of Commons debate relating to it shows. But, of course, they may be brought round by suitable concessions made by amending the Government of India Bill and the Instrument of Accession, and also most probably by diplomatic persuasion and pressure.

### *Unity Through Culture*

The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, has all along stood for cultural unity, not only of the different communities of India, but of the East and the West as well. He himself and his university of Visva-bharati are embodiments of that ideal. In our own humble way, we also have written and spoken in furtherance of the ideal of cultural unity. Years ago, in



the now defunct journal *Welfare*, we wrote on that subject, and have written on it also in our Bengali and English monthlies.

We are glad to note that the Poet spoke on it in Lahore.

LAHORE, Feb. 22.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore made a most feeling appeal for communal unity and for a change of heart towards cultural understanding, addressing a representative gathering of journalists, arranged by his host, Mr. Dhaniram Bhalla this evening. About seventy journalists, representing the English and vernacular presses were present. Dr. Tagore said that his heart filled with sorrow and shame to see bickerings and warring camps on a purely religious basis. Religion was meant to be a unifier of mankind: it has been made an instrument of severance and discord. Such a thing was witnessed in Europe only in the middle ages, but in India they were witnessing it today in the progressive twentieth century boasting of its scientific outlook.

He drew a forceful picture of how the West was culturally united, although politically divided, which made its position unassailable to the rest of the world. "Their idea of civilization might appear wrong to us," he added, "but they are vulnerable only to themselves, but not to others. We on the other hand, having our own ancient cultures, are neither capable of mutual assimilation nor understanding, and the result is our present condition, of which a solution is not apparent unless it comes through a change of heart." Herein the press as mouthpiece of the populace could do more than anyone else. As one, who had tried to blaze the path towards cultural unity through his *Vishva-bharati* where all cultures were welcomed and nourished, he appealed to Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs to bring their minds and hearts together and become culturally one entity, otherwise their efforts in the political field alone would be like building on quicksands of unreality.—*Associated Press*.

### *Allowances to Families of 1818 Regulation III Prisoners*

It appears from the reply given in the Assembly by Sir Henry Craik to a query by Dr. P. N. Banerjee relating to State prisoners under Regulation III of 1818 that no family allowances had been granted in the case of twelve such prisoners, either because they had no dependants or their detention did not affect the circumstances of their relatives. The comments of *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* on this reply are :

Good. But were any of these prisoners earning any income when they were free? Sir Henry did not know that. It is very convenient not to know such things for, when a man earns anything it goes to benefit his relatives to some extent at least, and its stoppage undoubtedly affects their circumstances. But has any application for allowance been received from any relative of these prisoners? The question was rather too straight to be evaded. So notice was demanded by the Home Member.

*Advance* observes :

This is an extremely simple and yet effective answer. Only their presence in the midst of their relatives would affect the safety and tranquillity of the country and destroy the foundations of law and order; it does not matter whether their detention minus allowances reduces their relatives or dependants to starvation. There are many men who can carry on without anything in their pockets. Prisoners are men who have no obligations to relatives, or if they have any obligations, they may be safely ignored. The only thing barring their dangerous activities which might lead the country to chaos and anarchy is a cut in the salary of Sir Henry Craik and his fellow Civilian; and their financial obligations are so many that the tax-payer in the interest of social order must agree to restore the cut . . . .

*Forward* writes :

Judging from the numerous letters which appeared in the Press from time to time, it appears to us that the Government have no fixed principle in the matter and that more often than not, the grant or otherwise of family allowance depends absolutely on the recommendations of the local officers for which no reason need publicly be assigned. In this connection it is pertinent to refer to the Home Member's reply that in the cases of 12 State Prisoners no allowance has been granted because "their detention did not affect the circumstances of their relatives." Here the Hon'ble Member ignores the fact that circumstances do change and anyone who is not a dependant today may be a dependant tomorrow.

### *Sir Hari Ram Goenka*

Sir Hari Ram Goenka, Kt., C. I. E. passed away on February 27 last at the advanced age of 72 at his Calcutta residence.

He was a multi-millionaire, the acknowledged leader of the Marwari community and one of the foremost business men of his time. He was a commissioner of the municipality of Calcutta from 1891-1923 and also of the Port Trust for a period. He was an Honorary Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta till the end of his life.

In Indian commercial circle, he was a well-known leader for a long time. He was the President of the Marwari Association, the Vice-President of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, and also a director of the P. & O. Banking Corporation.

He was for a time the Vice-President of the British Indian Association.

He was connected with most of the charitable institutions in the country and his private charities were also numerous. He retired from active business about 15 years ago and devoted his time exclusively to religion.



### *All-India Detenu Day*

Sunday, the 3rd day of the current month of March, has been fixed as the All-India Detenu day. These persons have been deprived of their liberty without trial. Though the public cannot restore them to liberty, it is necessary to remember that there are at present more than 2500 of them. We can at least show that we think of them and feel for them.

### *Starving the "Nation-building" Departments in Bengal*

Bengal has again been presented with a deficit budget, and yet the salary cuts must be restored! Similar is the case of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. But in the U. P. deficit budgets are not a chronic ailment, in Bengal they are. No wonder, therefore, that our members of council should complain against the starvation of the "nation-building" departments. Even with the money left in the hands of the Bengal Government after the heavy exactions made by the Central Government, much more than is done can be done for these departments. But at the same time it must be admitted that the Bengal Government cannot do for Bengal what the other provincial Governments do for their provinces, because the Government of India takes away a much larger proportion of the revenues raised in Bengal than of the revenues raised in other provinces. This does not mean that successive Bengal Governments and Governors have done all that they should have done to keep more money in Bengal. They have not.

### *No Subsidy for Indian Coastal Shipping*

In the Legislative Assembly,

Sir Joseph Bhore told Mr. Gadgil that the Government were aware that coastal trade in Great Britain was carried on almost entirely by British ships. There was no legal bar to participation in that trade, of ships owned, controlled or managed by the Indians.

Those who are engaged in British shipping are so wealthy, enterprising and capable that, in addition to holding their own in their coasting traffic and in ocean traffic, they have been able to capture the traffic in India and elsewhere; and this strong position of theirs

is not a little due to British political power and various kinds of help given to them by the British Government. On the other hand, Indian ships and shippers have been ousted from their own coastal and other traffic from the days of the East India Company by means which will not bear scrutiny, and they do not get any effective State help. Therefore, to suggest that Indian shippers might capture some of the British coastal trade would be to suggest that a dwarf should fight a giant or that an infant should wrestle with a grown-up athlete. It is an excruciatingly funny idea.

Replying to the same member Sir Joseph Bhore further said that the Government were aware that the Indian shipping companies have had to meet with severe competition from the companies already established in coastal trade. Government did not consider that in the present circumstances grant of subsidies was the appropriate method of affording assistance to Indian shipping.

Some heat was imported in the supplementary questions on Mr. Gadgil's question. Mr. B. Das enquired if the Government thought that grant of subsidies was not the best way of affording assistance to Indian companies, what other way the Government considered best to help them.

Sir Joseph Bhore: The best way is through negotiations and a friendly settlement.

Mr. Satyamurthi: What are the circumstances which make the Government think that subsidies are not of any help to the Indian shipping companies?

Sir Joseph Bhore: We do not think that system to be appropriate.

Mr. Satyamurthi: Negotiations and a friendly settlement, the Government say are the best means, but after the Government of India Bill is passed will there be any scope for negotiation and friendly settlement?

Sir Joseph Bhore: Certainly.

Mr. Satyamurthi: Subsidies should not be given, the Government say, but what are the other kinds of help contemplated?

Sir Joseph Bhore: Other kind of help is that which has already been given.

Mr. Satyamurthi: With what result? Companies after companies have been wiped out of existence and only two per cent are in Indian hands now.

Sir Joseph Bhore: That is entirely untrue to say.

Mr. Satyamurthi: But what is the condition of the Indian Companies?

Sir Joseph Bhore: If the Honourable member will go and enquire he will realize that.

Mr. Satyamurthi: Is not the Scindia Company at the mercy of the B. I. Company?

Sir Joseph Bhore: That matter was settled satisfactorily during the last two months.

Mr. Satyamurthi: Is not 98 per cent of coastal traffic in the hands of the foreigners?

Sir Joseph Bhore: I do not accept those figures for the moment.

Mr. Satyamurthi: What are the correct figures for the next moment?

Sir Joseph Bhore: I want notice for that. I do not carry figures in my head.—*United Press.*



### *Defeats Inflicted on the Government of India*

The Opposition in the Legislative Assembly have been able to inflict on the Government defeat after defeat with increasing majorities. In democratically governed countries one such defeat would have led to the fall of the Governing Party and the instalment of the Opposition in power. But in India the Government is irremovable and, therefore, can afford to be defeated any number of times with nonchalance. When Supplies are wholly refused, or when there are drastic cuts, the Government can have the money required by "certification."

These defeats are moral defeats and, so far as transfer of power into Indian hands is concerned, practically valueless. Nevertheless, they have the merit of showing repeatedly that Britain does not rule India with the consent of her people.

### *The Railway Budget*

All that has been said by the leading oppositionists in the course of the debate on the Railway Budget is true. The railways were constructed and exist mainly for the maintenance of British supremacy and British trade, and the higher ranks of the railway services are almost a close preserve for Britishers and Anglo-Indians, though there has been a very slight improvement in this respect in recent years. Third class passengers, who contribute the bulk of the money earned by carrying passengers, continue to be neglected, and goods rates continue to be manipulated in the interests of British importers of raw materials from India and British exporters of manufactured articles to India.

### *The Federal Railway Authority*

In order that the railways may be maintained, extended and managed in the interests of Indian passengers, Indian merchants and Indian industrialists, and in order that they may be manned by Indians (including Anglo-Indians) from top to bottom, it is necessary that they should be under the control of the Legislature. The first step taken to make the railways independent of effective control of the Legislature was the decision to constitute a statutory railway board. To make the best

of a bad bargain, Indian legislators wanted that this railway authority should be constituted according to legislation by the Indian legislature. But the Government of India Bill has forestalled them. Part VIII of the Bill provides for the constitution of the Federal Railway Authority. Among other clauses in this part, there is one (clause 186) which lays down that "Bills and amendments for regulating rates and fares" are "to require recommendations of the Governor-General" !

So this part of the Bill, like other parts, certainly requires to be criticized in the Central Legislature (and also outside). The only question is in what connection such criticism in the Assembly would be in order.

### *The Establishment of a Statutory Railway Board in India*

In the course of his speech in the Assembly on his motion for the reduction of the demand for the Railway Board to one rupee, which was carried by a large majority,

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai recalled the Simon Report and the proposals for constitution of a Ministry of Transport so that the railways might become responsible to the people of this country. But the Government of India gave a new direction by a despatch in 1930 in which they proposed the establishment of a statutory board in India.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai was going on with his arguments, which were unexceptionable, when

Sir N. N. Sircar, leader of the House, raised a point of order stating that only limited discussion could take place at this stage as governed by previous ruling.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai said that the motion having been made no point of order could arise but only point of relevance.

The President asked Sir N. N. Sircar to direct his remarks to the question of relevance.

Sir N. N. Sircar quoted a number of rulings in the past and also Mayes' Parliamentary Practice stating that there was a definite distinction between the stage of general discussion and stage of supply and that at this stage Mr. Desai could discuss only administration of the existing laws and criticise the administration and questions regarding legislation or foreign domination in politics and military policy did not arise.

The President's ruling, which we consider to be fair, followed in due course.

Sir Abdur Rahim, the President, in upholding Sir N. N. Sircar's objection said that there was no substantial distinction between the point of order raised in the ordinary way and the question as to the relevancy of a particular speech. The Chair had looked up all references quoted and said they



established the point of Sir N. N. Sircar's that discussion on a motion for reduction of grant like this must be confined to questions of administration under the existing acts and not discussion of any proposed legislation on the subject. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai had referred to 1934 debate but on that occasion no point of order was raised and no objection was taken that on a motion for reduction of grant in the railway budget any such discussion was not relevant. Apparently Government for purposes of expediency or convenience did not raise any such objection and discussion was allowed to proceed. It seemed to the Chair that practice had been well-established that general questions of policy might be raised in general discussion on the railway budget or in the case of the general budget on the Finance Bill, but when motions for reduction of particular grant came up, only questions of administration could be discussed. The Chair therefore, held that discussion of any proposed legislation regarding the railway authority would not be in order on this motion. At the same time, the Chair would give liberty to members to make passing references to proposed legislation as motive for refusal of grants.

### *Mr. Jinnah's "personal self-respect"*

In the course of his speech in support of his motion in the Assembly for the acceptance of the Communal Decision "so far as it goes," Mr. Jinnah said that

"His personal self-respect would never be satisfied unless the Indians themselves worked out an agreed formula."

And, therefore, in the meanwhile his non-personal and communal self-respect could not be satisfied without accepting a formula worked out by non-Indians which has insulted and wronged the vast majority of Indians and caused great disagreement among all of them.

### *The Communal Decision Accepted by Government and Muslims*

As the members of the Assembly who were returned as nominees of the Congress Parliamentary Board refrained from voting on Mr. Jinnah's motion for acceptance of the Communal Decision, it was carried by a large majority, consisting of official members, Government-nominated members and Mr. Jinnah's "independent" party of Muslim members.

The neutrality of Congress Parliamentary members was equivalent to tacit, though not to explicit and open, acceptance. This is tantamount to unintended betrayal of the cause of nationalism. As Congress adheres to the policy of neither accepting nor rejecting the

Decision, these members should have voted against the motion for its acceptance, as they would be bound to vote against a motion for its rejection also. This is a rather farcical position, but Congressmen have only themselves to thank for it.

### *Sir N. N. Sircar Does His Duty*

Though a member of the Government, Sir N. N. Sircar, the Law Member, did not vote with the other official members for the acceptance of the Communal Decision, but abstained from voting. He having as a non-official taken a leading part in the agitation against the Decision, his action was quite correct, and courageous. A non-Bengali ex-M. L. A. writes thus in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* on this incident :

The lead of Sir Nripendra Sircar, who could not conscientiously go into the Government lobby on the Communal Award even though he is the leader of the House, shows at once that the Hindu community has in the Cabinet of the Government of India a man of rare courage, a leader of outstanding character, who is prepared to sink or swim with the cause of the Hindus. This is the first time in the history of Indian nationalism and of the Central Legislature that its leader remained neutral. Sir Nripendra has fought for us at the Round Table Conference as no other Hindu leader fought. How can he go back on his past? He looks to the future, the good of his community.

Sir N. N. Sircar asked the Assembly to take a concrete view of things and to answer the question as to what degree "we have been prepared to subordinate communal, sectional and local conflict in national interests."

### *Mr. A. C. Chatterjee*

Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, a brother of Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, who was an officer in the League of Nations office, and who had come out to India on leave, was killed in a motor accident last month in Calcutta. His untimely and tragic death creates a void in the ranks of the very small group of Indians who are employed in the League office or in its International Labour Organization. Before going to Geneva he was the chief officer of the Associated Press in Bombay. In Geneva he was at first employed in the League of Nations Information Section. Later he was transferred to the Political Section. Many Indian visitors to Geneva recall with sadness his and his wife's genial hospitality.



### *Srimati Priyambada Devi*

Srimati Priyambada Devi, the Bengali poetess, who died last month in Calcutta at the age of 63, was a niece of the late Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri. Her mother is still alive. Srimati Priyambada Devi was a contributor to the leading Bengali monthlies and was connected with some women's organizations. She was the author of a book of poems named *Dhara* and of *Anath*, a novel.

### *An Absurd Demand*

The Council of the All-India Muslim League demands unanimously that British Baluchistan be raised to the standard of a "Governor's province." Just think of an area containing only 463,508 inhabitants being made a Governor's province. It is easy to call the tune when others have to pay the piper.

The alternative demand of the Council, namely, that British Baluchistan be amalgamated with Sind, is not unreasonable. Its practicability ought to be considered.

### *Subhas Chandra Bose's Book*

Sir Samuel Hoare has said in the House of Commons that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's book on the Indian struggle has been proscribed by the Government of India "on the ground that it tended generally to encourage methods of terrorism and of direct action."

On the other hand there have been eulogistic references in the *Manchester Guardian* and some other British papers and Mr. George Lansbury, leader of the opposition in the Commons, has praised it.

Also, the following is the opinion of Mr. W. N. Ewar, the foreign editor of the *Daily Herald* of London. In the course of a review of the book which appeared in that paper on the 28th January last, Mr. Ewar writes :

"Bose, of course, is stamped as an extremist, a wild man, a menace to society. Well, here is his book.

"It is calm, sane, dispassionate. I think it the ablest work I have read on current Indian politics. He has his own opinions, vigorously held, yet never unfairly expressed.

"This is the book of no fanatic but of a singularly able mind, the book of an acute, thoughtful, constructive mind, of a man who, while still under forty, would be an asset and an ornament to the political life of any country.

"But for the past ten years he has spent most

of his life in jail: and is now an exile broken in health.

"That is one tragedy of the Indian situation."

### *Instrument of Instructions*

Clause 13, Sub-clause (2) of the Government of India Bill runs as follows :

"The validity of anything done by the Governor-General shall not be called in question on the ground that it was done otherwise than in accordance with any Instruments of Instructions issued to him."

Even without this provision the Governor-General, armed with the other powers given to him in it, would have been a great autocrat. But this provision absolves him from all responsibility for his actions.

Therefore, it very greatly minimizes the value of the Instrument of Instructions, of which the draft has been cabled out to India by Reuter.

### *Ravages of Malaria in Ceylon*

Malaria has been taking a heavy toll of lives in Ceylon. The sufferers deserve every sympathy and help. Bengal being perhaps the most malarious province in India, we can realize the distress of the Sinhalese.

### *Madame Halide Edib Hanum's Advice*

In the course of her impressive address to an audience of some 7000 persons in the quadrangle of Ashutosh Hall in Calcutta. Madame Halide Edib Hanum said :

#### HOW TO CREATE A NATION.

"Let me say that no matter how many great men and great women you may have, how many universities you have, unless you go down and solve the economic problems of the masses so that they have a decent standard of living, if you do not go down and give them education and teach them to love India above everything else you cannot create a nation."

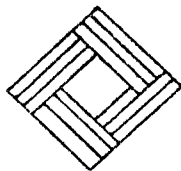
#### HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY.

Referring to the contents of a letter which she had received from a gentleman of this city she said: "the letter touched one important question and as your Vice-Chancellor had described, the fundamental question of Hindu Moslem unity. It is your family affair. You will have differences but it is best that young Indians who love India above everything else should come together and solve it themselves. Whatever you may think in India, we in Turkey do not believe Islam to be a communal religion. Islam understood in its fundamentals, which in its purest sense mean co-operation, and equality of men. I believe if there is a single Muslim in so many hundreds of Hindu brothers for him India should be a part and parcel of his religion. Therefore, to him it is India first and not his community first. May he be one or one million, his duty is to stand shoulder to shoulder with every child of India. India belongs to him as it belongs to everyone else.



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## "DOMINION STATUS" AND THE SAFEGUARDS TO GIVE REALITY TO IT

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I  
**S**OME men in authority in Britain talk as if "Dominion Status" were an elusive bird. Try as hard as they may, they find it difficult to sprinkle salt on its tail.

Yet it is within my recollection that, not quite fourteen years ago, the walls of St. Stephens, where the "Mother of Parliaments" meets, rang with the echoes of a merry chase. Not only was this bird, now represented as elusive, caught, but it was put on the dissecting table and each limb was labelled.

Let me sketch, in bold outline, the incidents that then occurred :

The Member of Parliament for Chelsea—Lieut.-Colonel Sir Samuel John Gurney Hoare—wearing the Uniform of the Deputy-Lieutenant of the County of Norfolk, moved, on December 14, 1921, "that an humble Address be presented to His Majesty conveying thanks for the speech delivered that day and signifying the Commons' readiness to confirm and ratify" the Anglo-Irish articles of agreement signed eight days earlier. This motion was seconded by Mr. G. Barnes, who not long before had been a member of the War Cabinet and who wore "morning dress" for the occasion, no doubt to mark its important character.

From a statement subsequently made by the Prime Minister (Mr. David Lloyd George) it appeared that in asking these gentlemen to move and to second the Address the Government had departed from the usual custom. "We generally select for the moving and seconding of the address," he said, "members of, what I may call, budding promise ; but we regarded this occasion as being so exceptional that it was thought desirable to select men whose promise had matured into reputation and respect in the House." \*

In the course of an utterance displaying signs of careful preparation, Sir Samuel Hoare declared that his (the British) people possessed a "very generous" nature. "When they make up their minds," he declared, "they do not higgie about details." Because they were "a generous people" they "said to their former enemies (the Irish) :

"Come and take your part in the British Commonwealth as full partners." †

Though a Unionist, Sir Samuel made it clear that by "full partnership" he did not mean that Ireland should remain a part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and

\* Parliamentary Debates. House of Commons. Wednesday, 14th December, 1921. Vol. 149, No. 1. Official Report, Col. 25.

† *Ibid.*, Col. 9.



Ireland, for he admitted that "the union" which his Party had "tried to maintain" was "being transmuted into a union of 'purer essence'." Just what this "union of purer essence" was he did not indicate: but he administered to himself and to men of like political belief the consolation that if they had "fought for a lost cause, that cause" had "not been lost through any fault of" their own. \*

The omissions left by Sir Samuel Hoare, who naturally found himself in a difficult position, were soon made good by Mr. Lloyd George, who, throughout his long political career, has shown great skill in getting out of tight corners. He referred to "Dominion Status" in so direct a manner that the editor of the *Parliamentary Debates* (Mr. Turner Parkins) used that phrase as a "cross-head," † thereby facilitating reference.

According to the Prime Minister, "the main operation of" the scheme embodied in the Anglo-Irish Treaty to ratify which Parliament had been specially summoned (within a few days of Christmas) was "the raising of Ireland to the status of a Dominion of the British Empire." He went on to describe that status as "that of a Free State within the Empire." §

He played with the question "what does 'Dominion status' mean?" It was "difficult and dangerous to give a definition." He—and the Dominion Ministers, realized "the danger of rigidity and the danger of limiting" their "constitutions by too many finalities." He nevertheless affirmed that "Dominion Status" meant, "in practice, complete control over their" (the Dominion people's) "affairs without any interference from any other part of the Empire." He elaborated that statement by adding that the people enjoying the "Dominion Status" are

"...the rulers of their own hearth—finance, administration, legislation, so far as their domestic affairs are concerned—and the representatives of the Sovereign will act on the advice of Dominion Ministers, that is, in so far as internal affairs are concerned....."

"I now come to the question of external affairs. The position of the Dominions in reference to external affairs has been completely revolutionised

in the course of the last four years. \* ...The Dominions since the war have been given equal rights with Great Britain in the control of the foreign policy of the Empire." †

## II

Considerations, chiefly of space, compel me to dismiss in a few words the latter—the external—aspect of "Dominion Status." Since Mr. Lloyd George spoke these words fourteen years ago, there have been developments of a most important character.

He expected, at that moment, that :

(1) The Dominions would be content to use "the machinery of the British Government—the Foreign Office, the Ambassadors"—for dealing with external affairs. He indeed went to the length of laying down that postulate. With the emphasis that men who declaim (rather than write) fall into the habit of using, he declared :

"The machinery must remain here (in Downing Street). It is impossible that it could be otherwise, unless you had a Council of Empire, with representatives elected for the purpose. Apart from that, you must act through one instrument. The instrument of the foreign policy of the Empire is the British Foreign Office. That has been accepted by all the Dominions as inevitable." ‡

(2) As a corollary to the admission of the Dominions into the framing of foreign policy and the vesting of control over that policy in "the whole Empire," instead of solely in Britain, as had been the case till 1917, certain advantages accrued, in Mr. Lloyd George's estimation, to Britain. To quote him :

"The advantage to us is that joint control means joint responsibility and when the burden of Empire has become so vast it is well that we should have the shoulders of these young giants under the burden to help us along." §

The Dominions have shown great wariness in proceeding along the path chalked out by Mr. Lloyd George. Instead of depending wholly upon "the machinery of the British Government—the Foreign Office—the ambassadors," they have developed their own ministries of the Exterior and appointed, in countries with which they had important dealings, ministers taking orders, not from the

\* *Ibid.* Col. 12.

† *Ibid.* Col. 27.

§ *Ibid.* Col. 27.

\* Since the meeting of the first Imperial War Conference in 1917.

† *Ibid.* Col. 28.

‡ *Ibid.* Col. 29.

§ *Ibid.* Col. 30.



Foreign Office in London, but from their respective Dominion capitals. Unless I am much mistaken, this policy is likely to receive further emphasis as time goes on, the emphasis being placed upon exclusive Dominion "Control of Dominion external affairs and not upon joint control, as envisaged by the British Prime Minister of that day.

Nor have the Dominions shown any avidity to assume burdens unless they were burdens of a clearly defined nature, more or less of direct concern to them. The interest taken by the Australasian Dominions in the Singapore naval base is an instance in point.

The inwardness of the situation is that each Dominion Parliament is exceedingly jealous of its hard-won, *undivided* control over its own affairs—internal as well as external. It is, therefore, on the look-out to avoid entanglements, even though those entanglements may be proposed in the name of the Empire.

So long as this feeling lasts—and, in my view, it will not only last but will become stronger with the flux of time—an Imperial Council, sitting more or less permanently, or, at any rate, meeting quite frequently for controlling the foreign policy of the Empire, with the inevitable corollary of dividing the cost among the various units of the Empire, will remain a vision, at least for the Dominions, except possibly in the case of another world conflagration. It is not at all improbable that were an unprovoked attack to be made upon Britain, her daughters across the sea would rally to her defence, readily and wholeheartedly. In normal circumstances, however, men in power in the Dominions will keep sentiment outside the Domain of Dominion finance, sure in the knowledge that the "young giants" have enough burdens of their own to bear and would visit with displeasure any of their agents who may have the hardihood to add to those burdens. Such at least has been the experience gained during the past fourteen years.

### III

My concern is not, however, with any vision beheld by Mr. Lloyd George in years gone by, but with his appreciation of the

"Dominion Status" as that status was regarded at a moment when he spoke with the authority attaching to the high office of the principal Minister of His Majesty the King-Emperor George V. Circumstances of a compelling character had led him to undertake a task that he might have liked to shirk.

The "treaty" he and his colleagues, including Mr. (now Sir) Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Winston Churchill and the Earl of Birkenhead, had made with certain Irishmen—representatives of the Sinn Féin (or "We Alone") Party in Ireland—was being furiously assailed. With the Conservative and Liberal forces at his beck and call, he could easily smash the attack in the British Parliament. The opposition offered by Mr.—or President (as he was called by his followers) de Valera in the Dail (of which more later)—was, however, an entirely different matter.

What Mr. Lloyd George said at Westminster—or did not say—might have important repercussions across the Irish Sea. His attitude and his words could either convert the truce then existing into peace, or lead to the resumption of hostilities, which would have important reactions in the United States of America, Australia and in every other part of the world where lived men and women in whose veins Irish blood coursed.

He rose to the occasion, as he had done during the most difficult period of the war. His elucidation of "Dominion Status"—especially as it had been conceded under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Agreement—did much to set doubts at rest in Dublin and to pave the way for the acceptance of that agreement by the narrow majority of six.

### IV

In indicating the nature and extent of the powers that, for the time being, Britain was to withhold from the Irish Free State, Mr. Lloyd George threw a flood of light upon "Dominion Status." His remarks regarding the military and naval aspect, for instance, were illuminating. To quote him :

"Now I come to the first of the great difficulties—the security of this country if full and complete Dominion Government were conferred upon Ireland. My Right Hon. Friend, the Member for Paisley (Mr. Asquith) pointed out in his letter to the



"Times" that, that meant that they would have complete control over their army and navy.\*

The arguments advanced by the Prime Minister of Britain for placing certain limitations upon the Irish Free State in respect of the fighting forces are of no interest here, for this article is concerned with the general issues arising from "Dominion Status" and not with the justice or wisdom of the position assumed by Britain in regard to the Irish Free State, or otherwise. I therefore pass over them.

The point to be noted is that according to not only Mr. George but also Mr. Asquith (an ex-Premier) "complete control over" the "army and navy" are implicit in the "Dominion Status."

The bearing of that status on tariffs is also an important matter. I therefore quote Mr. George *in extenso* on the subject :

"I now come to the question of tariffs. Here I confess that I was very reluctant to assent to any proposition which would involve Ireland having the right to impose tariffs upon British goods, although undoubtedly it was a Dominion right. Ultimately and only very reluctantly we assented to this for the reason that Ireland is more dependent upon Britain in the matter of trade than is Britain upon Ireland. For Irish produce, especially agricultural products, England is substantially the only purchaser. That is certainly not the case in the opposite way. Therefore the danger of any menace to our trade and commerce from this quarter is one which is entirely in our own hands ; but I did think it was very important that there should be a protection against any legislation which would exclude British ships from the coastal trade with Ireland, and that was inserted in the Agreement."†

The manner in which this particular attribute of the Dominion Status was conceded to the Irish Free State is again not germane to the present discussion. The two points of significance are that the head of His Majesty's Government at the time admitted freely and unequivocally that :

(1) "the right to impose tariffs upon British goods" was "undoubtedly... a Dominion right," and

(2) a unit of the Empire enjoying "Dominion Status" was competent to exclude British ships from its coastal trade, unless it had been expressly debarred from so doing.

Mr. George himself summed up his concept of the "Dominion Status" as it was conceded

by the Anglo-Irish Agreement of December 6, 1921, thus :

".....the Irish people as a nation should be free in their own land to work out their national destinies in their own way."‡

His rough and ready elucidation of the term "Dominion Status" may not satisfy legalists : but it will serve the purpose of all practical men. If "Dominion Status" be interpreted as control over the "hearth—finance—administration, legislation" without interference from any other part of the Empire, few persons, I fancy, would cavil at that interpretation.

It is worthy of note that those doctrines as enunciated by the head of His Majesty's Government were not challenged from any quarter of the House. Even the legalists present did not take exception to this interpretation.

## V

This elucidation in the House of Commons did not, it may be noted, stand by itself. "The articles of agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland" contained clauses the framing of which had caused almost endless wrangling and toil.

In virtue of Article 1, Ireland, to be known as the Irish Free State, was to

".....have the same constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa."

It was to have "a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Ireland and an Executive responsible to that Parliament."†

Except in certain specified matters, the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government was to be "that of the Dominion of Canada." For the sake of clarity it was specially provided (Article 2) that this relationship was to be governed not merely according to the law of the Constitution, which had become out of date § in many respects, but also according to

\* *Ibid.*, Col. 48.

† *Dail Eireann-Buan Ordurite* (Standing Orders) *Im I-Gno Publis* (Vol. I : Public Business, p. 146.)

§ See the Author's article "Legal Fictions and Constitutional Practice in the Dominions," in *The Modern Review* for February, 1935.

\* *Ibid.*, Col. 33.

† *Ibid.*, Col. 38.



the "practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada."\*

So insistent were the authors of this document upon removing any room for ambiguity that Article 3 further provided:

"The representative of the Crown in Ireland shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments."†

## VI

It would have been a simple matter for the Coalition Government, with its large, almost mechanically operating, majority, to push through Parliament a measure conceding the Irish Free State a constitution framed along the lines laid down in the Treaty. But that procedure was not adopted.

The explanation made in this connection is so valuable that it should be given in Mr. George's own words. As officially reported, he said:

"...we are going to follow the example which has been set in the framing of every constitution throughout the Empire. The constitution is drafted and decided by the Dominion, the Imperial Parliament taking such steps as may be necessary to legalise these decisions. Any proposal in contravention of this Agreement will be *ultra vires*. Provisions as to the Army and Navy must also be inserted. Within those limits Ireland herself determines the constitution of her own Government."‡

My reading of Empire history in the matter of constitution-making is so different from Mr. George's that I shall let these words go without commenting upon them. No one in Parliament or outside contested any of these statements, though many persons must have been amazed at some of them.

Even if it had been the Empire's unbroken custom to let a Dominion "draft and decide" its own constitution, no Dominion existed in Ireland. The Home Rule Act of 1914, conceived by the Asquith Government of which Mr. George was an important member, had

been still-born. The Act of 1920 which partitioned the Six Counties in North-Eastern Ireland from the rest of the Island had been put into operation only in those Counties and its operation left much to be desired.

Captain Charles Curtis Craig, sitting for South Antrim (a Protestant constituency in Ulster) in the British House of Commons had complained on October 31, 1921, of the way in which the Government set up in his part of Ireland was left without any power. That Government and the Northern (really the North-eastern) Irish Parliament, he declared, were being conducted with money borrowed from the bank." The Treasury had not been set up. The police in Belfast were "under the control of an alien institution, namely, Dublin Castle."\*

The remaining twenty-six Counties of Ireland were in a state of chaos. The Executive machinery had broken down. Justice could be administered only under the shadow of the machine gun, as a County Judge (now a Justice of the High Court, Dublin) told the present writer.

The only legislature that existed in Dublin was a rebel body—the Dail Eireann. It consisted of members who had been elected to the House of Commons at Westminster, but who, refusing to take their seats there, had organized themselves into a Parliament of their own and proclaimed Ireland an independent Republic. On December 20, 1920, Mr. George had told the Commons that he had refused to

"...recognise the body called the Dail Eireann... We cannot possibly grant to those who have been guilty of crimes of violence, of murder, of very brutal murder, a safe conduct which we would not grant to any British Member of the House of Commons in similar circumstances."†

It took great courage for Mr. George and his colleagues to entrust, less than a year later, to this very Dail Eireann, the task of formulating a constitution to give effect to the "Dominion Status" as recognized by the Anglo-Irish Treaty negotiated with certain representatives of that Dail. To quote the Prime Minister:

\* *Buan-Orduite*, p. 146.

† *Ibid*, p. 146.

‡ *Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons. Official Report. Wednesday 14th December, 1931. Col. 42.*

\* *Parliamentary Debates. House of Commons. October 31, 1921. Vol. 147, No. 133, Col. 1391.*

† *Ibid* December 10, 1920, Vol. 135 No. 133, Col. 2605.



"...What is to be done before the Constitution is set up? There are two ways of dealing with that. One would be the *status quo*, leaving the forces of the Crown there to operate, but that is obviously undesirable, once we have arrived at an agreement. There is the danger of incidents occurring which might imperil the whole Agreement. We therefore propose that a Provisional Government should be set up with such powers as are now vested in the Crown. That Government must represent the existing majority of Irish representatives. As soon as that is arranged the whole responsibility for the Government of Ireland outside the Northern Province would be handed over to this Provisional Government and the Crown forces will be withdrawn."\*

To the credit of Mr. George and his colleagues be it said that they showed themselves realists to the extent of letting these "Irish representatives," whom a little earlier they had denounced in no uncertain terms, free to come to such terms as they might with the Irish minority, chiefly of the Protestant persuasion—the "loyalists"—instead of trying to impose a settlement in that regard. The words used in this connection by Mr. George deserve to be pondered :

"...Written assurances have been given by the plenipotentiaries that before they do so they are to take into full consultation the representatives of the Southern minority. I believe there have already been interchanges of views between them of the most friendly character. They are most anxious, I am convinced they are most anxious, to do everything in their power to retain the minority within their area. They want their experience, they want their trade, they want the help which they can give to reconstruct the Ireland to which they are all attached, and I am convinced that the leaders of the majority in Ireland mean to do all in their power to make it not merely possible for the minority to live there, but to make it as attractive as possible for them to continue their citizenship amongst them.†

Any attempt upon Britain's part to dictate to the Irish majority as to how that majority should treat the Irish minority would have been resented. If it did not actually prevent an understanding from being arrived at between the British and the Irish—as probably would have been the case—it would have rankled in the Irish breast.

Nor would such dictation have been in the interests of the Irish. Left to wrestle with their differences, the Irish majority and the Irish minority learnt to appreciate each other's point of view. Only through such

adjustments and not through adjustments made from the outside—is nationality developed from amongst heterogeneous elements.

For Mr. George and his colleagues (particularly those of the Conservative or Unionist Party) this course of wisdom was, however, filled with travail. The moment they took that path, they exposed themselves to attack from the half-hearted followers and more so political opponents who would hurl at them the taunt of having betrayed the "loyalist" cause in Ireland.

The greatness of Britain—and especially of England—is doubtless due to her ability to make the best of a bad job. Both vision and courage of the highest order are needed for coping with situations such as this and, so far, they have been forthcoming from the men who happened to be in power in Britain whenever the occasion demanded them, except at the time of the American Rebellion.

## VII

It now remains for me to show how the Irishmen to whom the opportunity of working out the constitution of their country, within certain limitations, was given, used that opportunity to safeguard "Dominion Status." Had they listened to Mr. Lloyd George's words which I have summarized, they would have been content to depend upon the practice in the Dominions, particularly in Canada, and would not have troubled to introduce safeguards into the law of the constitution to give reality to Home Rule. The British Prime Minister had, indeed, pointed out—in the honeyed phrases that he, with undoubted effect, employs on such occasions—that Ireland possessed a guarantee "of infinite value" against any possible aggressive attempt by Britain on the Irish administration of Irish affairs. The nature of this guarantee had better be indicated in his own words :

"...whatever measure of freedom Dominion status gives to Canada, Australia, New Zealand or South Africa, that will be extended to Ireland, and there will be the guarantee, contained in the mere fact that the status is the same, that wherever their is an attempt at encroaching upon the rights of Ireland, every Dominion will begin to feel that its own position is put in jeopardy. That is a guarantee which is of infinite value to Ireland."\*

\* *Ibid.*, 14th December, 1921, Vol. 149, No. 1. Cols. 42-43.

† *Ibid.*, Col. 42.

\* *Ibid.*, Col. 28.



The Irish temper did not admit of accepting this guarantee of Mr. Lloyd George's interpretation of the "Dominion Status." The men who were called upon to draft the Constitution in Dublin had therefore to use their wits to find ways and means whereby provisions to safeguard the Irish management of Irish affairs without interference from any British agent could be introduced in the law of the constitution.

Two Irishmen laboured particularly hard over working out these safeguards :

One of them was the Attorney-General of the Provisional Government—Mr. Hugh Kennedy—now the Chief Justice of the Irish Free State. From boyhood upwards his mind had been steeped in Irish lore.

The other was a businessman, the proprietor of a general store in Dublin—Mr. James Douglas—later the Vice-President of the Irish Senate. Born in north-eastern Ireland, of Protestant stock, he was a true humanitarian. Even when the Anglo-Irish conflict was in its most awful phase, he carried on "White Cross work" to succour the sufferers from that conflict and actively aided forces for appeasement.

The draft of their joint authorship, as revised by the Provisional Government, had, however, to run the gauntlet of British criticism. His Majesty's Government was naturally anxious to ensure that none of the concessions obtained from the Irish negotiators, as recorded in the "Articles of Agreement", had been omitted or whittled away or vitiated.

Mr. Kennedy played an important part here again. He journeyed to London more than once and had important conferences with representatives of His Majesty's Government, particularly with the Rt.-Hon. Sir Gordon Hewart, K.C., (now Lord Hewart), the Attorney-General in the Government and a member of the British delegation that had negotiated the instrument. Infinite patience and tact were required to reconcile the opposing British and Irish points of view and finally a draft to which both parties could consent emerged.

The piloting of this measure through the Dail was entrusted almost entirely to Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, who had not yet turned thirty, and lacked any constitutional training. Gifted with shrewdness, a ready tongue and

remarkable tenacity, he fought off opposition, or where he could, conciliated it without the sacrifice of a single detail of any consequence.

### VIII

The safeguards inserted in the Constitution are directed chiefly to negative any part legally assigned to the representative of the Crown in the actual management of Irish Free State affairs. To do them justice, one needs a volume—not an article. With the space at my disposal I can only glance at the more important ones among them :

Article 2 distinctly laid down that "all powers of Government and all authority—legislative, executive and judicial in Ireland—were "derived from the people in Ireland."\*

The legislature—"Oirechtas"—created in virtue of Article 12, was to "consist of the King and two houses—the Chamber of Deputies (otherwise called... "Dail Eireann")† and the Senate (otherwise called... *Seanad Eireann*"). This legislature was to have the "sole and exclusive power of making laws for the peace, order and good government of the Irish Free State."‡

Each House was to "make its own Rules and Standing Orders" (Article 20) and to elect its own Chairman and Deputy Chairman." (Article 21).§

The Representative of the Crown was not to have the power of determining the dissolution of Dail Eireann (the predominant partner in the legislature with complete control over finance). Article 28 provided that "it may not at any time be dissolved except on the advice of the Executive Council," (of which more later).§

It was also laid down in this Article that polling in all constituencies, except the university constituencies, for the Dail be held simultaneously "not later than thirty days after the date of the dissolution" and that the Dail must "meet within one month of such day." This provision was to be—and has invariably been—so utilized as to leave not the slightest discretion with the Representative of the Crown in respect of calling the

\* *Buan-Orduite*, p. 85.

† *Buan Orduite*, p. 93.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 101.



House into being. As ex-Speaker Hayes—the Chairman of the Dail under whom this constitution was enacted—explained to me, the intention was that an outgoing Dail should determine the date when polling for its successor should be held and also when that successor should meet; and that such had been the practice without a single exception. Not the slightest room has thus been left for any maliciously inclined person to suggest that the Dail is in any manner or to any extent at the beck and call of Downing Street.

### IX

The machinery for dealing with the public purse was devised so as to exclude the Representative of the Crown except in name:

(1) Authority over Money Bills was assigned to the Dail. The Seanad was not permitted to share it. (Article 35).\*

(2) The determination of a Bill to be a Money Bill was left to the Chairman of the Dail (Article 35)†

(3) If his ruling was challenged by two-thirds of the members of the two Houses, a committee of privileges, consisting exclusively of legislators, with the Senior Judge of the Supreme Court as Chairman, was to decide and its decision was to “be final and conclusive.” (Article 35).‡

All appropriations of money, whether by vote, resolution, or law, were to be made only upon receipt of a message from the Representative of the Crown setting forth “the purpose of the appropriation.” That Representative had, however, to act on the advice of the “Executive Council,” to which was delegated the task of preparing the Budget Estimates. (Article 54). Authority for appropriating money was, therefore, really vested in the Executive Council and was exercisable by it. (Article 36).§

Similarly in regard to dealing with Bills other than Money Bills, machinery was devised to make the will of the two Houses—or exclusively that of the Dail, if need be—prevail.

The Representative of the Crown was left, it is true, the privilege of withholding “the King’s assent” to a Bill, or reserving a Bill for “the signification of the King’s pleasure.” It was, however, expressly provided “that the Representative of the Crown shall in the withholding of such assent to or the reservation of any Bill, act in accordance with the law, practice, and constitutional usage governing the like withholding of assent or reservation in the Dominion of Canada.” (Article 41).\* This provision ensured that the veto power of the Representative of the Crown was “dead as mutton.”

### X

So much about the safeguards designed to secure the independence of the legislature. Now in regard to the control over the armed forces and the civil (including judicial) authority. Great care was exercised to make it “sun-clear”—to use an Irish journalist’s expression—that such control was vested exclusively in Irish hands.

Both the raising (within the limits set forth in the Anglo-Irish Treaty) and the maintenance of the armed forces in the territory of the Irish Free State were to be regulated by the legislature, which was to exercise control over them. (Article 46).†

It may be parenthetically added that the Commissions to officers in the Irish Army are not signed by the Representative of the Crown in behalf of His Majesty, nor are they even given by him. The Executive Council makes arrangements in this connection to suit Ireland’s special exigencies.

To comply with Britain’s wishes, the Constituent Assembly had to vest in the King the “Executive authority of the Irish Free State.” So it did (Article 51).‡ But it took care to state in the Constitution that the authority was “exercisable, in accordance with the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the exercise of the Executive Authority in the case of the Dominion of Canada, by the Representative of the Crown.” (Article 51).§

\* *Ibid.*, p. 107

† *Ibid.*, p. 107

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 109

§ *Ibid.*, p. 109

\* *Ibid.*, p. 113.

† *Ibid.*, p. 115.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 20.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 120.



That authority was, in *reality*, to be exercised by "the Executive Council", which was to be in no sense the creature of the Representative of the Crown. Elaborate machinery was devised for the appointment of the persons composing it (five to seven in number) so as to show that they were exclusively the servants of the Irish people operating through the lower House.\*

(1) The nomination of the President of the Council did not rest, even as a matter of form, with the Representative of the Crown, but solely with the Dail. The language used in this connection in Article 53 was explicit:

"The President of the Council shall be appointed on the nomination of Dail Eireann."†

This was, so far as I know, the first time in the Empire's history that the appointment of the Prime Minister in a Dominion was not ascribed to the Sovereign. I should have thought that to do otherwise would have been deemed an abridgment of the Royal Prerogative. Apparently the Irish insisted upon that safeguard to give reality to their position as masters in their own land and the British had the wisdom to concede the point. Had the Die-hard element in the British Parliament raised any objection in regard to this matter, Mr. George would no doubt have pointed to the general terms in which the appointment of ministers composing the Executive Council was mentioned in a preceding Article (Article 51).

(2) The Vice-President, who was to act as President in the temporary absence of the President, or in case of his permanent incapacitation, resignation or death until a new President could be appointed, was to be nominated by the President.

The other members of the Executive Council were also to be nominated by the President, but only with the assent of the Dail.‡

(3) These Executive Councillors were to hold office only so long as they retained "the support of a majority in Dail Eireann." §

(4) Care was further taken to insure against an Executive Council which had lost

the confidence of that House delivering the legislature a blow by bringing about dissolution, for it was provided:

"...that the Oirechtas shall not be dissolved on the advice of an Executive Council which has ceased to retain the support of a majority of Dail Eireann."\*

(5) In addition to the members of the Executive Council, acting collectively in all matters, there were to be Ministers (five to seven in number) outside that Council, each of whom was to be "individually responsible to Dail Eireann for the administration of the department or departments of which he is the head." (Article 55-56).†

The Comptroller and Auditor-General in whom the control of all disbursements in the Irish Free State was vested and who was to audit all accounts, was to be appointed by the Dail, report to that House at stated intervals, and was to be removable only "for stated misbehaviour or incapacity on resolutions passed by" the two Houses. (Articles 62-63).‡

## XI

The Irish framers of the Irish Constitution tried to make the judicial machinery in the Irish Free State wholly self-sufficing. The Supreme Court to be established under Article 64 was to be the Court of Final Appeal. Despite the use of the word "final" in this connection, they had to admit "the right of any person to petition His Majesty for special leave to appeal from the Supreme Court to His Majesty in Council or the right of His Majesty to grant such leave." This concession had to be made in view of the "law, practice and constitutional usage" prevailing in Canada and other Dominions—or, in other words, because that right was implicit in the "Dominion Status" as it existed at that time. They were, however, not happy in doing so and much effort and ingenuity have subsequently been expended to extinguish that right.

In regard to the appointment of the judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Court and of all other Courts established in pursuance of the Constitution, Irishmen had their

\* *Ibid.*, p. 121.

† *Ibid.*, p. 121.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 122.

† *Ibid.*, p. 125.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 127.



way in inserting a provision that the Representative of the Crown was to make such appointments "on the advice of the Executive Council." (Article 68).\*

## XII

With these and other safeguards, "Dominion Status" acquired a reality that it would have lacked had the statute enacting the Constitution incorporated the legal fictions dear to the British heart without any indication that they were no more than fictions. The

\* *Ibid*, p. 131.

provisions to which I have called special attention showed, beyond cavil, that the Representative of the Crown was no more than a link between the Free State and the rest of the "Community of nations known as the British Empire"—that he had no hand either in the formulation of the policies governing the Free State nor in their administration—and that the real rulers of the country were Irishmen answerable to the popular House of the Irish Parliament.

Safeguards have their uses—if the safeguards are meant to vitalize and not to whittle away (or to retard) "Dominion Status."

## COST OF THE TROOPS IN BENGAL

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

IN 1932 it was decided to send an additional contingent of regular troops consisting of one battalion of British infantry, six battalions of Indian infantry and two brigade headquarters to Bengal to help in the suppression of terrorism. These troops are still in the province, and the extra cost of maintaining them has often been used as a very effective argument against terrorism. Some people have doubted the reality of this *extra* cost on the ground that the troops now in Bengal would have had to be paid for wherever they were stationed. This is not, however, exactly correct. As was stated in the Assembly in reply to a question by Pandit Govinda Ballav Pant last month, in 1932-33 the total charges debited to the Central revenues under this head came to Rs. 2,88,000, in 1933-34 to Rs. 5,72,000 and in the six months, upto September 30, 1934, to Rs. 1,85,000; in addition the Bengal Government had to provide for the accommodation of these troops at a heavy cost and in 1932 made a direct contribution of Rs. 75,000 towards the cost of the troops at Chittagong. While a portion of the expenditure incurred by the Central Government under this head may be considered to be part of the normal maintenance charges of the Army, it cannot be disputed that the contribution of the Bengal Government at

least is genuine *extra* expenditure, because military expenditure in every form is a Central charge. There can thus be no doubt about the reality of a portion at least of the extra expenditure.

This does not, however, mean that this expenditure should be allowed to go unquestioned from the purely financial point of view, with which alone this article is concerned. That terrorism should and must be suppressed is not questioned. But even after admitting the fact of the extra expenditure and the necessity of troops for the suppression of terrorism a far more important query remains, and that is—why should this additional outlay be necessary and why should a part of this be charged to the Provincial Government. So far as I am aware, the only argument which has been advanced in justification of this expenditure is that India's regular troops are meant primarily for the defence of the frontiers and that the parcelling out of a formation or unit in detachments on police work interferes with training. This implies three important premises, *viz.*, (1) that the preservation of internal peace is not one of the functions of the Army in India; (2) that the strength of the Army in India has been fixed without any reference to the requirements of internal security; (3) that no province or part of India can ask for



the help of the regular army in maintaining internal security without paying for the service. Each of these propositions require some detailed examination.

To take the question of the function first. The argument that an army is primarily maintained for defence against external aggression and that police work interferes with its proper duties is, of course, a military commonplace and quite correct as a broad principle. But for the British Empire generally and more so for India it is not wholly true. In this country the preservation of internal security is officially and unofficially considered to be one of the most important functions of the army. As the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission puts it :

"The Army in India is not only provided and organized to ensure against external dangers of a wholly exceptional character : *it is also distributed and habitually used throughout India for the purpose of maintaining or restoring internal peace.* In all countries the soldier when in barracks may be regarded as available in the last resort to deal with domestic disturbances with which the policeman cannot cope, but in Britain and elsewhere in the Empire this is little more than a theoretical consideration. The military is not normally employed in this way, and certainly is not organized for the purpose. *But the case of India is entirely different.* Troops are employed many times a year to prevent internal disorder and, if necessary, to quell it. Police forces, admirably organized as they are, cannot be expected in all cases to cope with the sudden and violent outburst of a mob driven frantic by religious frenzy. *It is, therefore, well understood in India both by the police and the military—and, what is even more to the point by the public at large—that the soldiers may have to be sent for.*"\* (Italics ours.)

If it is necessary to add to this emphatic and clear exposition, one might quote the words of Major D. H. Cole, the author of an important military text-book, that "internal security problems attain, in India, a magnitude which is unparalleled in any part of the Empire."

Major Cole goes on to say :

"Hindu-Moslem communal disorder, arising from the lack of a mutually tolerant attitude towards one another's religious rites and customs, is frequent and of so serious a nature that troops are required on many occasions to come to the assistance of the police in quelling or preventing riots. Further, unrest fomented by propaganda, designed to create disorder as a step towards the attainment of political ends, may require, from

time to time, the stabilizing effect of the presence of troops."\*\*

In fact, all the authorities, official or unofficial, Indian or British, are agreed that a certain measure and kind of police duty is comprised in the ordinary functions of the Army in India. It might also be mentioned here that the recent issue by War Office of a series of "Notes on Imperial Policing" as also the publication of a book on this subject by Major-General Sir Charles W. Gwynn, K. C. B., C. M. G., D. S. O. indicate the latest trends of British military practice.†

It would naturally be expected from these expositions of policy that the Regulations for the Army in India should contain specific provisions for internal security. So they do. Paragraph 11 of these Regulations lays down :

"A G.O.C.-in-C. is responsible for the command, administration, training and efficiency of the troops located in his command, and also for internal security within the area of his command.

He will cause the schemes for the security of defended ports and internal areas in his command to be revised biennially. Copies of the revised schemes will be submitted to Army Headquarters on the 1st June in the case of port defence schemes and the 15th September in the case of area security schemes in the years in which the revisions are due."

Paragraph 12 lays down :

"The duties of a District Commander will be similar to those prescribed in the para. above, except that the revised schemes for the security of defended ports and internal areas in his district will be submitted to the G.O.C.-in-C. on such dates as may be fixed by the latter."

\* *Imperial Military Geography* by Major D. H. Cole. 1934. p. 350. See also *Imperial Economy* by Major R. J. Wilkinson, O. B. E. 1930. p. 88. It will be noticed that Major Cole is more honest than the Simon Commission. The latter includes only the suppression of communal riots in the internal security duties of the Army, while Major Cole mentions political objects as well.

† Police duties of the Army, according to General Gwynn, comprise action against :

"1. Revolutionary movements organized and designed to upset established government.

2. Rioting or other forms of lawlessness arising from local or widespread grievances.

3. Communal disturbances of a racial, religious or political character not directed against Government, but which Government must suppress."

This is a quite complete summing up of the duties of the Army in respect of internal security. General Gwynn takes care to explain that the revolutionary movements referred to by him may be either violent or non-violent. (Gwynn—*Imperial Policing*, 1934, p. 10-11.)

\* Simon Report. Vol. I, p. 95.



Under the same regulations (paragraph 40 and appendix XXIX) the preparation of internal security schemes and measures for the support and maintenance of the Civil Power are included in the duties of the Director of Military Operations of the General Staff Branch of the Army Headquarters.

It is thus clearly seen that the various military commanders in India are made responsible for the internal security of the areas under their command and have to prepare and keep up-to-date schemes for internal security. Is it not then their business to take into account all the circumstances affecting the security of the areas under their command and make the necessary arrangements for the despatch and posting of troops as a matter of normal routine? And should they fail to do so and say they can not spare troops for Bengal or any particular locality without special facilities or grants, would it not look like a confession of failure on their part to discharge their ordinary duties?

We may now come to the question of the strength of the Army. It follows from the principle of army organization adopted in India that the normal military establishment should include troops required for the preservation of internal peace *in addition* to those needed for defence against external aggression and tribal outbreaks. As a matter of fact, a fairly high proportion of the strength of the Army is permanently earmarked for this purpose. In peace time the whole of the Army in India, excluding the Covering Force, is available for this object, and on general mobilization twenty-eight out of the forty-five British infantry battalions posted in India will be allocated to internal security in addition to one regiment of British cavalry, nine regiments of Indian cavalry (2 squadrons each), twenty-seven battalions of Indian infantry and five armoured car companies.\* There is reason to think that this is not a full statement as some artillery is certainly allotted to internal security, while nearly the whole

of the able-bodied British male population of India which forms the Auxiliary Force and is trained above all for internal security, is not included in the figures at all.

However that might be, the troops avowedly set apart for the maintenance of internal peace constitute a substantial proportion of the Army in India, and thus it can hardly be said that the sending of soldiers to any part of India for the preservation of internal peace is an abnormal and extra-demand on the strength of the army.

All that has been said above clears the way for a consideration of the purely financial aspect of the matter. It has been seen that the strength of the armed forces in India, as at present maintained, is based on three requirements: defence against external attacks, protection against tribal outbreaks, and the maintenance of internal peace. It has also been seen that the preservation of internal peace is one of the normal functions of the army authorities. It is obvious, therefore, that in paying for the maintenance of the army on this basis in the ordinary budget the people of India have an undoubted right to be insured against internal troubles without being called upon to pay an additional premium. The nature of the help expected from the troops in the particular case I am now considering, further reinforces this argument. If the troops are required in any part of India for prolonged operations of an undoubtedly military character, the question of additional expenditure may legitimately arise. But when they are expected to do nothing more than strengthen the garrison of a particular area, the demand for additional financial help would certainly be unjustified.

But in no circumstance can a good case be made out for imposing a part of the expenditure on a Provincial Government. Under the existing regulations civilian authorities in any part of India can call upon the local military commanders to give them help in cases of emergency, and the military commander is bound to comply with the requisition within the limits of his power. The extra expenditure incurred for this service is not chargeable to the civilian authority if the duties performed

\* These figures were given by the Secretary to the Army Dept. of the Government of India in reply to a question put by Mr. S. C. Mitra, on January 27, 1931. (Legislative Assembly—starred question No. 189 dated Jan. 27, 1931).



by the troops are military. It is only in the case of non-military duties, such as the maintenance of essential services during strikes, that the services of the troops are "made available upon a definite acceptance, by the authority requisitioning their services, of the financial liabilities involved" (Regulations for the Army in India, para. 392A.). Services now being given by the troops in suppressing terrorism in Bengal cannot be considered to be emergency duties in the sense of the Regulations quoted just now, but they are certainly not non-military duties. As such the extra cost should not be borne by the Government of Bengal.

There is another point of view from which the question may be approached, and with the same result. The peace time distribution of troops in India is dependent upon two considerations, first and the more important of which is military necessity (arising both from internal conditions and external dangers), and the second health and comfort of the troops. Now, in view of the relative absence of military danger (both internal and external) in Bengal, the regular garrison of the province consisted, till 1932, of only two battalions of British and one of Indian infantry, with a squadron or so of Indian cavalry. There was never any question of charging a part of the cost of these troops to the Provincial revenues. Why then should a part of the cost of the additional force be charged to Bengal? The principle underlying the distribution of troops and incidence of expenditure is very simple. The strength of the armed forces required by a particular province is dependent upon the conditions prevailing at a given point of time. There cannot be any fixed or *a priori* standard upto which a province will be entitled to military help free of cost and beyond which a contribution will be demanded from it. If that were the case and Bengal had to shoulder a part of the military expenditure now made necessary by altered circumstances, there is very good reason to argue that she was entitled to a rebate in her contribution

to the Central revenues on the ground of insignificant services required from the Army.

The injustice done to Bengal in this matter will become more obvious still when it is remembered that she has borne her share of the military burden without demanding a corresponding service from the Army. There have been, in recent years, at least three occasions on which the assistance of troops was badly needed in order to avert serious loss of life and destruction of property in the province but on which no troops were requisitioned or sent. If, as it is often and eloquently argued, the heavy expenditure on the British element in the Army is necessary for the prevention of racial and communal feuds, the absence of British troops at Dacca, Beldanga and Kishorganj seems to be inexplicable. It will also be recalled that during the Hindu-Moslem riots in Calcutta in 1926, the British infantry in Fort William was called out only on the first few days and after that its place was taken by the Gurkhas of the Eastern Frontier Rifles which is a provincial police force. In view of these experiences it seems rather ironical that Bengal should be asked to shoulder an additional burden when she requires the services of troops for the suppression of terrorism.

Thus there seems to be no justification for any special expenditure by the Government of Bengal for the troops now in the province. Besides, there ought to be a precedent on this question. From 1914 to 1916 detachments of the regular infantry were stationed all over East Bengal for exactly the reason now put forward. I still remember that the 91st Punjabis and the 16th Rajputs were successively posted in the small subdivisional town from which I come. I was not old enough then to become curious about the financial consequences of their presence amongst us. But a question in the Assembly or the Legislative Council will perhaps elicit the information whether the Bengal Government was charged with any portion of the expenses.



## JAPAN'S THIRD ADVENTURE

BY PROF. H. N. SINHA, M. A.  
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ON the 12th of December 1934 *Reuter* announced the adjournment of Anglo-Jap-American naval discussions in London. It was only a reasonable outcome of the attitude of the parties. Japan's attitude had been determined by her feeling that the agreement embodied in the Washington treaty was, in view of the air force developments, since then no longer tenable. It was with an uncomfortable frame of mind that she came to the conference, and when she demanded to get away from the Washington ratios she was keenly alive of her "responsibility for protecting Manchukuo in case of trouble from nearby sources such as Russia and China." \* To this attitude of Japan, England and the United States were not in a mood to yield. No wonder the denouement has been what it is. There was much speculation about it in the diplomatic circles of the East and the West. They sought to avert it and attempted to clear up view-points. Late in November the special correspondent of the *Spectator* in Tokyo drew the attention of the world to the attitude of the Japanese foreign office expressed in a pamphlet on "National defence" circulated to the masses of Japan.

"The degree of Chinese activity in the future," it wrote, "will be determined by whether or not the Japanese naval strength is outdistanced by America's naval strength. This is apparent from the fact that Japan was forced to send her army to China to cope with anti-Japanese movement in that country every time Japan was made to concede to the British and American demands at naval conferences in the past."

The Japanese thought rightly that their attitude at the naval conference would determine the Chinese attitude towards Japan in the future. (November 23rd.). It was because of this that the special correspondent had pleaded for "prudent assistance to Japan," in making the naval conference a success. Otherwise, he said a failure would have the "effect of inducing Japan to look for compensation in that country" (China). The full significance of the failure of the conference has already been revealed. On the 22nd December Japanese

foreign minister Hirota informed Mr. Cordell Hull that the Washington treaty had terminated.

This is reminiscent of the Disarmament conference that ended in a fiasco last May. It gave a free rein to European nations to arm. The *Daily Mail* (30th. May 1934) gave a dose of advice to the British Ministry when it wrote that "the next move should be to issue the necessary orders for the immediate expansion of the Air Force". Similarly would the jingo press of Japan now advise its ministry to launch upon a programme of rapid naval expansion. These portend ill for the future peace and good-will among nations. And when one knows all that have happened between May and December in Europe—the assassination of Dr. Dollfuss and King Alexander, the entry of Russia into the League, Hitler installed as President and Chancellor, one wonders whither the world is going? Fortunately with the dispute between Hungary and Yugoslavia settled (*Reuter* on the 10th December), and the Saar plebiscite peacefully terminated in favour of Germany the clouds of danger seem to have lifted from one quarter. In the meanwhile all sorts of press canards about the armament of Germany thicken the air. Only recently the *Sunday Express* published a document revealing the tremendous drive of Germany for armament equipments. These are symptoms of a tragic situation. Nationalism and Science have both evolved a peculiar technique of progress, which is bearing bitter fruits in Europe. Japan has long adopted it, and now seeks to tread the path that European nations have trodden. But she is jubilant over the distress of Europe. For she realizes, that is her chance. Once in 1931-32 she utilized it to her best advantage, and now she thinks another is coming. She is ready to embark on her third adventure. Her first brought Korea; second Manchuria, and the third may perhaps bring her the bulk of China, the maritime and Amour provinces of East Siberia.

But that would entirely depend upon the European situation and American attitude. Hence for a proper perspective a brief survey

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\* Mr. Yamamoto's statement to *Reuter*.



of her expansion programme in the past is neccessary.

Japan's programme of expansion was envisaged perhaps as early as 1868 by the Emperor Meiji, his military adviser Prince Yama Gata and his civil adviser Prince Ito. This programme has been accomplished in four periods. Between 1868 and 1875 she added to her possessions the Kurile islands to the north by an agreement with Russia and the Loochos to the south, the feudal king of which became a Japanese peer. The Sino-Japanese war of 1895 brought her the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores. Though she lost Liaotung peninsula her dominant position in Korea was established and

"China agreed that the province of Fukien opposite Formosa would not be ceded to another foreign power. By her victory in the war with Russia (1905) Japan gained a vast territory. The northern half of the island of Sakhalin was ceded to her. Korea became a Japanese protectorate and in 1910 a Japanese possession. The Liaotung peninsula became the Kwantung leased territory under a lease from China. The cession to Japan of the lease on the South Manchuria Railway brought her into the city of Mukden, the capital of Manchuria.

"In 1915 the Twenty-one demands were imposed on China following Japan's entry into the Great War and her seizure of the German possessions in China. Out of the Twenty-one Demands Japan actually gained nothing new territorially, but she did obtain extension of the Manchurian leases. The lease for the Kwantung Leased Territory was extended to the year 1997; the South Manchuria Railway to the year 2002; and the Mukden-Antung Railway to the year 2007. Japan also obtained the right for her subjects to lease, for agricultural and industrial purposes, land in South Manchuria which in effect vested the whole of South Manchuria with the special privilege of treaty port." (*The Tinderbox of Asia* by Sokolsky, p. 136-39).

These vast privileges evoked widespread content in China, as they were regarded most humiliating to the Chinese. In an atmosphere that was tense with suspicion war broke out when on the night of 18th September 1931 a few feet of South Manchuria Railway track at Aiokou outside Mukden were blown away. In East China Manchuria which Japan created a puppet state on the 9th March 1932 called it Manchukuo.

Since then

the Japanese are not only converting Manchuria into Jehol a vast military base, by building strategic roads and railways, constructing aerodromes and erecting barracks, but are pushing

into Inner Mangolia and sending a cloud of spies and agents into Inner Mangolia and Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan). The troubles last winter in both these outlying provinces are attributed by good authorities to a clash between Japanese and Russian influence. South of the great wall, too, Japanese agents are very active in Hopei, Sohan-tung and Shensi; the Japanese have been holding military manœuvres at Shanhaikwan, Tienstin and Peking, subsidising irregulars and then restoring order by direct action, and generally creating a situation strongly reminiscent of the conditions in Manchuria in August 1931." (*Political Quarterly*, July-September 1934.)

What do these activities signify? And yet this is only a part of the programme.

The other part consists in her industrial expansion. In 1868 Japan had hardly any foreign trade. By 1925 her foreign trade increased to about 3000 million yens; in 1930 it decreased to 2004 millions, and in 1933 to 1861 millions. In 1930 about 40% of her exports were to Asia and the South Sea Islands, of which China including Hongkong and the Kwantung Leased Territory in Manchuria took 20%. Her exports to the U. S. A. were about 34%. In 1933 about 48% of her exports were to Asia which included about 25% to China, Kwantung and Hongkong; while 31.6% went to the U. S. A.

Following the steps of European nations she could compete with European imperialism between 1894 and 1914. But in spite of that she realized she laboured under a serious disadvantage. She had begun very late. The European powers had already established their empires in Asia and the U. S. A. had occupied the Philippines. In China most of the country had been pre-empted by well-defined spheres of interest and over the whole of it the U. S. A. had imposed John Hay's Open-Door Policy. In the meanwhile the Japanese population had grown from 35 to 65 millions. She had to find room for them, livelihood for them. It was her right to live when presented on its minimum basis, that forced her to break her bounds and occupy Manchuria. All this is according to the Japanese brief.

But the occupation of Manchuria is the "crystallization point" of a new China. It is the beginning of that process which Japan wants should culminate in the centralization of a federation of China in conformity with Japanese ideas. That is to say, Japan must



step into China to help her to reconstruct her economic and political structure. This she professes, she means to do in the spirit of a mission, rather than in the spirit of imperialism. When Japan demands that she must be responsible for maintaining peace in the Far East it is in the sense that

"this part of the world will only feel assured of a real peace when Bolshevik Russia as well as Anglo-Saxon Powers are faced with and checked by a reconstructed China living not only in harmony but in virtual unity too with Japan."  
(—*The Spectator*. 23rd Nov. 1934, p. 785) —

This mental attitude of Japan has been precipitated by a Government that has, ever since the failure of the Chinese policy of Baron Sohidehara in 1931, been under military domination. Within a short time there are signs of the present government becoming a military dictatorship. Then there will be launched a tremendous drive towards a war. Already there has been going on as the *Koelnische Zeitung* said on the 18th December 1933, a systematic propaganda for a war by speech, wireless, pamphlet, etc. The feverish activity of armament factories points to the same direction. We hear of "secret" guns on new "Mystery" warships. Her naval programme calls for two air-craft carriers, two light cruisers, fourteen destroyers, six submarines and many small torpedo boats.

These are only the necessary aftermath of the conquest of Manchuria ; from the Japanese standpoint the ebullitions of triumphant national pride.

But all this is bleeding the nation white. Japan is hard up for money. She cannot raise loans abroad. Her foreign loans are already very heavy amounting to about 200 million gold yens and she has to pay interest on them. Nearly half of her budget has been raised by loans at home. Her export trade, as we have shown above, has been sinking in volume ; it is encountering prohibitive tariffs and quotas in foreign countries, seeking to combat Japanese competition. Her yen has fallen and the prices are rising. That is her economic situation at home.

Abroad she finds ominous clouds hanging on the political horizons. She suspects, the Soviet Union and the United States are joining hands in a deadly conspiracy

against her. She believed that her army was stronger than the Russian army and her navy stronger than the United States navy. But now with Russia leading in Air-craft armament, and the United States expanding her navy and army immensely she is rather nervous. This nervousness has reacted on the last naval conference. The admission of Russia into the League she considers as mischievous. For once Japan played on the anti-Soviet feelings of European powers to justify her attitude towards China. We can recall, for example, the speech of Mr. Matsuoka in the Extra-ordinary assembly on December 8th, 1932. He said,

"We find Sovietism in the heart of China ....  
Will it stay there limited to present area ?  
Why has not that movement spread more rapidly ?  
The answer is there stands Japan."

But now that pretext does not pay. The U. S. S. R. is a member of the League and has made a commercial treaty with the U. S. A. Japan suspects they are definitely at one against Japan. There remains only Great Britain. She does not either appear to be friendly. The Anglo-Japanese trade talks ended in a fiasco just like the triangular naval conference of London. Naturally Japanese suspicion of a wide-spread conspiracy is becoming stronger and stronger everyday. And she is perparing for the crisis. She is, as the Japanese ambassador said in the U. S. A. in a Public lecture, ready to fight, even to the limit of self-extermination, to oppose interferences in her programme.

And the most propitious time, she thinks, is the year 1935. For some time past speculation has been rife in Japan that this year marks a parting of ways in her national life. She will have to undergo her severest trial. She is heading on to that crisis. It should come before the U. S. S. R. completes its second five ' year plan, which includes double-tracking the Trans-Siberian railway and industrializing Western and Central Siberia, and before the U. S. A. completes her naval programme and emerges from her economic crisis. In such a background her third adventure may precipitate a world war. To meet that crisis she is arming at any cost ; and armaments are only the red-flowering of war.



## KHADI AND SOCIALISM

By J. B. KRIPALANI

### THE COMMUNIST ARGUMENT

THE Charkha and Khadi partially ameliorate the condition of the people. The real remedy for the poverty, the degradation, and the slavery of the masses can come only from a revolution. Whatever partial measures are adopted to better their lot, serve only as an opiate, lulling them into forgetfulness of the real problem, the problem of the revolution. Reform keeps them more or less contented. It takes away the edge of their discontent. It makes them reconciled to their chains. It makes them forget the essential class antagonism and the fundamental conflict of class interest embedded in the very nature of things. No revolution in the past could be effected until the conditions had become the worst imaginable, absolutely unbearable. The more grossly unjust they were, the more thorough was the retribution and the consequent readjustment. No measures, therefore, need be adopted merely to better the lot of any class low down in the scale of humanity. If such a conscious, studied and scientific attitude results in any extra poverty or degradation, nay even in considerable loss of life, that must be accepted with philosophic and scientific equanimity, and must be considered as the necessary price to be paid to a cruel, inexorable nature of things. Such suffering is like the surgeon's knife, the throes of a new birth. It is only when humanity has drunk the cup of degradation and misery to the last dregs, that it can burst forth and break its bonds.

So runs the argument of a section of socialists and the communists.

### EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION

Now it is quite possible that in the body social, circumstances might arise when nothing short of a revolution, nothing short of an entire readjustment of conditions and values, could save society from a catastrophe. Things may be so fundamentally rotten, that no tinkering with the problem would have any durable effect. What may be needed may be a wholesale change of standards and values. The old order may be so hopelessly out of tune with the spirit of the times, and may be in such a process of degradation, decay and putrefaction, that the smooth, easy, steady, sane and reasonable evolutionary process may be unable to overtake the rot, that reform may lag behind, and everyday society find itself on the downward march;—it is at such times that the cruel knife of the surgeon, what goes in society by the name of revolution, may be necessary.

While all this may be admitted it may be doubted whether revolutions always arise from and are born of adverse circumstances that have reached the rock bottom, and when there can be no further going down. The history of revolutions shows no such inevitableness. In many instances, the external circumstances were favourable for a revolution, and yet for want of something or other the revolution never came. There are other cases, where the revolution did not wait for circumstances to get the very worst, but some spirited individual or a proud group forged ahead and brought it about. There are still other cases when, as the circumstances were improving, the revolution came along partly as a result of those very improvements.

### PRE-REQUISITES OF REVOLUTION

Nothing could be worse in external circumstances than the life of the slaves in the ancient world. They were a numerous class numbering many times their masters. Yet no revolution came. In modern times the emancipation of the Negro in America was not the result of any Negro agitation or effort, though it is difficult to picture to oneself worse conditions for human souls and bodies. The condition of the Plebeians in ancient Rome was not as bad as that of the slaves, yet they produced a revolution in the State. In mediæval Europe the condition of the masses was much worse than that of the present-day European proletariat, and yet all they produced were a few peasant risings put down in blood.

### FALLACY OF ECONOMIC ARGUMENT

The Bourgeois revolutions as against the kings and landlords in the modern states were not brought about by the people whose economic condition was bad, but rather by the people who were in comfortable circumstances and at a time when their condition was becoming progressively comfortable and their liberties increasing with their affluence. The American revolution was not intended to drive away the demon of poverty but to assert the right of the people, which they thought was one of the natural rights of man, over their own political and economic destiny. The French revolution, which may be considered to be in point as proving the doctrine enunciated by a section of our socialist friends, also lends them no support. The condition of the peasantry and the lower middle class was, as a matter of fact, improving. The revolution was not so much the result of misery that was



unbearable, as that people were no more prepared to bear what they bore in patience before. There was a wide gulf between the ideas of people about such things as natural rights, their liberties and equality, and the external physical conditions under which they lived. These ideas, not altogether right or logical, were preached by philosophers who had very little to do with the practical affairs of their times. Yet what is this French revolution? Historians have not hesitated to call it a unique episode.

#### CHANCE—A FACTOR IN RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The recent Russian revolution is the only one that had as one of its causes the economic condition of the masses, which was the very worst imaginable. But that condition was more due to the exhaustion of the war and disappearance of authority than a normal affair. Before the war, the condition of the peasantry owing to the emancipation of the serfs was certainly better than when the Russian peasant was a mere serf. Again, the general economic condition in all the countries in Central Europe was very much the same. Germany, Austria, Hungary were all in the same economic plight as Russia, if not worse, and yet no revolution resulted from their misery. The countries in central Europe even today are in the same hopeless economic plight, yet no revolution seems to be in sight. A critical student of the recent Russian revolution will not fail to find the great part played by Chance in its success. At many a critical juncture, if one bit had gone wrong, the whole thing would have miscarried. Sometimes even because the schemes of its protagonists miscarried, that success was achieved.

#### ASIATIC REVOLUTION

I have taken examples of revolutions from the West, for only Western history is supposed by the modern mind to show the historical evolutionary process. Asiatic history is a series of ups and downs, where it is difficult to mark the direction towards which the current of events is forging ahead. There are periods of advance and brilliance, and then there are long periods of silent decay and disintegration. Yet it would not be out of place to take a few instances of Asiatic revolutions recorded in history. Most of them appear to be bound up with the life of individual geniuses, religious or political. Nothing could be more stupendously revolutionary in all departments of life than Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. Yet take away the birth of the geniuses, and for centuries society in India, Arabia and beyond it might have gone on without a ruffle. Then there were political geniuses like Alexander, Chengiz Khan, Timur, Ahmad Shah, Akbar, Shivaji, and others. They brought about considerable political revolutions. But for them, there would have been no movements of people and culture. This does not mean that

favourable circumstances for the unfoldment of the personality of the geniuses were lacking, but at least as much was due to their personality as to the circumstances. It is also a fact that under similar circumstances, if no genius arose, society kept its even wonted course for considerable stretches of time. All these revolutions, for revolutions certainly they were, were not built upon any unbearable physical and economic conditions. Their causes were as varied and various, as the geniuses themselves and the environment under which they were born.

#### HARIJANS IN INDIA

Take again the Harijans in India. No conditions even in slavery, ancient or modern, could be found to compare with the physical and moral conditions under which a vast portion of humanity has been living now from the very dawn of the historical period of the world. And yet there has been no revolution. Even the present upheaval is not of their creation, but from above, as in the case of the Negro emancipation in America. Whatever stir among the Negroes and the Untouchables there is today is the result of the work done for them from above.

#### NO SET PRECONDITIONS OF REVOLUTION

All these historical facts from the East and the West go to prove that there are no set circumstances known to history, given which a revolution would be an inevitable consequence. There seems to be no such inevitableness. The array of facts marshalled by historians as causes of a revolution are all after the fact. Even these causes are so many, so various, so entirely embedded in the particular circumstances of the countries and the times and the personalities of those who played a prominent part in the drama, that it is wellnigh impossible to lay down any scientifically correct preconditions of a revolution. Each is a unique event by itself. If there are, however, any conditions precedent, they are rather psychological and ideological than physical.

#### MENTAL RESTLESSNESS BEFORE REVOLUTION

One such is the discrepancy between people's ideas of what should be, and what actually is. The physical and the economic conditions need not be unbearable. Only there should appear to the contemporary eye, which is more or less unhistorical, a sharp contrast and a wide gulf between the actual facts of their life and their dreams. If the gulf is wide enough, an upheaval may be expected. This is borne out by many a revolution, religious and political, in the East and the West. Mental restlessness always manifested itself when great changes were in sight. The inordinate emphasis laid on economic factors is quite a modern phenomenon. The conditions under which the European proletariat live today are very much better than those under which their forefathers lived a century back! Yet the old



conditions were borne in patience, because the former generations of the poor took them to be more or less as ordained and inevitable, and therefore necessary and just. Preaching of the new ideas of justice, equality, and the rights of man and the discoveries of science have made out, that these bad physical conditions need not be inevitable or necessary. They are altogether unjust. The old loyalties that made things bearable have broken down. The connection between the employer and the employee has become commercial and casual. In the case of big factories it has altogether disappeared. The bonds of love and sentiment have also disappeared. What is, is not economically and physically worse than what was, but people are not willing to patiently tolerate even the improved conditions. The conditions have not deteriorated but the values of people have changed. Their ideas about right and wrong, about just and unjust, about their loyalties and their obligations, in short, their moral values have undergone revolutionary changes. Whenever there appears such a gulf between ideas and objective facts, society is in a critical and transitional stage. The equilibrium under which life is lived is disturbed and upset. Any upheaval restorative of the necessary equilibrium may therefore be in sight.

#### PLACE OF HOPE AND FAITH

Another such psychological condition is a hope born in the group human breast, that better conditions are possible. The new hope is a clarion call to humanity. It is just like the voice of the prophet that the "Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, prepare Ye". This hope has an element of faith in it. It is rarely based on any very reasonable grounds. Rather it is the result of an enthusiasm, fervour and fever that periodically undertake a section of humanity on its onward march. It may be due to a personality, an apt phrase or formula, or even an apt event. The personality critically analysed may in the end turn out to be theatrical, half crazy, fanatical, neurotic or morbid. The phrase may be a half truth, clothed in deceptive aphorism, that the mass mind finds easy to repeat and throw in the face of its enemies as a weapon of offence and defence, —phrases like the natural rights of man, liberty, equality and fraternity, surplus values, etc. The event may have no significance beyond the particular time and country.

How hope is born in the human breast, is something which the all-knowing psychoanalyst is ignorant of. This hope may be born even as humanity is already upon the upward curve and has traversed some distance towards the direction of progress. Generally it rises as a tendency to better conditions is visible. The present-day hope of the proletariat is of this type—hope generated by what was accomplished by the ideas of justice and equality, worked out by the philanthropists

and humanitarians of the nineteenth century, as also what afterwards the trade unions were able to accomplish by their efforts, struggles, sufferings and sacrifices. Even as conditions improve, hope rises. It is not born of weakness and despair, but of strength and exaltation, realized as in a vision. It is born, not because the actual conditions are the worst possible, but because the future has tempting, tinted, fiery, rainbow colours.

#### PLACE OF PERSONALITY IN REVOLUTION

There is yet another factor which inevitably accompanies revolutions, political, social or religious. This is that the new hope, the new idea, the new gospel is born in a personality. This personality embodies it in himself and in his life, as much as the idea of a human personality possibly can. The person with an idea is a man with a mission, in which he lives, moves, and has his being. He seems like one possessed. No work, no sacrifice, is too much. Life and death do not count. The idea alone counts. The man with an idea is a desperate person. He, therefore, becomes contagious. He carries everything and everybody before him. He hypnotizes his co-workers. Reason and logic do not count. They seem to follow him. He produces in himself and others a kind of enthusiastic fever, which catches on and becomes irresistible. For the time being he is supreme. It has also been found that, once the idea is worked out and has succeeded, and the personality has outlived, he has lost his power and even his charm. He falls back in his proper place among the animal kingdom. Virtue seems to have gone out of him. He can no more perform the odds that he performed. But generally his task is finished. He disappears. But before the task is accomplished, he seems to carry about him a charmed life, no sword or bullets seem to touch him. The best laid designs of his enemies are frustrated. He seems to be enjoying some special protection. His efforts to take himself off the stage prove of no avail. He is carried along irresistibly by an inexorable fate that gives him no rest, and that allows no rest either to his companions or to his opponents. His task must be done. Such are the personalities by whom revolutions are brought about.

#### TRUE PRE-REQUISITE: POWER OF IDEAS

So if there are any pre-requisites of a revolution, they are to be found more in the psychological and ideological fields, than in the physical and economic conditions. The latter serve more or less as the necessary background. It is perhaps therefore that the present-day revolutionaries lay so much stress upon the spread of ideas. The power of ideas is brought out in relief by what are called the counter-revolutions. These have ever relied upon propaganda and the preaching of an old and orthodox idea, giving it a new meaning and a new interpretation. The counter-revolu-



tion comes even in the midst of physical and economic circumstances that are more or less identical. What are changed are the values, the ideas and the personalities. It is therefore that every revolution is more strict and censorious about the free expression of opinion than the regime that went before. Heterodoxy and non-conformity are deadly sins against the revolution. They are just like apostasy in religion worthy of the gallows and the stake. Everything else can be viewed with leniency but not non-conformity in ideology. That must be ruthlessly put down even in former companions. The punishment must not only be harsh but swift. For ideas are more contagious than physical disease. They spread and multiply more than any germs known to science. They in their effect are more destructive. Those who have been installed in power by an idea know its potency more than the previous holders of power. The old idea does not require any very great propping up. The natural conservatism in man, habit and even lethargy support it. Then it has created vast vested interests. The new idea depends only on its strength. When it is attacked, it cannot fall back upon the support of conservatism, habit or lethargy and vast vested interests, all of which it destroyed, and which it had not the time to recreate. So naturally it has recourse to suppression, and this suppression, if it is not quick enough, will overturn the whole apple cart of the new revolution. This is perhaps what happened in Afghanistan. Amanullah hesitated. He shrank back from shedding the blood of his countrymen. Lenin, Kemal Pasha, Mussolini and Hitler have been more ruthless.

Let us, however, for the sake of argument, grant that physical and economic conditions are the all deciding factors, which, we contend, they are not. Even then no student of history, politics or economics, can foretell, with any amount of certainty, the time when a revolution would arrive. It may come any day. It may not come for a long time, and society in the meantime may find a new readjustment, or it may not come at all.

#### DUTY AT HAND

Under such circumstances, to neglect the duty at hand would be a shortsighted policy. To refuse to take steps to alleviate human sufferings will be just as if a doctor refused treating a patient on the ground that he was engaged in the work of a scheme for the general hygienic improvements of a locality, which in course of half a century would eliminate all disease. The doctor under such circumstances has always a double duty to perform. While carrying into effect his vast and lengthy schemes he has to afford immediate relief. If he did not do this, he would be failing in his professional conduct, fixed after the ripe experience of generations of doctors and patients. If the doctor did not attend to the

immediate trouble, such negligence of human-woe would have an adverse psychological effect, not only on his profession, but upon the public at large. So also indifference to the actual misery and poverty around will have the effect of deadening the finer feelings in the reformer and the public, who would get habituated to witnessing human woe without any efforts being made for its removal. Nay, if persisted in, such a policy would make of human beings mere tools and instruments. Provided a particular policy succeeded, it would not matter how much misery and woe were generated, or even how much life was lost. Men and women come to be looked upon as mere pawns in the schemes of clever people, who may be at least as many times wrong as right. Human beings have, under such circumstances, no value in themselves. It is such dangerous ideas, that have in the past led to massacres, auto-da-fes, and reigns of terror. The sanctity of human life is lost. It is no argument for the reformer that the tyrant, the selfish holder of power, the invader, the conqueror and the fanatic, his opponents, use men as mere pawns in the game of their selfish aggrandisements. They frankly use men as means. The reformer cannot defend himself by their example. He works for higher aims, from humanitarian motives. He has to keep an ideal before himself and his people of justice, mercy and economy of human life. He must set up a better standard.

#### SOME LOGICAL CONCLUSIONS

If the arguments of our opponents, however, are valid negatively, what is there in these arguments for their being pursued actively and positively? If we allow conditions to remain absolutely bad and delight in their being what they are and move no finger of ours to improve them, simply because such efforts by mitigating suffering would dull the edge of popular resentment, one may also feel justified in welcoming all natural calamities. Nay one might feel justified even in going further and taking positive steps to worsen conditions, simply to sharpen the edge of discontent. Any sort of incendiarism would be justified provided it made wretched conditions still more wretched. The only proviso would be that one is careful to see that the odium falls upon the powers against whom resentment is sought to be created and who are to be unsettled from the seats of their iniquitous power by a revolution. If by mendacious and false propaganda, the authorities can be blackened, that also may be done, provided the revolution is brought a little nearer. This would be to carry to its logical and diabolical conclusion, the doctrine, that "the end justifies the means."

#### END JUSTIFYING MEANS

More or less the current morality, without explicitly avoiding the doctrine, has been acting



upon it, especially in political and group life. But in the past there were always traditional limits set to human conduct. The greatest revolutionary and the greatest tyrant were not free from their binding force. Tradition created a conscience, which kept the cruel doctrine of the 'end justifying the means' under practical restraints. True, at critical times, under the stress of circumstances, these restraints did give away, but only temporarily. The foundations were firmly laid in morality, religion, popular superstition and custom. Today, when current morality is suspect, and religion considered a spent force, superstition replaced by science, custom everchanging; if such dangerous and disruptive doctrines are to guide conduct, humanity cannot but end in absolute nihilism. There can be no basis, no recognized standard for the conduct of the human group animal except success. Already the signs of this coming nihilism are not wanting. The Great War showed to what destructive depths group animosities could degrade humanity, all in the name of success; for every nation had justifiable aims. The preparations that are now on, in armaments in the camp, the factory and the laboratory, for the next war, are such that they would make the boldest and the most unscrupulous pause and think whether the present bases of morality are laid on sound principles when means are absolutely subordinated to the end. May it not be, therefore, that Gandhi insists that for him means and aims are convertible terms?

I am conscious that at critical times it is not given to human reason to weigh things in nice sensitive balances. We are first of all acting animals. All thought is for the purpose of action. Therefore in the world, we have to think, even as we are on the run in this mad human race. Rough and ready calculations will have to be made at critical times. Some life will have to be sacrificed, so that larger life today or in the future may be conserved. A Gandhi marching some thousands of miles with thousands of people cannot wait on the way to look after the halt and the lame of the expedition. If he is to void a disaster, they must be left to their fate, and he must march on. A Lenin in the midst of a revolution may not divert his attention from the main issue even owing to a famine. But such things can only be justified by the critical stress of circumstances when one is in the grip of a life and death struggle. Such doctrines would be dangerous if they were made into general principle and applied to more or less normal conditions. The stress and the strain of the times may be very great. Things may be in a flux but yet till one is actually in the grip of a revolution, when a false step may mean a disaster, one cannot look upon human woe, misery and death with philosophic indifference. The medicine of life cannot be made into its food. As I said before, in point of time revolu-

tions are entirely uncertain things. They may come today or may not come for half a century, or may not come at all. A true benefactor of his people cannot afford to play with the destinies of the present generation of his countrymen lightly. He has to be careful. Even at the risk of slower work for the preparation of a radical change, he has to devise measure for the immediate amelioration of human woe. When the earthquake came in Bihar, the C. D. Movement there was practically suspended. Even Jawaharlal rushed to the rescue. The opponents, the Government, immediately set all the prisoners at liberty. The patriots could have done no less.

#### DUTY OF REFORMERS

Therefore the reformers, even like good doctors, have to do double duty. While preparing the people for the coming radical change, they have to keep solving the immediate problems. The solution of these problems would itself be a necessary training for the change. It would also give the leaders a hold over the people, whom they have been serving in their day-to-day difficulties. The forces of the movement, if necessary, may be divided—those who look to the immediate pressing demands of the hour, and those who create the atmosphere for the coming change. At the end, when the historian sits to allocate the honours of the fight, who knows, the first may be the last, and last first. The humblest then may have the place of honour.

#### PLACE OF CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

The Bardolis, the peasant and village organizations, the trade unions, national education, untouchability, khadi, prohibition and all work of a constructive nature is in a sense to solve the immediate problem. The most effective work in all these directions can only be done after the actual capture of power. The reformer has to have faith. He cannot bring about the change at a scheduled time. It will take its own time and course. In the meanwhile he has to do the work at hand in faith, never losing sight of the goal. In the stress of everyday drudgery, covered with the dust of the soil to a superficial observer who did not look within, he might seem to have forgotten the end. So looked Gandhi from 1923 to 1929. He seemed to have forgotten the end. Many thought and said so in those days. But as a matter of fact, the work of preparation was ever on. This was plain in 1930. If such a silent and necessary preparation did not go on, the reformer would miss his opportunity, when the popular temper was ready to respond. Therefore, with the hope and faith of a ceaseless and tireless worker, Gandhi says, "one step enough for me."

No scientific socialist leader has ever condemned the work of the trade unions. It is reformatory, concerned with the immediate-



problem. Sometime it resolves itself into so many rupees, annas and pies. Yet, it is necessary. It gives the moral qualities, the unity, the organization, the group patriotism, the spirit of co-operation, obedience, and subordination, with its necessary curb on inordinate ambition and jealousy, without which no successful movement can be inaugurated. Deprived of such constructive activities, what are the rank and file to do? They cannot merely keep on creating ideologies and repeating slogans. They must patiently learn to work and manage affairs.

#### THE "POOR" CHARKA

Further, can anyone say that there is not sufficient dirt, squalor, disease, poverty, degradation and ignorance among the masses throughout the countries, enough and more, for not one radical change but for a series of them? A little less will not dull the edge of human in squity and inequality, which in all conscience is sharp enough and proposes to remain so, in spite of the tiny efforts of the reformer. There is no fear of the physical pre-requisites disappearing or even diminishing. So far as the poor charkha is concerned, as our opponents remind us, it does not touch the very fringe of the problem of poverty. If it is so, and so it is, they need not think, by the little help that we render by our humble efforts to the unemployed, the orphan and the widow, we are in any way postponing the day of reckoning. We who are to put a few coppers in the hands of the peasant, how happy shall we be, if these by the magic touch of a revolution, could turn into nickels or silver! We are not the ones to grudge the poor better wages and better conditions. He would be no patriot, nor would he be a humanitarian, if he were satisfied with a few coppers as wages even for the spare hours of the peasant. It will be a

low ambition indeed. We want our masses to grow to the fullest of their physical, moral and intellectual height. There should be no doubt that a man like Gandhi cannot wish for less. But he and his companions are practical idealists. For them the tragedy of the situation is that for the poor these coppers do matter. For them it is a question of life and death.

The test of the pudding is in the eating. Whenever the movement of satyagraha has been inaugurated, whenever direct action has been decided upon, the khaddarites and the advocates of constructive work have never been found in the rear. Whenever the exhausted have cried halt, it is again not the khaddar mentality that has cried halt. When it is the question of offices, who are in the background? As experience has shown, the people with the khaddar and the bullock cart mentality. When hard uninteresting drudgery is demanded, who again are in the front? Surely the khaddar mentality has shown no lack of enthusiasm or courage in any hour of trial. So far as discipline is concerned, they have been the least troublesome. If suffering, readiness to sacrifice, obedience, organization, honesty and absence of unworthy ambition and jealousy are the signs of a good and effective peaceful revolutionary, the khaddar group will compare with any other in the country.

Throughout this discussion, I have not mentioned the new morality of non-violence in group life. I have kept the whole discussion on the basis of what even today are considered good and practical politics and economics. I have based my arguments not upon what ought to be but upon what actually is. I have never questioned the basis of the present-day morality. I have not talked of the new yet old doctrines of non-violence and truth of Gandhi.





## THE FLOODS IN ORISSA

By C. F. ANDREWS

**A**N important paper has remained in my writing-case now, for more than a year, and as it contains some of my own carefully considered opinions with regard to the almost perennial floods in the poorest province in India, Orissa, I wish to release it in its unfinished state, through the medium of *The Modern Review* and the kindness of its Editor, so that the conclusions which I reached may not be lost and I would ask if I may, other papers and magazines to make it known both in English and in vernaculars. While I am entirely in sympathy with the great Uriya movement for the establishment of a new province of Orissa, on a linguistic basis, I would also very earnestly point out that the control of the Mahanadi River can never be undertaken from Orissa itself. It needs what I have ventured to call a 'Conservancy Board,' and this would obviously have to be inter-provincial. When the new province is formed this ought to be considered at the same time.

My memorandum runs as follows :

I shall not deal in this memorandum with the statistics of the floods in Orissa of 1933 or with the amount of damage done, in actual figures, but rather concentrate on what remedies can be recommended in order that these almost perennial disasters may be mitigated, and in the long run brought to an end. It cannot be beyond the intelligence of man to devise means for remedying such evils, even though the engineering operations may demand great skill and heavy expense. Up to the present, there has been vacillation in policy and ruinously false economy with regard to necessary engineering operations.

During the year 1927, I was present to help the poor people of Orissa for a long period in the flood disaster, the flood, that year, was almost as serious as that which wrought havoc in 1933. Also I was present, working at flood relief, with

Pandit Gopabandhu Das, in 1925 ; therefore the investigation, which I have now carried out covers no new ground, but rather has been a third revision of all the different enquiries and investigations which I made in earlier years. During those earlier enquiries, I sought the very best evidence, both official and non-official. The help that was rendered was quite invaluable. I went into the flooded areas and saw with a clear understanding and eye-witness the terrible damage which had been done. Therefore this last investigation of 1933 has been for the most part a confirmation of certain fundamental opinions about these floods which I had formed nearly ten years ago and have been considering ever since. While some of my impressions have been corrected by more recent experience, other impressions have been very strongly confirmed.

(A) By far the most important conclusion that I have come to is this : We need a Mahanadi Conservancy Board which shall deal with the river and its tributaries, as a whole, from source to mouth, because unless the whole river is surveyed and conserved, these disasters are likely to happen with even greater frequency than before. In America it was found necessary to take the Mississippi area entirely out of State Conservancy control, and make its whole course into one unit, outside individual state interference. In the same way the Mahanadi, with its extremely difficult engineering problems, needs to be taken in hand by one controlling Board which will have power from the Central Government of India, thus making it superior to any provincial interference. Each province might be asked to contribute to the Board, or it might be placed on the All-India Finances ; but without central control of the whole river and its tributaries, no permanent work can possibly be done. Orissa will still suffer.

(B) Probably one of the greatest values of such a controlling Board would be the com-



plete *exploration* of the course of the Mahanadi as it flows through the hill tracts of the Orissa Feudatory States. It is not unlikely that large engineering works may be needed at certain parts of its course through these poorly charted regions, whose surface survey is very incomplete. This work could never be done by any provincial Government. It must be a central responsibility.

(C) Still further in connection with this 'Controlling Board, a complete meteorological survey system needs to be devised and rain-falls have to be far more carefully and closely taken than at present. Probably carefully conducted hydrographic survey work will prove of remarkable value in warning the Orissa Government much earlier than heretofore concerning impending dangers, and thus not only save human life, but also make possible certain preventive measures at the critical moment.

(D) The general policy laid down in the Report, which followed the floods of 1927, appears to me to be correct in its main recommendations, but two difficulties have since that date rendered much of this report almost nugatory :

(1) The financial carrying out of the findings of the report has been blocked at every turn and some of the most important items have not been carried out at all.

(2) The general recommendations clearly needed to be put into operation *together* rather than to be dealt with one by one, because if an embankment is destroyed in one place but allowed to remain in another, where it is a public danger, then obviously new complications are likely to arise. Therefore this 'fragmentary' policy of treating with the disease has made the cure more difficult than ever. It would seem, for instance, that the flood of 1933 was hardly affected at all by the very small amount of remedial measures which had already been taken in hand during the years 1928-33. The Mahanadi flood water took its own course and did immense damage in consequence.

(E) An important general principle, which has been pointed out by one of the district engineers, is this,—that it is necessary to carry on medical, sanitary and engineering work

together, rather than treat them separately. For instance, if the flood waters are able to spread lightly over the land of the Delta and then drain off, leaving precious silt behind, there is less danger to public health as well as greater fertility to the soil, than if waters are forced to remain stagnant owing to embankments blocking their flow. For this undischarged water becomes the worst of all means of increasing malaria and other diseases.

(F) While I would entirely agree with the general policy of allowing the water in flood-time to spread, rather than forcing it by embankments into a narrow channel, I can also see that the very large protected areas, which include some of the most fertile land in Orissa cannot be exposed to heavy flood waters through the breaking down of embankments without serious loss to the province. I would therefore agree with the last report—that while it may be necessary in time to demolish a much larger number of these embankments, this cannot be done in certain areas owing to the prohibitive expense. But these questions of embankments, etc., very largely depend upon the previous question of the setting up of the Mahanadi Conservancy Board, which could deal with the whole problem and make recommendations accordingly.

Thus far I had got with this memorandum when other pressing duties called me. Never, for a moment, have I forgotten Orissa in my many journeys to and fro across the world, but it has been literally impossible for me to visit Orissa again and complete the investigation I made, and therefore I would give it to the public in all its incompleteness.

In conclusion, I would point to the terrible warning of the recent malaria epidemic in Ceylon. Orissa with its vast breeding ground for malarial mosquitos may at any time be decimated by a similar epidemic. The problem is, first and last, one of engineering. Nothing except the highest skill in engineering on a large scale can save Orissa. What harm poorly equipped engineering can do can be seen today in the remains of the coastal canal which probably ought never to have been constructed.



## SOCIETIES FOUNDED BY RAMMOHUN ROY FOR RELIGIOUS REFORM

BY BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

### I. THE ATMIYA SABHA

**T**HOUGH Rammohun Roy had begun his religious studies much earlier in life, he could not give any practical form to his ideas of religious reform till after 1814. It was in that year that he finally settled down in Calcutta after about fourteen years of long and short stays at different civil stations of what was then included in the province of Bengal, in search of a livelihood. By that time he had earned a fair competence which made him independent of the need of further exertions and gave him leisure to pursue his reforming activities. He readily availed himself of that leisure and, within a very short time of his coming to Calcutta, started a religious society called the Ātmiya Sabhā or the Friendly Society with the object of popularizing his monotheistic doctrines and getting a following.

Our knowledge of this Society was till recently derived almost wholly from an article published in the *Tatrabodhini Patrika* for Agrahayana 1769, Saka era (Nov.-Dec., 1847 A.D.) From this account it was known that Baikuntha Nath Banerjea was the Secretary of the Society and that its sittings used to take place sometimes at Rammohun's Maniktala garden-house and sometimes at the residences of the other members. About two or three years ago I came across two other accounts of the Society in the contemporary newspaper *Sumachar Durpun* and published them in my *Sambād Patre Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. I, p. 168. These accounts related to the two meetings of the Society held on 9th and 30th May, 1819, the first of which took place at the house of Brajamohan Majumdar and Krishna Mohan Majumdar (sons of Radhacharan Majumdar), and the second at the residence of Dewan Motichand of Kidderpore. Very recently I have found two other accounts of this Society

in the *Madras Courier* for Nov. 19, 1816 and the *Monthly Repository*, Vol. IV for Jan.-Dec. 1818. Both these papers had quoted the accounts from other papers, *viz.*, the *Madras Courier* from the *Calcutta Gazette* and the *Monthly Repository* from the *Christian Reformer*. These accounts give a vivid description of Rammohun's first reforming venture in Calcutta and I reproduce them in full below.

### A. THE ACCOUNT OF THE *Calcutta Gazette* QUOTED IN THE *Madras Courier*.

We have already more than once called the attention of our readers to the theological doctrines of Ram Mohun Roy. This eminently learned and indefatigable reformer is proceeding with unrelenting exertions in the laudable work of enlightening his countrymen, and reclaiming them from their debasing system of idolatry. We understand that on all the great Hindoo festivals, the 'FRIENDLY SOCIETY,' established by him, holds meetings; not only with the view that its members may keep aloof from the idolatrous ceremonies of their countrymen, but also to renew and strengthen their own faith in the purer doctrine which they affirm to be established in the Veds. At these meetings they have music and dancing,\* as well as their more superstitious brethren; but the songs are all expressive of the peculiar tenets of the Monotheists.

The accompanying original, with its translation, will serve to give an idea of the nature of these songs, though the specimen is by no means one of the most favorable in poetic merit.

*Ke bhoole loo hay ?  
Kolpnake shotyo kori jano,  
E ki day'*

*Aponi goroho jake,  
Je tomar bashe t'nake,  
Kemone Eeshwor dake,  
Koro obhpray ?*

---

\* That the reference to dancing is not correct will be obvious from the following extract from Rammohun's writings. He says: "The practice of dancing in divine worship, I agree, is not ordained by the scripture, and accordingly never was introduced in our worship; any mention of dancing in the *Calcutta Gazette* must, therefore, have proceeded from misinformation of the Editor."—*Hindoo Theism*, p. 143 (London ed.)



*Kok'hono bhoshon deo ;  
Kok'hono ahar ;  
Khyoneke stapaho ;  
Khyonek koroho songhar.*

*Probhoo bole mano jare,  
Sommookhe nachao tare—  
Heno bhool e songshare,  
Dekhecho kothay ?*

## TRANSLATION

Ah ! what can thus your soul deceive ?  
Fiction for truth you still mistake.  
Who can refrain in heart to grieve  
To see you wisdom's path forsake.

A figure carved of stone or wood,  
An inmate in your house you place ;  
Invoke it by the name of God,  
And pray it may your sins efface.

Invested now with garments gay,  
Rich viands for its food you spread.—  
Nay, ev'n worship that to-day,  
To-morrow sees in fragments shed.

Next view by sacred name addressed  
A dancer, rev'renced as a God !  
Where is such folly manifest  
E'er seen throughout the world abroad !

B. ACCOUNT OF THE *Christian Reformer*  
QUOTED IN THE *Monthly Repository*.

You have heard of a new sect of Hindoos that have risen up here, who profess to believe in the Unity of the Godhead, in opposition to their countrymen, who worship 'Gods many and lords many.'—

Braj-mohun Sen of the police office, whose enlightened understanding has enabled him to overcome the early prejudices of his Hindoo education, lately invited many of his friends and acquaintances, who, like himself, have substituted the adoration of one Supreme Being for the idolatrous practices of the vulgar worship, to attend at his house in Kolootolah, and hear the chapters of the Veds, which treat of the Unity of God, read and explained.

They accordingly convened to a considerable number, on the evening of Sunday last, the 20th, when such parts of the Veds as treat of the notion and unity of the Godhead were explained, and several hymns tending to inculcate spiritual worship of the Divine Being and the practice of pure morality, as the most acceptable offerings to Heaven, were sung on the occasion, accompanied by musical instruments. The house was crowded with a great number of natives of great respectability, both in regard to birth and education ; and many of them were of a contemplative and reflecting turn of mind.

We subjoin the following translation of one of the hymns sung at Braj-mohun's assembly :—

"If God you really learn to fear,  
And stand in awe of Him ;  
No other fears need rack your mind,  
But all be peace within.

"If God you really learn to love,  
To venerate and adore,  
Then will your fellow-men be taught  
To love you more and more.

"He who to sense and consciousness  
First call'd you by his might,  
Can in an instant bid you sink  
Back to the realms of night.

"For He, the Soul, pervades the world—  
The Source of all we see ;  
He guides and rules the Universe  
Omnipotent is He."

(Lawson's letter dated Calcutta, April 28, 1817.)

## II. THE BRAHMA SABHA

The Ātmiya Sabhā developed in the end into the religious society which bears the name of Brāhma Samāj today. It was at first only a debating body in which a number of persons brought together by personal friendship discussed the religious problems facing them and tried to promulgate a doctrine of Hindu monotheism. In something over ten years it underwent not only a change of name but that of character as well. As Miss Collet says in her biography : "the group of comrades and disciples which had hung round him these many years were at last ready to form an independent community, no longer for dialectical and educational purposes only, but for worship,—for distinctly religious fellowship." This more or less transformed society was known under the name of the Brahma Sabhā or Brāhma Samāj \* and was formally inaugurated on August 20, 1828. I have found an interesting account of the Brahma Sabhā in the *Christian Observer* for March 1833. As it has not been referred to or utilized by anyone till now, I am quoting in full for the use of future historians of the Brāhma Samāj.

SOME PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE  
INSTITUTION OF THE BRUMHA  
SHUBHA

This institution was planned and commenced about the year 1814. Its originator and chief supporter was Rammohun Roy, but he was joined

\* The name ब्रह्म समाज (Brāhma Samāj) is for the first time found on the title-page of the first discourse, delivered on 6 Bhadra 1750 (20 Aug. 1828), by the minister, Ramechandra Sharma,—a copy of the original edition of which is now in the possession of the library of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.



also by Kaleesunker Ghosal, Brijomohun Mojumdar, Ramnursing Mukhopadya, and a few other highly respectable Natives. The meetings were formerly held at the garden house of Rammohun Roy, but during the last five or six years, service has been regularly conducted once a week, at a house in the Chitpoor Road. Three eminent Pundits are engaged to conduct the service, viz. Ramchunder, Ootsobanundo, and a Hindoostanee reader, called Bawjee. The duty of the first is, to explain the text of Vyas, the object of whose writings is, to reconcile the dispute between those who declare the Vedas to be *eternal*, and those who affirm it to have been revealed at a certain time past. Ootsobanundo explains the *Upanishads*, which are subdivided into various branches, such as Vrihudarunyuka, Mandookya, Chandogya, Toitireeya, Prusna, &c. &c.; and Bawjee simply reads portions of the Vedas in the original Sanscrit language. The two first read and expound, in the Bengalee language, the science of the Vedas and Puranas; and after the service is concluded, any individual seeking information, has an opportunity of discussion with the Pundits.

The object of the Brumha Shubha is to make known that part of the Vedas which is either unknown, forgotten, or neglected. The Vedas, say the Pundits, consist of two parts, the Gyankhondo and the Kormokhondo; the first teaches the true knowledge and spiritual worship of God, and the last, the manner of performing ceremonies, such as burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, and sacrifices in general, together with the several duties, social and religious, devolving upon the several orders.

Both are considered *necessary* by the *Vedantists*; they do not, as is generally supposed, *denounce* or *renounce* poojahs and sacrifices. They allege, that the uninitiated or ignorant cannot understand the *inner*, till they have practised the *outer*, religion;—that idols and ceremonies are a *means* to spiritual knowledge.

Nor is it the Vedas alone that the Vedant Priests profess to expound; they teach also the doctrines and practices prescribed in the Smritis or Puranas, the source of all their idolatry and superstition. The only thing that distinguishes the party from other religionists is, that they do not bow down to idols, but worship the one eternal, invisible Spirit, *having been*, as they arrogantly affirm, *sufficiently enlightened for the purpose*.

Some portion of the views entertained by the Vedantists has been published in about 18 pamphlets printed in Bengalee, and composed by Ramchunder; and an English translation of some of them has been made by Tarachand Chukerbutty.

The hymns, of which the annexed is a translation, were composed by Rammohun Roy, Nilmoney Ghose, Kaleenath Roy, and others. One half of the service consists in singing some of these hymns, and in this part of it, the audience seemed to me to feel the greater delight, for the sermon or exposition is certainly unintelligible to the majority.

The singing and music are very superior to what Europeans are accustomed to hear from Natives elsewhere. And though the *style* may not accord with their taste or notion of fine

music, yet in this display will be found not only considerable execution, but true science. The performance of Golam Abbas on the *toblah*, or small conical drum, played upon by the fingers, is truly astonishing, and is well worth *seeing*, as well as hearing. Bursts of applause frequently attest the admiration which his skill excites. The singing is similar to what is sometimes heard at nautches, but far superior. It is accompanied by the *toblah*, and also by the *tomburu*, which the *gaiak*, or songster, himself plays upon. This instrument is like a guitar, but the reverberatory is a large pumpkin. It is held in the left hand, and the strings, of which there are usually three, are swept by one finger. The *bealah* resembles our violoncello, and the *mondeere* are small cymbals, which have a very pleasing effect. These are the only instruments used in the Brumha Shubah.\*

The service is now conducted on Wednesday evenings, commencing at sunset, and terminates at about 8 o'clock. Any one who wishes, is at liberty, to attend.

M. W. W.

[ M. W. Wollaston of the Hindu College ? ]

#### TRANSLATION OF A SELECT PORTION OF THE HYMNS SUNG IN THE BRUMHA SHUBHA, BY M. W. W.

##### 1st. *Think of Him only.*

Who is every where the same, in the heavens above, in the earth, and in the water. He who created the world, hath neither beginning nor end. He knoweth all things, but no one can apprehend him. Let us therefore reflect upon him, who is supreme, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, richer and more excellent than all besides.

##### 2.

O my soul, flatter not thyself, saying, "I am *this*," or "I do *that*:" consider rather, that thou art an instrument. Thou art indeed endowed with power to govern thy passions, and to act as thou choolest; but know, there is One, to whom thou art subject.

##### 3.

All is vain without the blessings of God. Remember him who can deprive you of wife, children, friends, relatives, and wealth. He is the supreme, separate from the *triune* deity†; to him

\* Services was formerly performed on Saturday evening, and is commonly understood to have been transferred to Wednesday, for the express purpose of removing the impression that any one day of the week, rather than another, ought to be devoted to the public worship of God. There is to be an annual or biennial change of the day of the week on which divine service is held, so that each day of the seven will, in rotation, have its due share of homage.—Ed.

† The triune deity comprehends Vishnu, Brumha, and Siva, possessing respectively the three qualities of *Soto*, *rojho*, *tomo*, the creator, preserver, and destroyer. The Bramhuns affirm, that when God willed to form the earth, he assumed three spiritual natures,



belong no titles nor distinctions. It is written, "Blessed is he whose soul dwelleth on him."

4.

Boast not of youth, wealth, or connexion ; for, "Time may deprive you of all these in the twinkling of an eye." Forsake the illusions of this passing world, and seek the kingdom of God (Bumha), for life is as unstable as the liquid drop on the leaf of the water-lily.

5.

Serve him who is alike the author of life and death, and then you shall not suffer the miseries incident to life and death. Consider, be careful, and avoid the gulf of wealth, connexion, and self-love ; set not your affections on these.

6.

Life gradually wears away, but desires constantly multiply. O meditate on Him who hath neither desire nor passion.\*

7.

*The world resembles the ocean.*

O my soul, the source of sin and corruption, who can cross the boundless ocean without the guidance of a skilful mariner ?

The soul hath five faculties of sense ; hearing, seeing, smelling, touching and tasting ; these are like cords attached to the neck.

8.

Excessive love is like the darkness ; desire like the storm ; and the will like the wave which flows perpetually. Self-love falls like showers of rain in a continuous stream ; lust, anger, and covetousness are like the frightful monsters of the deep.

9.

How can your eyes behold Him, whom even the soul cannot perceive ; Him, who is without qualities or affections, and unobservable by any of the senses ; Him, whose perfections the four Vedas cannot recount, nor the holiest sages describe ?

He who created the world by his will, who supports, and destroys the world according to his good pleasure, is "TRUTH" ; seek earnestly to know Him.

10.

Man, that is day and night walking in ignorance, or that is eager only in the pursuit of pleasure, never reflects that his fellow-creatures

distinguished as above ; but that he also exists in a separate or individual state as the supreme God without any *specific* title, or distinction of nature.

\* According to the Hindoo religion, there are three moral or immaterial qualities viz. moral goodness, passion, and darkness or illusion (maia), by virtue of which God creates, preserves, and destroys. These qualities are not his *essential* attributes, but *assumed* merely when God *acts* ; as, when he purposes to *create*, he is invested with *passion* ; when to *preserve*, with *moral goodness* ; when to *destroy*, with *darkness* ; separate from these affections he exists like the air, invisible and inapprehensible.

are dying every moment ; though he sees *the trophies of death*, he cannot imagine that it will soon be his fate to die also. Alas ! how strange is this !

11.

O foolish creature, thou dost not regard thy true welfare ; the pleasures of this life, like wine enjoyed to excess, are only absurd. By excess, man becomes intoxicated ; drinking causes at first a pleasing insensibility, but the wretched being that indulges largely soon falls into a sea of troubles.

12.

O my soul, thou does not consider, that when thou art young, vain of thy wealth, birth, and beauty, thou mayest be stripped in a moment of these *vanities*. Do not be foolishly puffed up with conceit of the being thou callest I, for thou knowest not what thou art.

13.

Who can describe his glory ? The Vedas, the Institutes, and the Sciences are weary in recounting his praises. Attend, O my peaceful soul. *He* is the source of life, the essence of mind, who, though unsustained, sustains the universe, ineffable, inconceivable, imperishable, insusceptible of disease, the luminary of the mind.

14.

O wisdom ! destroy thou my errors ; wisdom arising in the soul will beget boundless happiness. He dwelleth in the body as in a chariot, whose guide is the soul.

Aim your shafts at the enemy ; wherefore art thou afraid ? In the body are ten organs, which may be compared to ten horses ; the mind, which is under your control, is a bridle.

Avoid excessive love of luxury.

Reflection resembles the arrow, with which you should take a good aim. By aid of reflection, envy and her train can no longer subsist.

15.

By reflection and abstraction from worldly attachments ; think of Him, before whom no being is. In luxury there are many sorrows ; and to flatter the voluptuary is sin. O my-soul, avoid these errors, and reflect upon *truth*.

16.

Remember, O my foolish, thoughtless heart, how unprofitably your time is spent, your organs soon lose their power, and your breath gradually sinks. O ! how vile not to love truth, how despicable to be revelling in luxury.

Thou fanciest, *He* is far from you ; but *He* is every where present, yea in your very soul.

17.

Behold, and consider, he is the author of your being, your preservation, and destruction ; hear and obey his commands, and utter the truth, and *live*. O wayfaring man, whither art thou fleeing ? Despairing of your own soul, whither dost thou flee for refuge ?



Consider thy passions are like a strange land ; but they are not like thy home. Thine own soul is thine only refuge ; seek to cherish it in its proper abode, composed of five elements, and guided by six passions. Why dost thou distrust thine own soul ?

18.

O my soul, be not forgetful of Him who is everlasting ; and by whom the world is sustained and nourished. O think of Him who is the essence of all things, and who is omnipresent.

Subdue thy passions, humble thy pride, and with the sword of wisdom, sever thy attachment to earthly things.

19.

Remember that last solemn day, when Death will visit you ; your friends may then seek to comfort you, but you will be unable to respond to their sympathies. You shall behold your wife, children, and kindred, and mourn ; they shall stand before you fixed and speechless, and nought but lamentations shall be heard in your dwelling. Your eyes will grow dim, your pulse presently cease to beat, and your hands become cold. Beware, then, be not full of vain thoughts, separate yourself from carnal pleasures, and set your affections upon that which is durable and true.

20.

Since thou knowest that thou must one day die, why art thou so full of disquietude, envy and

distraction ? This fair body, of which thou art so enamoured, shall lie prostrate mingled in dust.

21.

By art, a piece of wood, or a blade of grass may be preserved many years ; but all your endeavours to preserve the body from destruction will be fruitless. Understand, therefore, where thou art, and whither thou art hastening. Love your fellow creatures, and do that which is right.

22.

O my soul, my ever present companion, which way dost thou inquire after God ? Wherefore dost thou seek Him afar ? He dwelleth even in your own heart.

23.

Behold, O man ! how vain art thou, that thinkest thou knowest *Him* ; for though *He* is every where present, thou canst not perceive Him.

O my soul ! thou hast wandered over the world, and yet knowest not what is best for thee ; in vain hast thou traversed the paths of error.

24.

Regard thy body as a chariot, its proprietor thy soul, and let wisdom be thy guide. With the powers of your mind, curb your passions, the steeds of your chariot ; refrain from luxury, subdue your lusts, pursue the paths of holiness, and submit only to truth.

## SANSKRIT EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE

By K. C. PILLAI

**K**ERALA, as a whole, has been a seat of Sanskrit learning from time immemorial and her language and literature are inseparably connected with Sanskrit, so much so, that a Sanskrit-knowing non-Malayalee could easily make out the sense of certain parts of our literature. With the advent of English education native culture and literature began to be neglected as in other parts of India ; but, even at that period, there was a considerable body of people who were tenaciously sticking to their indigenous method of learning and whose endeavours in the field of literature kept the light of Sanskrit knowledge unextinguished. Then came the time of Indian cultural renaissance when people, as if by magic wand, turned to their own things. English literature could not quench the literary thirst of all the educated classes, whose taste was fundamentally different from that of the English. Thus the quest for literary expression brought home to them the value of language and literature of their own.

When they came to their own literatures they

realized the basic value of Sanskrit in the life of the nation, because as Prof. Kumarappa says—“Sanskrit is not only the source of most of them (the Indian Vernaculars) but the fountain-head of the social and religious culture which inspires and sustains them”. The new interest evinced in literature brought into existence provisions for Sanskrit learning, which had gone into oblivion owing to the negligence and disregard on the part of the educational authorities.

In Travancore, first the Trivandrum Sanskrit College was instituted, wherein, in former days instruction was given only in Sanskrit. In due course, with the urge for the modernization of Sanskrit education a new curriculum was introduced which retaining the previous high standard in Sanskrit to a great extent, gave due weight to English, Malayalam, History, Geography, Mathematics and the elements of Physical Science. When the demand for Sanskrit schools became more widespread many schools were opened in the country with the financial help of the State. Among the factors which were



conducive to the growth of these institutions, the following are some :—

- (1) the unemployment among the English-educated people,
- (2) the high expense incurred on English education,
- (3) the spend-thrift habit that the students cultivate in the schools and colleges, and, above all,
- (4) their insuperable apathy towards the native surroundings. The revival of Ayurveda also gave an impetus to Sanskrit studies in Travancore.

Now, we have got a good number of schools spread throughout the country. The course in the Sanskrit schools runs for six years after the elementary education, at the end of which a public examination is held. As English and other subjects are compulsory, the successful candidates can be admitted in the higher forms of any English schools, or after a course of two years more, they can sit for the English School Leaving Examination. License for teaching all these subjects in lower forms is issued in their favour, and they are legally qualified to occupy any post which the undergraduates are allowed in. As Vernacular teachers in English and Vernacular Schools they are even given preference. Thus even the common-folk other than the 'blessed ones' are given an opportunity of educating their children in the modern as well as

the indigenous way, so as to enable them to be equipped with a general knowledge of modern subjects without losing touch with the real source of their life. The traditional belief that Sanskrit education would make one polite, simple, and contented, encouraged the law-abiding conservative part of the population to take considerable interest in it. The women show particular interest, and in almost every high Hindu family tuition in Sanskrit is given to the girls. The members of the Royal family are invariably educated in Sanskrit also.

For the permanent up-keep of the schools they charge a nominal fee ranging from three to twelve rupees per year. Formerly, the State aided these schools under the category of Primary Schools; but under a new law those are classified and helped now as Sanskrit schools. The tuition fees combined with the grant-in-aid place the schools on a fairly good financial basis. In many schools, specially in the country, classrooms are overcrowded with students, who seem as happy, hopeful, and enthusiastic as students in the other schools and colleges. They organize their sports and games, and take lively part in political and social movements and all other public activities. The Sanskrit students in Travancore have never been isolated from the rest of the country. When the question of unemployment comes they are less desperate, for they have spent very little on their education.

## GOVINDADAS, THE POET OF MITHILA

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

**T**HIRTY years ago, while I was engaged in research work in connection with the edition of Vidyapati's poems, which were subsequently published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad I discovered in Mithila that Govindadas, whose poems are incorporated in the large collection of Vaishnava poems, was also a native of Mithila, though he is believed to be a Bengali in Bengal. The result of my investigations was given in some papers I read at the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and which were summarized in the report of the proceedings of that body.

At that time, my conclusion was accepted without protest and no exception was taken in any Bengali journal or newspaper. After several years I read a paper on the same subject in Bengali before the Sahitya Parishad

of Bengal, and another in English before the Poetry Society of Calcutta. It was repeated at the Patna University Senate Hall and was published in the *Modern Review* of July, 1930. This time there was a chorus of protest and it was contended that I was wrong and Govindadas was a Bengali and not a Maithil.

Now, the majority of these critics had not read the whole of *Padakalpataru*, the great collection of Vaishnava poems, and did not know how many poets bore the name of Govindadas. They had only a hazy notion that the chief poet of that name was a Bengali and it was unpatriotic to admit that he was a Maithil. As a matter of fact, there were several poets, probably not less than five, who were named Govindadas, and one of them, that is, the greatest poet of that name, was undoubtedly a Maithil. This is conclusive—



ly proved by the fact that his poems have been frightfully mutilated in the Bengali collection, and many poems and portions of poems have become meaningless in consequence.

This controversy has now been set at rest by the publication of Govinda Gitavali from the Vidyapati Press, Laheriasarai, Darbhanga, edited by Mathuraprasad Dikshit, with a foreword by Dr. Ganganath Jha, then Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, and a Sanskrit and Maithil scholar of high reputation. Reference is made in the introduction to my papers and lectures on Govindadas Jha. It will not be seriously maintained that any attempt has been made to convert Bengali poems into Maithil. This edition is neither exhaustive nor always

accurate, and a fuller and a better edition of the poems of Govindadas Jha should be published by the Maithil Sahitya Parishad of Darbhanga.

In making the announcement that Govindadas Jha, or Kaviraj Govindadas as he is known in Bengal, was a native of Mithila and composed his poems in the Maithil language I merely stated the truth, which is above every other consideration, and it is a great satisfaction to me as it should be to the literary public that the people of Mithila have done their long neglected duty and claimed their own poet. Vidyapati Thakur and Govindadas Jha are the two greatest names in Maithil literature as they are also great names in early Vaishnava Bengali poetry.

## THINGS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE THREE R'S IN EDUCATION

By PASUPULETI GOPALA KRISHNAYYA, B.A. (Madras),

M.A. & M.Sc. (Columbia), Ph.D. (New York)

A very dear friend of mine from India, a school master to boot, not that I am putting on "uppish" airs, because I too have the honour to belong to that "noblest of professions but sorriest of trades", wrote to me recently asking me, as to whether my philosophy regarding education has changed due to my foreign travel, schooling and experience. I should say it has, whose wouldn't! The more of the world I see and the more educational systems I observe, and I have had the very good fortune of seeing some of the very best in the world, I am coming increasingly to the conclusion that there are infinitely more important objectives which education should strive for than the three proverbial R's. This is by no means an original or novel inference, but to one brought up in the Indian educational soil, there is much food for thought in this commonly uncommon conclusion. While observing the ideal educational set-ups here (U. S. A.) naturally I compare them with those in my own country and it does pain me sorely to see how behind we are lagging. The late Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu's description of the Indian Government as being anti-deluvian and wooden, could with greater force be applied to our educational system.

There are six more or less neglected phases of education that, to me, seem more important than the usual subject-matter itself. Within the last twenty-five years we have undoubtedly

improved the technique for guidance and teaching. Our real danger and our real problem lie in the mechanization of life, in becoming machine-minded, in monotonous specialization, with its deadening set of habits and in a complete loss of perspective on human values. This philosophy sounds Gandhian, and there is much to be said in favour of it, after observing the industrial and competitive west. Ultimately we must attain beauty and serenity of thought and action. Ultimately the production of coal or cotton or anything else is bought too dearly if it means miles of tawdry, insanitary, ugly huts. Ultimately human values, individuality, personality, beauty, morality, freedom, must take precedent over production. We must definitely plan for intelligent use of recreation and leisure time. We must definitely counteract the deadening action of factory and mill. Education has a much larger task than training people to fit into vocational niches, not denying the very great importance of this task.

I shall discuss here what seem to me matters of first importance in a student's training; matters of basic importance in the formation of habits of aesthetics, morality and thought, in this trying and frenzied period of regimentation and examination within the school-room, and a living testimonial of cultural failure without the school-room witnessed: in the increasing number of psychoses, neurasthenias, suicides; in discontent,



in mob hysteria, in the resurrection of medieval, racial and religious hatreds, and in moral and æsthetic breakdown that is so true of educated India of today.

Antedating any attempt to teach formal subjects, such as reading, writing or arithmetic, there should be, of course, as rich a basis for concepts as possible. Perception of objects and acts should be richly varied while every sensory field at all pertinent should be brought into play. So easily said! So difficult to attain! Especially is an object made tangible and real if it is incorporated in some sensory-motor process. This dynamic rounding out of the concept should be much more extensive and much more emphasized than it is at the present time. Two pedagogical phases need more consideration than they receive: (1) If we build up action-concept systems of habits both varied and rich, we can secure in a fraction of the time at nine what we sweat blood to get in a puny, verbal, shadowy form at seven; (2) Of still greater importance, and seldom fully recognized, is the problem of mental hygiene involved when verbal fluency far outstrips tangible perception-action systems. When verbalisms and classification precede rich concrete knowledge there is a divorce of action, tangibility and reality in concept. The things about us are never quite true: we are always just a little afraid of them. Like the person who has read of places but has never travelled, apology, uncertainty, unreality lurk in the background of consciousness.

Let me illustrate. Some years ago while teaching in a High School in India I had in my class a boy of thirteen of unusual verbal fluency, high I. Q. and a very superior high adult vocabulary; but he just did not function. He could not slice a mango; he could not open an umbrella; he could not swim; he was the slowest and oldest of several boys who learned to ride a bicycle; he was an hour and a quarter wrapping a parcel for mailing; he could mouthe, classify and tell the twenty men what was good to be done, but constantly violated atrociously the simplest hygienic rules. In short, perception, sensation, functionings and any judgment or decision derived therefrom were vague and shadowy. Verbalisms were a tender morsel on the tongue, rich and satisfying, an end in themselves. The result was a paralysis of action and a very astonishing paradox that the concrete tangible, living, perceptually present thing was less real than the auditory or visual verbal symbol thereof. The substitution of the verbal for the apperceptively real is unwholesome and smacks of psychosis. This boy gives a clear verbal account of how to take the right train; he is paralysed with fear or bewilderment in actually taking a train, in fact, runs wildly in the wrong direction. It is tragic our Indian schools are filled with such boys.

Undoubtedly the developing of rich, tangible, many-sensed, dynamic concepts constitutes a distinct problem of unrivalled importance and value, and should be attacked by making experience as rich and varied and constructive as possible. There is no need for such training to be regimentized and formalized. It is better to enrich the natural, incidental situation. There is no need to feel that all people should acquire the same facts and con them in the same way. Varied, individualized and incorporated into the very fabric of motor activity, incidentalized experience with things (all sorts of things) is an essential part of any programme of education and healthy mental life, an absolutely essential element if we are to prevent dire mental distress that comes from the severing of action and concepts.

An essential need of any civilization is that its citizens have an abiding love for the beautiful. Santayana defines beauty as "value, positive, intrinsic, and objectified; or, in less technical language, beauty is pleasure regarded as the quality of a thing." After all is said and done, the game is not worth the candle and life is not worth living if we have not acquired an habitual attitude of injecting as much æsthetic interest as possible into everything around us. The attitude "any place but here, any time but now" eventually becomes a habit set that cruelly, automatically, and methodically denudes the future as it appears in the form of the immediate. A few weeks ago here (U. S. A.) all within a few hours, the leaves turned brown and bronze and gold and glowed with a sort of iridescent warmth, and slowly changed to rich, dull tapestry effects. Then was the time to possess and to enjoy with no thought of the morrow. Immediate sensory appreciation and enjoyment is an essential habit of thought and emotion that must be incorporated early. With urbanization and the denuding of life of much of its rural beauty, æsthetic education becomes of increasing importance. The problem of happy and contented living has become an increasing one which science and invention have failed to solve. Le Bon hints at this when he says, "Science promised us truth, or at least a knowledge of such relations as our intelligence can seize; it never promised us peace or happiness. Sovereignly indifferent to our feelings, it is deaf to our lamentations. It is for us to endeavour to live with science, since nothing can bring back the illusions it has destroyed." It is for us to endeavour to re-educate ourselves and to give ourselves a new lease on peace and happiness. The school must take over the task that the home cannot perform.

I would say, then, that the second essential of teaching is habituated alertness in extracting from every incident something to admire in beauty of colour, form, sound, and action. This is a matter of habit formation; a matter of



continuous incidental reference, systematized to meet seasonal, geographic, temporal and local needs. We cannot teach aesthetic appreciation any more than we can teach morality. What we do is to infabricate the day's work with aesthetic feeling by placing the beautiful in contiguity with every task, by act and by suggestion, so that the student incorporates the love of the beautiful as the emotional part of his associations. Discussions about art, the logical or psychological analysis of beauty are of no avail; formal preachment of what he should love or admire are equally futile. Only a continuous aesthetic milieu is effective. In a recent book Dewey, whom I consider the greatest teacher the West has produced since Plato, and at whose feet I had occasion to learn, says:

"A genuine appreciation of the beauty of flowers is not generated within a self-enclosed consciousness. It reflects a world in which beautiful flowers have already grown and been enjoyed. Taste and desire represent a prior objective fact recurring in action to secure perpetuation and extension. Desire for flowers comes after actual enjoyment of flowers. Every ideal is preceded by an actuality but the ideal is more than a repetition in inner image of the actual. It projects in securer and wider and fuller form some good which has been previously experienced in a precarious, accidental, fleeting way."

One more incident: Returning for a moment to one of my students who spent the vacation with the family. He had been given a certain amount of formal nature study and evinced a keen interest in the names of plants, flowers and birds, but we soon noticed that after the thing was classified, it ceased to have interest. A beautiful red-headed woodpecker came every morning and pecked at a chunk of suet we had put out; a gorgeous sight with his fiery mantle, but after classification, my precocious youth found no further interest. To name, to identify, to classify (perhaps to tell about later) ended the matter. There was no interest in the objective sight in itself; a beautiful woodpecker, as such, was of no interest.

Some years ago I was in a small scout camp in India located in a neighbourhood especially rich in its variety of native flowers. Later, I questioned every urchin I met, but none knew of the rich and varied display that nature staged every year, and which they carelessly trampled under foot. I mourned the fact; but if the objective is to classify rather than enjoy, let us hope, the future may some day reveal the beauties of nature.

"A thing well begun is half done" is true of education as well as of other tasks. The emotional concomitants of any activity are a practical matter of the health of the individual concerned, and of the energy released for the task. A thing well begun in its emotional

associations is half done. The teacher, then, must see to it that the student acquires a correct mental attitude towards school, towards work and towards life. One of the worst evils of modern civilization is loss of pride in craft and workmanship. There is a baneful, unhygienic result arising from a misconception of work and an attempt to get away from it as something undesirable. The dignity of work, the desire to do something useful, something beautiful, must be developed in the various works and plays and games. To have filled the first few years of a school life with joyous, buoyant activity, instead of benumbing and restricting negative criticism is of vast emotional significance. We may safely say that to have established the right attitude towards the whole work-a-day situation is vastly more important than the specific thing taught.

Practically all of the clerical and academic regimens of the schoolroom can easily wait upon incidental enrichment of concepts and the gradual development of the accessory muscles. There is abundance of evidence that students with a goodly supply of concepts can enter school at the age of nine or ten and get through high school along with the average student entering school at six. I never worry about the student who is short on formal knowledge; I do worry about his common everyday, hygienic, moral, social, and cultural habits.

Probably the most essential of the habits are those that relate to hygiene. Time will cure many of the faults of people but matters of hygiene cannot wait; care of the teeth, correct living, precautions regarding infections, setting standards of sanitation and cleanliness, all these must be incorporated early as a matter of immediate necessity and to avoid remote consequences.

But habits will not be secured either by teaching about what should be done or by attempts to inhabit which is now being done by verbal injunction. What is needed is indirect control which is made possible by the very nature of the incidental and routine day's work of the school. The less energy spent in precept the better, but the ingenuity of the teacher will be taxed devising settings which will demand by the inherent nature of the situation that the student practise hygienic living. The teacher with sort of *en famille* attitude is in a strategic situation that will inevitably lead to better physical adjustments. Dewey has a splendid passage on the inability to teach by teaching about rather than make a setting for physical improvement. It runs as follows:

"Recently a friend remarked to me that there was one superstition current among even cultivated persons. They suppose that if one is told what to do, if the right end is pointed to them, all that is required in order to bring about the right act is will or which on the part of the one who is to act. He used as an illus-



tration the matter of physical posture; the assumption is that if a man is told to stand up straight, all that is further needed is wish and effort on his part and the deed is done. He pointed out that this belief is on a par with primitive magic in its neglect of attention to the means which are involved in reaching an end; and he went on to say that the prevalence of this belief, starting with false notions about the control of the body and extending to control of mind and character, is the greatest bar to intelligent social progress. It bars the way because it makes us neglect intelligent inquiry to discover the means which will produce a desired result and intelligent invention to procure the means. In short, it leaves out the importance of intelligently controlled habit.

"We may cite his illustration of the real nature of a physical aim or order and its execution in its contrast with the current false notion. A man who has a bad habitual posture tells himself, or is told, to stand up straight. If he is interested and responds, he braces himself, goes through certain movements, and it is assumed that the desired result is substantially attained; and that the position is retained at least as long as the man keeps the idea or order in his mind. Consider the assumptions which are here made. It is implied that the means or effective conditions of the realization of a purpose exist independently of established habit, and even that they may be set in motion in opposition to habit. It is assumed that means are there, so that failure to stand erect is wholly a matter of failure of purpose and desire. It needs paralysis or a broken leg or some other equally gross phenomenon to make us appreciate the importance of objective conditions.

"Now in fact a man who can stand properly does so, and only a man who can, does. In the former case, flats of will are unnecessary, and in the latter, useless. A man who does not stand properly forms a habit of standing improperly, a positive, forceful habit. The common implication that his mistake is merely negative, that he is simply failing to do the right thing, and that the failure can be made good by an order of will is absurd. One might as well suppose that the man who is a slave of whiskey-drinking is merely one who fails to drink water. Conditions have been formed for producing a result, and the bad result will occur as long as those conditions exist. They can no more be dismissed by a direct effort of will than the conditions which create drought can be dispelled by whistling for wind. It is as reasonable to expect a fire to go out when it is ordered to stop burning as to suppose that a man can stand straight in consequence of a direct action of thought and desire. The fire can be put out only by changing objective conditions; it is the same with rectification of bad posture."

By tradition and practice, the school can readily give many of the objective conditions that mould good hygienic habits. With emphasis on the positive side of habit, it is hard to conceive a more important opportunity than that which confronts the teacher.

Moral and social habits are analogous in formation to physical and hygienic habits, and it goes without saying they are not secured by conning the Bible, the Quaran or the Ramayana, by subjection to arbitrary rules, or by any amount of preaching, but by free, natural, unconventional, unregimented intermingling of students. A give and take attitude, the chance to freely work and play together, with incidental suggestive controls, constitute the chief factors in securing cheerful and wholesome social and moral reactions from a dynamic and positive basis rather than the killing paralysis of injunctions and don'ts. The school offers the best laboratory in the world for this early training in social adjustment, altruism and moral action and discrimination.

The increasing number of psychopathic cases, the large number of adolescent emotional breakdowns, the emotional distress and discontent that surround us indicate that something is decidedly wrong in our methods of living, methods of thinking, emotional training and the soundness of our aesthetic ideals. A large part of the difficulty is a result of general economic conditions and factors of urbanization, and lies beyond the scope of our immediate interest or power to rectify. But after all is said, a generous proportion of the causes of discontent, inferiority complexes, and anxiety and fear neuroses can be traced to early life, and often to the schoolroom with its practices and especially its system of inhibitions.

The situations in themselves seem so trivial. Perhaps illustrations will serve better to make my point clear. I had occasion to test a boy who was found to have an I. Q. of 120. He entered school. For a few weeks (so the father told me) he took a great interest, went around at home saying his phonic families and thinking and talking of his school work. Suddenly, without warning, he lost all interest in school, complained that the teacher scolded him, affected indifference to school work. It is quite clear that the indifference to the school is a defence attitude to cover fear and a feeling of inferiority. The condition is probably temporary, but the emotional effect may be lasting and serious. What happened? Probably pungent criticism publicly administered by a routine-driven teacher with sixty wrigglers. I do not blame him, but the teacher holds the whip handle and can publicly administer the blows. I would say that at the present time to restore the student to an attitude of confidence and interest and self-respect is paramount and takes precedence, and will continue to take precedence over the three R's.



until it is accomplished. My attitude is not one of tender-mindedness but one of practical common-sense. A thoroughly ingrained feeling of inferiority and habituation and accentuation of failure, fear of public ridicule, can quickly become crystallized into a definite emotional habit set, exacting an emotional toll in every act, social or business in character, possibly throughout life.

May I take another illustration. When connected with a college in India a very capable, well-groomed, good-looking, self-contained-appearing chap came to me to confess that it is almost impossible for him to meet people in any social way or in interview. I probed. This is what I got. (To be sure, many factors appeared from time to time and added to the complexity and perplexity of the habit stream.) As a little child entering school, he recalls being timid and confused and unused to large groups of children. An injury to the knee made play difficult and for a time impossible. The inferiority in the play situation has spread to a general feeling of inferiority in the presence of others. Undoubtedly, there was a time in his early play days when a little skill and recognition of the possible consequences could have saved him a mental attitude that today is nearly impossible to overcome.

To maintain one's intellectual and emotional morale is more essential in the habits of the first few years of school life than all the academic lingo one could stuff in. An ounce of self-confidence is worth a pound of learning; while an ounce of cringing self-consciousness will out-value in a negative way many a pound of formal training.

The teacher should, like the clever hostess, be ever on the alert to smooth out any social maladjustment. To neglect the mental attitude of students, to fail to find out just what goes on within their minds is vastly more reprehensible than to neglect spelling and reading. It is relatively easy to correct or teach ordinary subject even if the student in question begins at the age of nine or ten, but it is next to impossible to correct completely intellectual fear and inferiority complexes when thoroughly habituated.

Recently I have had an interesting experience teaching a very bright Italian chap of thirty in an adult education class in New York City. At less than eleven years of age he went into a coal mine to drive mules, where he remained until eighteen. Beyond the third class he has had no further education and only rough work and ignorant associates. He has covered the usual grade arithmetic in about four months. He lacks training, but he possesses courage, self-reliance and self-respect. He is fearless, he has led strikes and joined an outlaw strike (cited to show his mental attitude). He knew little of arithmetic when I began with him, but neither was he intellectually bruised and bleeding.

The teacher may well consider the mental hygiene of students of first importance. Like physical hygiene, bad mental conditions become accumulative and incurable with time, and are unlike the shortcomings of formal school life which often automatically disappear with time. As an actual fact, time cures so many of the routine school problems, it often seems a pity that we expend colossal energy to get a result at seven that we can get off-hand at ten or eleven.

William Stern, the German psychologist, designated the preserving and developing of individual difference as the problem of the twentieth century. In spite of all we can do, the very nature of our industrial and urban life seems to be threatening some of the most valuable traits of individual variation. The proverbial last straw is for the school to accentuate this stereotyping process. We lop off or stretch out to meet the Procrustean bed of the system. In this process the school is left the freest to cater to the individual, and it is with the students in school that the matter of individual difference is of the greatest moment. They are unblushing non-conformists, which so often puzzles and alarms the adult, who forgets Emerson's caution, "You are trying to make that man another you. One's enough!"

It is a ceaseless problem, then, of fine adjustments; to preserve individuality on the one hand with joyous and spontaneous co-operation on the other.

I have attempted to point out that in school the three R's (or pre-vocational preparation) are of decidedly minor importance in education. The school should clearly recognize this and fearlessly maintain the ground that the essentials of education either for individual happiness or for ultimately efficient practical judgment are:

1. Getting rich dynamic concepts,
2. Getting an appreciation of the beautiful,
3. Getting proper essential attitudes towards work and play,
4. Getting hygienic, moral, social and cultural habits,
5. A careful observance of the conditions of mental hygiene with little children and youths,
6. The preserving of individuality,

I am not at all concerned about the subject-matter itself. If the six items just discussed are considered paramount (not secondary or trivial) one need not worry about the content or method of teaching, in so far as precisions and order of presentation go. With school children it is essentially a matter of attitude. Some teachers will secure a proper attitude and teach the three R's others will take the most informal situations—say the selection of colours for a design—and dominate the student's choice—note, dominate his choice, not his desire. Blindly then, but wisely, he quickly seeks approval for choosing teacher's choice, not spontaneously choosing



because it inwardly satisfies him. He has had his first lesson in hypocrisy and dogma, regardless of subject matter. And I am not sure but the three R's are better, if we must be dogmatic, because in this case we have clearly defined objective fact, in which there is little personal choice, while in the field of aesthetics, assent without belief or conviction can only lead to hypocrisy and subterfuge.

And finally, let me say, teachers will lose in every argument if they forsake these general principles. Students can and do learn formal subjects even as early as two and a half. Your arguments must rest on: (1) the relative unimportance of formal subject-matter at so early

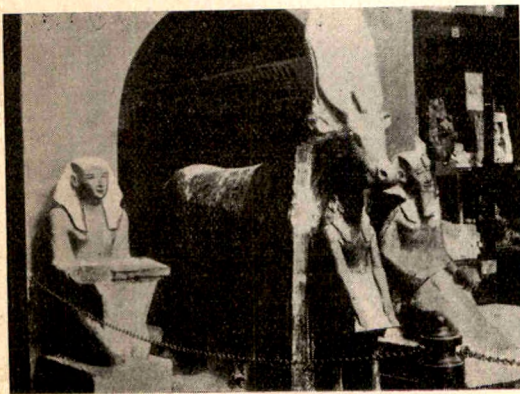
an age; (2) the greater ease in teaching if formal work is postponed until a rich conceptual basis and stronger and more precise musculature are secured; (3) the very important factor as to whether time in itself will not facilitate or eliminate the necessity of the labour; and (4) bearing in mind that hygienic, aesthetic, emotional and social adjustments are paramount; (5) defending the youth's right to exist simply as a youth instead of as an adult in preparation.

In my judgment, Froebel's three principles, social imitation, learning through expression, and systematized play are relatively more important in education than the three R's.

## PASSING THROUGH CAIRO

By SUBHAS C. BOSE

**T**HERE are few cities so fascinating as Cairo, the capital of Modern Egypt. Nursed by the Nile and guarded by the towering Pyramids, this city with its pleasing climate, luxuriant vegetation, lovely streets and picturesque buildings has an unceasing attraction for the foreigner. But how few of those who repeatedly pass in and out of the Suez Canal have been to Cairo!



Cairo Museum.  
The sacred cow of Deir-el-Bahari

Thanks to the arrangements made by the Lloyd Triestino Company, we could leave M. V. Victoria at Suez, drive by car to Cairo,

spend a useful day there and catch the boat again at Port Said. By 9 p. m. on the 16th January, 1935, we were at Suez. The ship anchored at a great distance from the shore and we had to cross over in a ferry. It was a moonlit night. The vast expanse of water was brightened by the rays of the silvery moon. All around of us were gleaming the lights of the town of Suez and of Port Tewfik with their starry reflection dancing in the bosom of the sea. Passing the customs barrier, we got into the car which was to carry us to Cairo. Soon the town was past and we were in the heart of the desert, rushing northwards. A companion of ours was expecting some adventure at the hands of desert Bedouins, but he was disappointed. There was peace all along the way—endless sand on both sides—the road running straight ahead and the pale moon shedding its lustre from the canopy of heaven. It was past midnight when we reached Cairo. In the stillness of the night, the brilliantly lighted streets of Cairo with their stately buildings looked enchanting.

The next morning we made our trip to the Pyramids. The air was cold and a biting wind was blowing as we crossed the Nile and rushed to where the world-famous Pyramids were silhouetted against the morning sky. Soon we arrived at their foot and began to





The Citadel, Cairo

gaze upwards. So these were the monuments of stone that had fired the imagination of even a soldier like Napoleon! The French Emperor had drawn up his troops near them and had stirred up their tired limbs by reminding them that 5000 years were looking down upon them. The appeal had worked like magic and the Mamelukes had been scattered like dust before the wind. Round the Pyramids we walked and in and out of the several excavations, wondering all the time what the Pyramids had to teach us. Yes, we also could feel an inspiration. Standing before those towering giants against the background of the endless and dreary desert, one could realize the majesty of man and the immortality of the soul. The authors of those edifices had defied time. They had enshrined themselves in stone and whoever had any inwardness of perception, could hold communion with them.

Near the Pyramids was the Sphinx with its eternal riddle. One massive work of stone, the searching eyes gazing at the rising sun—what idea did the Sphinx embody? One of the guides ventured an explanation. The ancient Egyptians worshipped the Sun-God and the Sphinx was either a symbol of the Sun or a representative of Sun-worship. But who knew? The soul that had built the Sphinx did not speak and the riddle remained unsolved. A little bird was sitting motionless on the head of the Sphinx. "That is the soul

of the Sphinx" said a guide, to tickle our phantasy, "that comes every morning to greet him." Looking more closely at the face of the Sphinx, we found that the nose had been blown off. That was another problem, we thought. But the guides were not to be daunted. "It was a cannon-ball of the Emperor Napoleon that did the havoc," said one of them. Connecting Napoleon with the Pyramids, we were prepared to be convinced. But another guide protested. "It was the Arab iconoclasts who had done it," he said, "to spite the ancient Egyptians."

We left the Sphinx more puzzled than ever and turned to the Pyramids. "Do you want to climb to the top of the Pyramids?" asked one guide. "No, thank you, time is against us" was the reply. "There is a man who can run up to the top and descend in eight minutes, Sir," he continued. Thinking that it was a further trick for emptying our pockets, we declined, saying that that did not interest us. Instead, we sought to explore the interior of the biggest of the Pyramids. That was no difficult task. The narrow passage leading up to the big hall in the heart of the Pyramid was lighted with electricity. Only our backs were aching at the time we reached the hall—the effect of continuous bending while we were climbing the steps. The total height of the Pyramid was more than 450 feet and the hall was situated almost half-way. The mummies of the ancient kings used to





Mr. Subhas C. Bose before the Pyramid

be stored here, but the hall was now empty the mummies having been removed to the museums. There was another and smaller hall at a lower level, where the mummies of the queens used to be stored.

The Pyramids of Geza, where there is the Sphinx, are about nine miles from Cairo. There are nine Pyramids in all, three big and six small ones. The big ones are in perfect condition—only the alabaster coating having come off at many places. There is another group of Pyramids at a greater distance from Cairo, about twenty miles, near the ancient city of Memphis, and some statues of the ancient Egyptian kings are to be found there.

No less interesting than the Pyramids is the Museum of Antiquities in Cairo which is a store house of all the finds in different parts of Egypt. Within this Museum the most interesting section is that which contains the finds of the tomb of Tutankhamen at Luxor in Upper Egypt. It is not possible to describe the treasures from Luxor that have been stored in the Museum nor is it possible to do justice to them in the course of one or two visits. At every step,

one is left wondering at the high level of art and civilization which the ancient Egyptians attained at a period which must be at least as old as 2000 B. C. The works of art look as fresh as if they had been constructed only yesterday and apart from the excellence of their workmanship, what simply appals the imagination of man is how they have been so effectively preserved as to defy the ravages of time. As compared with Egypt, India also can boast of a very ancient culture and civilization, but one must admit that we have not been able to preserve what we

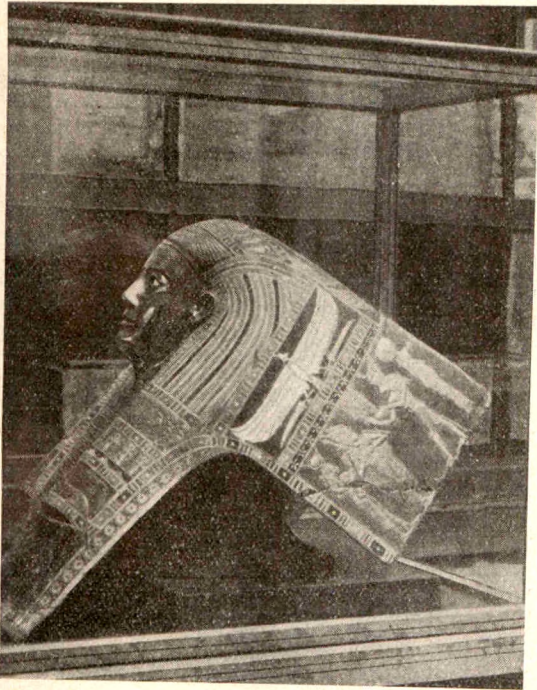


The Tombs of the Califs, Cairo

constructed, owing to our comparative inefficiency in the art of preservation. Moreover, I do not think that we developed the material side of life—the arts and crafts—as much as the ancient Egyptians did. Our emphasis was not on civilization, but on culture; not on the material side of life but on the intellectual and spiritual. Therein, we had our advantages as well as disadvantages. Owing to our superior thought-power, we could hold our own against invaders from outside even when we were vanquished physically for the time being—and in course of time we could also absorb the



outsider, while the ancient Egyptian went down before the Arab invaders and disappeared altogether. On the other hand, emphasis on the intellectual and spiritual side, caused us to neglect the development of science and left us comparatively weak on the material

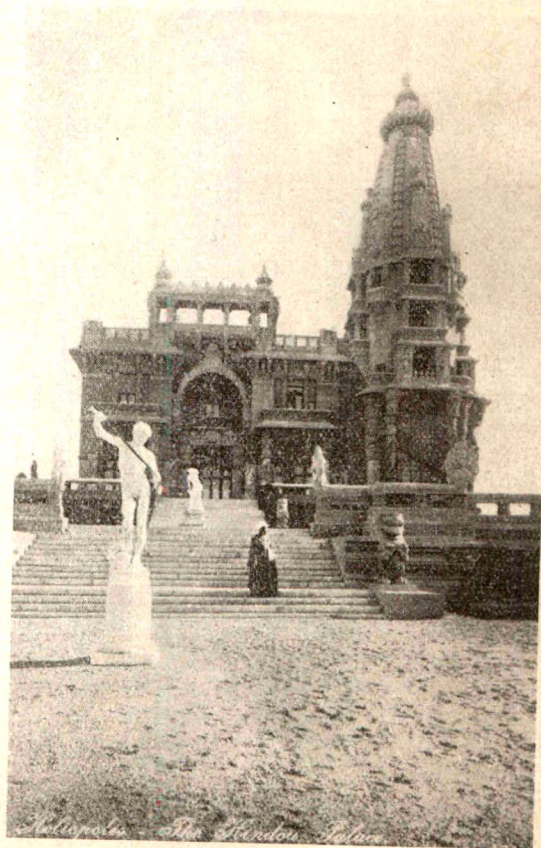


Cairo Museum—Mummy mask

and physical side of life. The glorious periods of our history were when we were able to strike the golden mean between the demands of spirit and of matter; of the soul and of the body—and thereby progress simultaneously on both fronts. Owing to the inter-relation between the soul and the body, the neglect of the body not only weakens a nation physically—but in the long run, weakens it spiritually as well. India at the present moment appears to be suffering not merely from physical weakness but from spiritual exhaustion as well—the inevitable result of our neglecting one aspect of life. And if we are to come to our own once again, we have to advance simultaneously on both fronts.

To return to our narrative. The morning excursions over, we devoted the afternoon to sight-seeing within the city. Cairo is full of mosques and tombs and much of ancient

history lies embedded therein. Each mosque has its own beauty and its own story to tell. Sometimes one is brought face to face with scenes of biblical interest as well, but how far they are real, one cannot tell. For instance, inside the big Citadel (the old fort of Cairo), the guide showed me a very deep well, which he said was the well of Joseph. One of the most interesting spots in Cairo is the Citadel from where one can have a magnificent view of the whole city of Cairo. The Palace of Mohammed Ali from where this view is obtained is unfortunately in a neglected condition now. The guide showed us the room where Mohammed Ali is supposed to have invited the Mamelukes to dinner and afterwards taken them unawares and massacred them, only one of the Mamelukes escaping with



Heliopolis—The Hindu Palace

his life. Outside this Palace, is the mosque of Mohammed Ali which fortunately is now being renovated at considerable cost. The mosque



of Sultan Hassan, the Blue Mosque, the tomb of the Mamelukes, the Al Azhar University—are some of the other places of interest which draw the foreigner.



Stela-Akhenaten adoring the Sun,  
Cairo Museum

Having seen something of old Egypt, our thoughts naturally turned to Modern Egypt. Modern Cairo was a fine city and one could not but admire it. But the modern Palace of the King was by no means an imposing structure. Even the barracks of the British troops looked more attractive. Egypt, we were told, had a King but a rude reminder came when we eyed the Union Jack proudly floating in the wind on the top of the British barracks in the heart of the town and also in the Citadel. Independence indeed!

But what about the people of Modern

Egypt? I had heard of the Nationalist Party of Egypt—called the Wafd Party which was once so brilliantly led by Syed Zagloul Pasha of revered memory, who has left an able successor in Moustapha El-Nahas Pasha. A visit to Cairo would of course be meaningless without an interview with the great Nationalist leader. The time at my disposal was short, but I was lucky enough to have the desired interview. Moustapha El-Nahas Pasha was accompanied by two of his ablest colleagues, Mr. M. F. Nokrashy and Mr. Makram Ebeid, when I met him. We had a very interesting talk. I was anxious to know something about Egypt at first hand—while they were anxious to know about India. I was glad to learn that under the Premiership of Nessim Pasha, the rule of ordinance had ended in Egypt. The Nationalists could once again breathe freely. On the 8th and 9th January, 1935, they had a Congress of the Wafd Party in Cairo attended by over 30,000 people which had proved to be an unparalleled success. Elections to the Parliament were expected to be held shortly and Wafd Party was confident of sweeping the polls. Altogether, the situation looked very hopeful for the Nationalists and the leaders were in high spirits.

Turning to India, Moustapha El-Nahas Pasha first enquired about the health of Mahatma Gandhi. He said that when the Mahatma was returning to India in 1931, he had sent his Secretary to Port Said to invite him to Cairo and he had arranged a meeting in his own house of the prominent members of his Party. But unfortunately the Mahatma could not come. Our talk next turned to the Hindu-Moslem question and Moustapha condemned the action of those communalists who were acting against the best interests of Indian Nationalism. He enquired one by one, as to who among the Moslem leaders were working with the Nationalist Party and who were on the side of the Government. He said that in Egypt, the Egyptian Moslems had come to a perfect understanding with the Egyptian Christians (called Copts) and both the communities were working hand in hand for the uplift of Egypt. He hoped that before long the same thing would happen in India. In conclusion, I assured the Moustapha that we Indians were following the fortunes of the

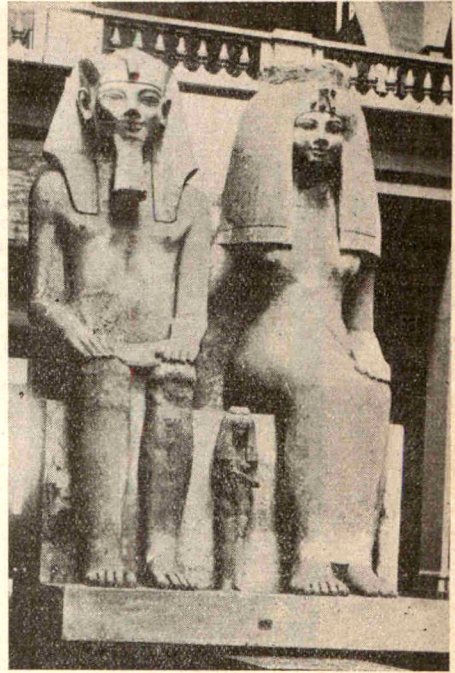


Egyptian people with the greatest interest and our whole-hearted sympathy was with them in their struggle for freedom. In return, he conveyed the warmest sympathy of the Egyptian people for the Indians in their National fight for freedom.

There are four principal questions which form the bone of contention between the Egyptians and the British. Firstly, the British army of occupation; secondly, the existence of European tribunals which alone can try Europeans in Egypt; thirdly, the control over the Suez Canal and last but not least, the demand for the inclusion of Sudan within Egypt. When Moustapha El-Nahas Pasha was the Prime Minister and there was a Labour Cabinet in England a few years ago, negotiations for a compromise were carried on. An understanding was reached on most of the questions but ultimately there was a deadlock on the question of the Sudan. When the Labour Cabinet was turned out of office, the whole atmosphere changed. Recently there has been an improvement in the atmosphere since Sir Miles Lock Hampson, of China fame, became the High Commissioner in Egypt.

After a busy day spent in Cairo, we left by train for Port Said to catch our boat there. In the train we had several Egyptian fellow-passengers and as some of them spoke English (French is, on the whole, more popular in Egypt than English), we soon fell into a conversation. We wanted to find out how the man in the street looked upon the nationalist Wafd Party. One of the passengers—a Copt who was a Government servant, was at first chary of committing himself. But when he found that we were dependable, he became more frank. He spoke very highly of the Egyptian leaders and said, among other things, that all Egyptians, whether Moslems or

Christians, wore the Tarboosh or Fez Cap, because it was the National headdress of the Egyptian people. (Till then I had always regarded the Fez Cap as a symbol of Islam).



Cairo-Museum.  
Statue of Amenhotep III and the Queen Titi

By 11 p. m. we were on board our ship. Within an hour she set sail. At the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, we passed the statue of the French Engineer, Lesseps who had constructed the Suez Canal and we were soon on the high seas. The lights of Port Said grew dimmer and dimmer as the waves began to grow in volume. When morning dawned, the ship was rolling and most of us were sick.





## THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND ITS CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHABHARATA

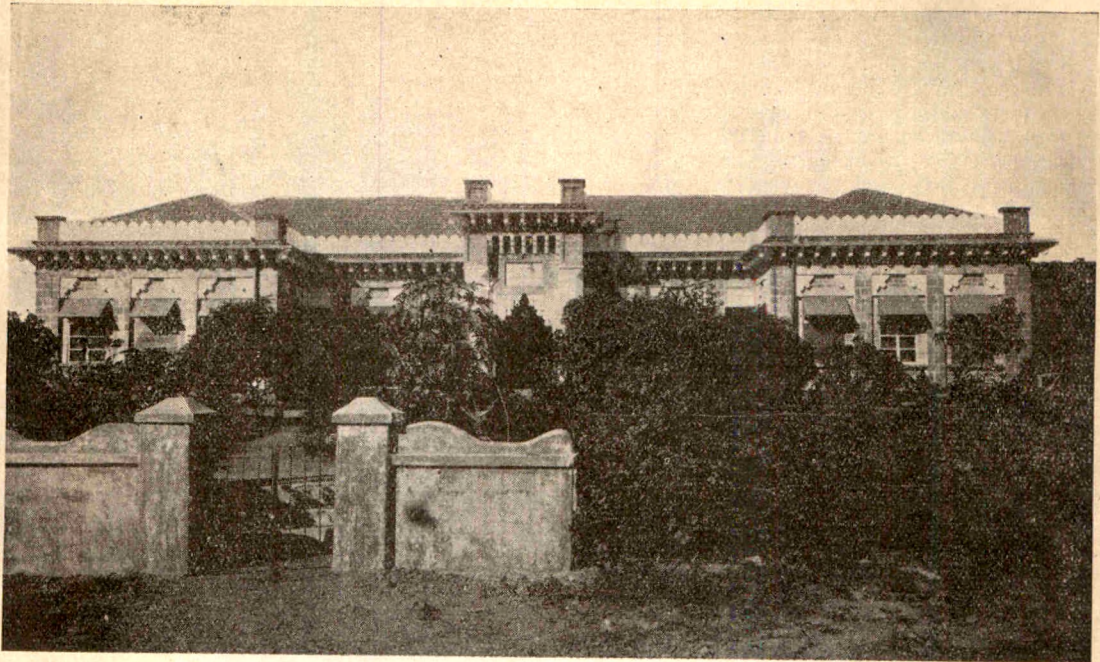
BY S. K. DE, M.A., D. Litt.

THE City of Poona, situated in the heart of the Maharashtra, is also, not inappropriately, the centre of its political, cultural and scholarly activities. Even if its older traditions were essentially political and military, nothing strikes a visitor to Poona more today than its picturesque and restful surroundings, which are eminently suited to its newer ideals of educational and literary endeavour, and which offer a pleasing contrast to the restless commercial atmosphere of a city like Bombay. Poona scarcely possesses any productive industry of its own in the economic sense, but it carries on educational and literary production on a fairly large scale. There are about one hundred and fifty institutions, great and small, devoted to this object; and as a city of institutions, built up during the last fifty years, it has already established a unique reputation among the great cities of India. Most of these institutions are supported by enterprising private societies or organizations, germinating from very small beginnings and spreading its roots and branches far and wide. Very few of these institutions possess the high speed and luxurious equipment of richly financed administration. In a poor province like the Maharashtra, where poverty is regarded more as a discipline than a calamity, it is easy to find workers working out an idea, no less enthusiastically, on the barest subsistence wages or even in an honorary capacity. In this way were built up the two excellent Colleges, namely, the Fergusson College with its numerous feeder institutions in the city and outside, conducted by the Deccan Education Society, and the Sir Parashurambhau College, conducted by the Sikshana Prasarak Mandali; while a new private college, the Nowrsojee Wadia College has been started by the Modern Education Society. Besides these, Poona possesses a college of Engineering, a college of Agriculture, a Medical School, a Law College, a Preparatory Military School, a Women's University with its feeder schools, Training Colleges for Men and for Women, an Anjumani-Islam, a Technical School, a school for the study of Jaina Sastras, an Industrial Museum and well-laid-out Botanical and Agri-horticultural gardens, serving the needs of about 30,000 students from different parts of the province. Leaving aside the social and political organizations, the official institutions, as well as the Gymkhanas and various institutions for physical culture and recreation, the above enumeration does not, however, exhaust the many-sided educational activities of the city. There are also

several typical organizations which specialize in the different cultural aspects of national life. Such are, for instance, the well-known Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala for historical study and research, the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. During my last four months' stay in the city it has been my pleasure and privilege to come in touch with some of these leading institutions, and profit by the experience. In this paper an attempt will be made to give an account, from personal knowledge, of the last-named Institute, with which my present work has brought me in direct and intimate contact.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, which was formally opened by Lord Willingdon on July 6, 1917, arose out of the efforts of the late Dr. P. D. Gune and other Sanskrit scholars to perpetuate the memory of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the great pioneer of oriental research in the province, by establishing an Institute for study and research in oriental literature. Through the liberality of the Tata Brothers and H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, the Institute today possesses splendid buildings and a fine Guest-house for scholar-visitors, in an open space at the foot of a range of hills, outside the Camp and the City but not very far from them. As the institution grew, the Government of Bombay handed over the Institute its splendid collection of valuation manuscripts, originally deposited at the Deccan College, together with an annual grant of Rs. 3,000 for its maintenance. Its Manuscripts Department now possesses about 20,000 manuscripts, which were collected during a period of sixty years by Bühler, Kielhorn, R. G. Bhandarkar and others. The Publication Department of the Institute has now relieved Government of the responsibility of editing and publishing the well-known Bombay Series of valuable Sanskrit and Prakrit works. For such work, which should be entrusted to an organized institution devoted to specialized study and research, no government could be really well qualified; and the wise transference has now made a more efficient working of the scheme possible. The Institute also publishes an oriental journal which has already established a reputation for itself in the scholarly world. From 1927 the Institute have been making provision for post-graduate study in Sanskrit, Pali, Ardhamagadhi, Philology and Ancient Indian Culture with a view to preparing students for the Bombay University Examinations





The Institute—Main Building

But the most important work which the Institute undertook within two years of its existence and which is characteristic of its scholarly spirit and outlook, is the work of preparing and publishing a critical edition of the great Indian epic, the Sanskrit Mahabharata. The task has absorbed most of its energies in recent years and has already matured in the publication of the first volume of the edition. Since very little is known of it outside the scholarly world, it would perhaps be not out of place to give a brief account of this important work which should interest not only the professional scholar but also the ordinary reader to whom the great epic is one of his noblest national heritages. The first book of the epic, containing only the *Adi-parvan*, in a closely printed magnificent volume of 1115 quarto pages, is now completed and published, with an extensive scholarly introduction (113 pages), elaborate critical notes and appendices, under the editorship of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. The merit of this edition will be sufficiently indicated if we quote here the very high but fully deserved praise bestowed on it, in a recent elaborate review, by Professor Winternitz, who has himself worked in the same field, by declaring that "this is the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of Max Muller's edition of the *Rigveda*."

The position which the Mahabharata occupies in all investigations connected with the language, literature and culture of India needs little emphasis. A really critical edition on modern scientific lines of this vast epic, which is a

varitable encyclopaedia of Indian religion, philosophy, mythology and culture, and which has moulded Indian life and thought through many centuries, can be rightly described as a work of national importance. But the enormousness and difficulty of editing such a bewildering text from a complicated mass of manuscript-material, existing in as many scripts as there are provinces in India, appear to be a task beyond the powers of any one man in an average life-time. It is easy enough, with time and patience, to edit the text from one version or from a few manuscripts, which follow the ordinarily prevalent vulgate text; but there are various versions of the work, as many again as there are scripts, given chiefly in manuscripts available in different parts of India. No one has hitherto attempted to examine and weigh them carefully with a view to constitute a really critical text. The *Satasahasri*, as it exists today in manuscripts, is thus a complicated mass of records, which require careful sorting, sifting and weighing of evidence at every point to arrive at an authoritative text, constituted with a degree of approximation which may be deemed sufficient for all critical purposes.

Bengal took the lead at one time by publishing at Calcutta in 1834-39 the *editio princeps*, which was begun by the Committee of Public Instruction and completed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was followed by the Burdwan edition published in six volumes in Bengali character in 1862-81. In the meantime the Bombay edition of the work was published in 1863 with Nilakantha's commen-



tary by the Ganapat Krishnaji Press. The next important edition (1906-14), published at Kumbhakonum, claimed to have been "mainly based on the South Indian" manuscripts. But none of these editions, pioneer and useful works as they are, is based on such ample and varied manuscript-material, or executed with such philological and critical insight, as would produce a really reliable text. Other editions, as well as translations, have followed, but none of them could satisfy the highly exacting demands of modern critical scholarship, or remove the many uncertainties of the text. Even a cursory examination would show that their texts are frankly eclectic, or follow the generally prevalent but much inferior and conflated text of Nilakantha, which reproduces the version of a particular late type of manuscripts. Textual criticism and research, which is a product of modern philological studies, were hardly understood or could scarcely be expected in these early publications.

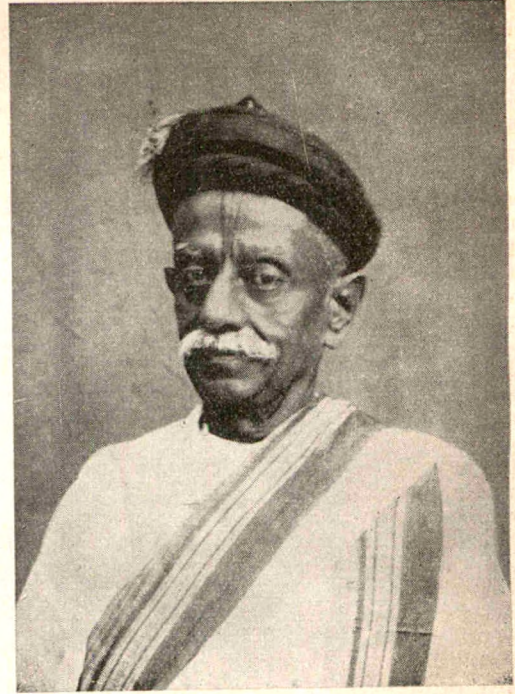
The need of a critical edition of the text has therefore been keenly felt for over half a century, but a general scepticism prevailed, even among scholars, regarding the possibility of the gigantic and difficult task. At last, it was agreed at the International Congress of Orientalists at Rome in 1899 that a committee should be appointed to explore the possibilities and consider the proposal. The Committee recommended in 1904 that the work of preparing the critical edition should be undertaken by the International Association of Academies. In accordance with this decision the Academies of Berlin and Vienna sanctioned funds for the purpose, and the preliminary work for the critical edition was actually commenced. But before the enterprise had advanced, the world-war intervened.

After the war, the Bhandarkar Institute, then in its infancy, thought enthusiastically of carrying out the plan in India, fortunately not fully realizing at that time the enormity of the project or the complexities of the problem. A meeting was held on July 6, 1918; the President-elect of the occasion was the Ruler of Aundh, the well-known liberal and enthusiastic patron of arts and literature. He offered a princely donation of a lakh of rupees, by annual grants, towards the expenses of producing the edition, and undertook to illustrate, as he has been doing, the text by paintings adapted from ancient examples. The work was inaugurated in April, 1919, at the hands of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the doyen of critical and rigorous scholarship of the present day in Western India, by formally beginning the collation of the opening Bhagavata Mantra:

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।

देवीं सगम्बतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीयेत् ।

found at the beginning of some Northern manuscripts of the epic. The plan was discussed, and



Shrimant Bala Saheb Pant Pratinidhi,  
the Ruler of Aundh

on the day of inauguration a prospectus to the proposed edition was issued to various scholars of repute for their criticism and opinion. The work of securing and collating the manuscripts was undertaken under the supervision of the late Mr. N. B. Utgikar, and a tentative edition of the Virataparvan was published under his editorship in 1923. The opinions received from the leading Sanskritists of India, Europe and America were favourable; and this encouraged the promoters to carry on the scheme on a larger and more efficient scale.

The peculiar difficulties of constituting the text of the epic from conflicting manuscript-material can be fully appreciated by those who have worked in the field; but it is now generally recognized by all competent scholars that it is one of the supremely baffling problems of Indian literary history. Much of the difficulty results from the strange vagaries of the manuscript-tradition of the text. That the text was fluid and carelessly guarded through centuries, and therefore afforded easy opportunities of interpolation, conflation, athetization, haphazard synthesis of divergent readings and versions, and other diakeuastic activities, would be clear from the hundreds of variants noted in the elaborate critical apparatus, which occupies nearly two-thirds of the space of the critical edition of the Adi-parvan. Besides the normal vicissitudes of



oral and written transmission, which have produced a bewildering profusion of local versions, the work must have passed through certain abnormal circumstances of transmission, which make the text-tradition not only multiple but polygenous. Through indiscriminate mutual contamination, there have been an amazing fusion of versions and creation of hybrid types, which cannot now be completely disentangled by purely objective criteria. As a necessary consequence, it is almost impossible, to trace all extant versions to any fixed archetype, which would certainly have much simplified the process of editing. Nor is the text-critic able to rely entirely upon the oldest or the "best" category of manuscripts; for, the peculiar condition of the growth of the epic makes it imperative that he should take into account the strong and weak points of all classes of manuscripts by a comparative examination, and judge each variant on its own merit. This naturally involves a great deal of personal judgment, but the danger of a purely subjective valuation is counteracted by a cautious utilization of the actual data supplied by the manuscript themselves. The editor of such a complex text therefore should be a scholar, not only well-versed, in the rigorous philological methods, but also possessed of mature critical judgment fully alive to the complexities of his existing material, and swayed by no preconceived theories and principles but what could be evolved out of the

facts before him. The Institute fortunately found such an editor in Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, who has, since 1925, ably and successfully piloted the work through the *Adi-parvan*, which is the first and, from the point of view of textual criticism, one of the most difficult parts of the epic. His brilliant *Prolegomena* tackles the Mahabharata text-problem in all its aspects and clarifies the facts and issues in the light of his fairly long experience of the work extending over ten years. The work has received, as it deserves, the approval of the leading oriental journals of India, Europe and America, and the individual opinions of scholars of established reputation like Professors Luders, Jacobi, Geldner, Hillebrandt, Sten Konow, Ganganath Jha and others testify to the conscientious care and thoroughness with which the task has been discharged. Quiet and unassuming, Dr. Sukthankar is a scholar of charming manners but of a somewhat retiring disposition, who is little known to the outside world; but as a pupil of Professor Luders of Berlin, he had been trained in the severest school of scholarship, and his work would stand as a marvel of gigantic toil and philological accuracy. That the way of research is not exactly the way of roses will be apparent to any one who has seen this scholar working cheerfully, day after day through ten long years, with strenuous application, patient devotedness and singleness of purpose. By his edition of the *Adi-parvan* he has set up a standard of workmanship which his collaborators would not find very easy to keep up; but he has already cleared the way for them a great deal through the tangled complexities of the Mahabharata text-problem, and they will profit both by his example and his experience.



Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, the General Editor and Secretary of the Institute

The printed text of the Mahabharata, which is ordinarily available to the general reader, and which may be called the vulgate text, covers up most of the difficulties of the text-problem referred to above by correcting irregularities and solecisms of the older language and metre, removing archaisms and *lectio difficilior*, ignoring diversities of text-tradition, and producing a fairly smooth, eclectic and inclusive text. The length of the epic never mattered, and the text was never found too long for fresh interpolations at every stage. The tendency has always been as the manuscripts themselves reveal, towards indiscriminate incorporation, obliteration of differences and normalization of the text. The Vulgate is typical of this tendency. An examination of the varied manuscript-material should show that, however prevalent the Vulgate text might be, it is by no means the real text that can be constituted from the existing manuscripts of different versions. The Vulgate, as we have indicated above, reproduces the text of a certain type of late, inferior and much conflated manuscripts, to which a stamp of authority, however, was given by the adoption of Nilakantha for the purpose of his popular commentary. Nilakantha has been considered, at least in India,



as the most trustworthy guide in this respect; but it must not be forgotten that he wrote in comparatively recent times (in the last quarter of the 17th century), and that, standing almost at the end of a long line of commentators, his object has mainly been to produce a smooth text, as he himself declares, of an inclusive rather than exclusive type, admitting all kinds of interpolation and mixture of readings, which are not admissible on the authority of the better class of manuscripts. A critical examination of his text has shown that it has acquired (partly due probably to the scarcity of the older commentaries of Devabodha, Vimalabodha, Sarvajna-Narayana and Arjunamisra) "an importance out of all proportion to its critical value to the utter neglect of superior texts", such as the Kashmiri or the Malayalam. The testimony, however, of the commentators, even including Nilakantha, cannot be entirely neglected; and due weight has been given to it in the critical edition, which includes a collation of their important readings.

As the number of the Mahabharata manuscripts, scattered all over the country, is countless, it has been objected that with such a large number of them it is impossible to prepare a critical edition. But, after a collation of good number of manuscripts, it has been found that it is not necessary to collate *all* the manuscripts in existence; for five or six manuscripts of one class or version is generally sufficient to establish the text of the special class or version. It is true that two manuscripts are seldom entirely identical, as every scribe makes his own mistakes, indulges in petty alterations, emends or interpolates verses here and there; but on the whole the deviations between manuscripts belonging to the same class are so insignificant that nothing is gained by a further collation of fresh manuscripts of that class.

It is necessary therefore at the outset to select and classify the manuscripts by a thorough comparative examination of the various existing types and versions; and this is one of the most important and responsible parts of the editor's work requiring utmost care, patience and attention to details. Such an examination has shown that the different Mahabharata manuscripts can be broadly grouped under a Northern and a Southern Recension, which are written in different scripts, possess distinctive characteristics of their own and diverge, to a certain extent, from each other. Each of these recensions, again, can be classified into a number of versions, corresponding to the different provincial scripts in which the manuscripts are written. Thus, the Northern Recension may be divided into the Sarada or Kashmiri, Nepali, Maithili, Bengali and Devanagari sub-versions; and the Southern into the Malayalam, Grantha and Telugu sub-versions. Even if the classification is not ideally perfect, it is not entirely mechanical or arbitrary. In spite of mutual influence or contamination of neighbouring or even distant versions, the difference of scripts

seems to have localized the versions in the different parts of the country; and the scribes, being as a rule not conversant with scripts other than that of his own particular province, copied only manuscripts written in that script and thus helped more or less to stereotype the local version written in the local script. An exception has to be made in favour of the Devanagari, which is widely used and understood throughout India; and the Devanagari script has, for this reason, been the chief medium of contamination between the different recensions and versions. It is for this reason also that we have a very large number of what may be called *misch-codices*, or manuscripts which give the text not of a particular version but a mixture of readings belonging to different versions and even recensions.

For the constitution of the *Adi-parvan*, about 70 out of 235 known manuscripts (i.e. about 30 per cent. of the total) have been fully or partly examined. Of the Northern recension the number of manuscripts actually utilized for noting variant readings are, according to versions: Sarada-Kashmiri 7, Nepali 3, Maithili 1, and Devanagari (including mixed version) 23; of the Southern, Telugu 3, Grantha 7 and Malayalam 8. An effort has thus been made to represent the variety of the material by securing manuscripts written in different scripts, which is the same as saying, manuscripts belonging to different provinces and representing different recensions and versions, the only important scripts unrepresented being Kannada, Nandinagari and Odiya. Besides Indian sources, manuscripts have been borrowed for this purpose from European libraries; and the collations intended for the edition planned by the International Association of Academies were placed at the disposal of the Institute. In this connection the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford in 1928 passed the following resolution showing their approval of the work:

"That in view of the eminently satisfactory manner in which the work is being done by the Institute, this Congress is of opinion that the MSS collations made, and the funds collected, for the critical edition of the epic, planned by the Association of Academies, be now utilised for the purposes of the critical edition being prepared in India, without prejudice to the original project of the Association of Academies."

Considering the astonishing bulk and the amazing variety of the manuscript-material, it is clear that elaborate arrangements have to be made for the collation of manuscripts at the Institute, and sometimes at other outside centres. Provision has now been made at the Institute for the collation of manuscripts in any of the seven important scripts (Sarada, Nepali, Maithili, Bengali, Telugu, Grantha and Malayalam) ordinarily required for the work. The collation work is done carefully and methodically by a staff of Sastris, especially trained for the purpose and





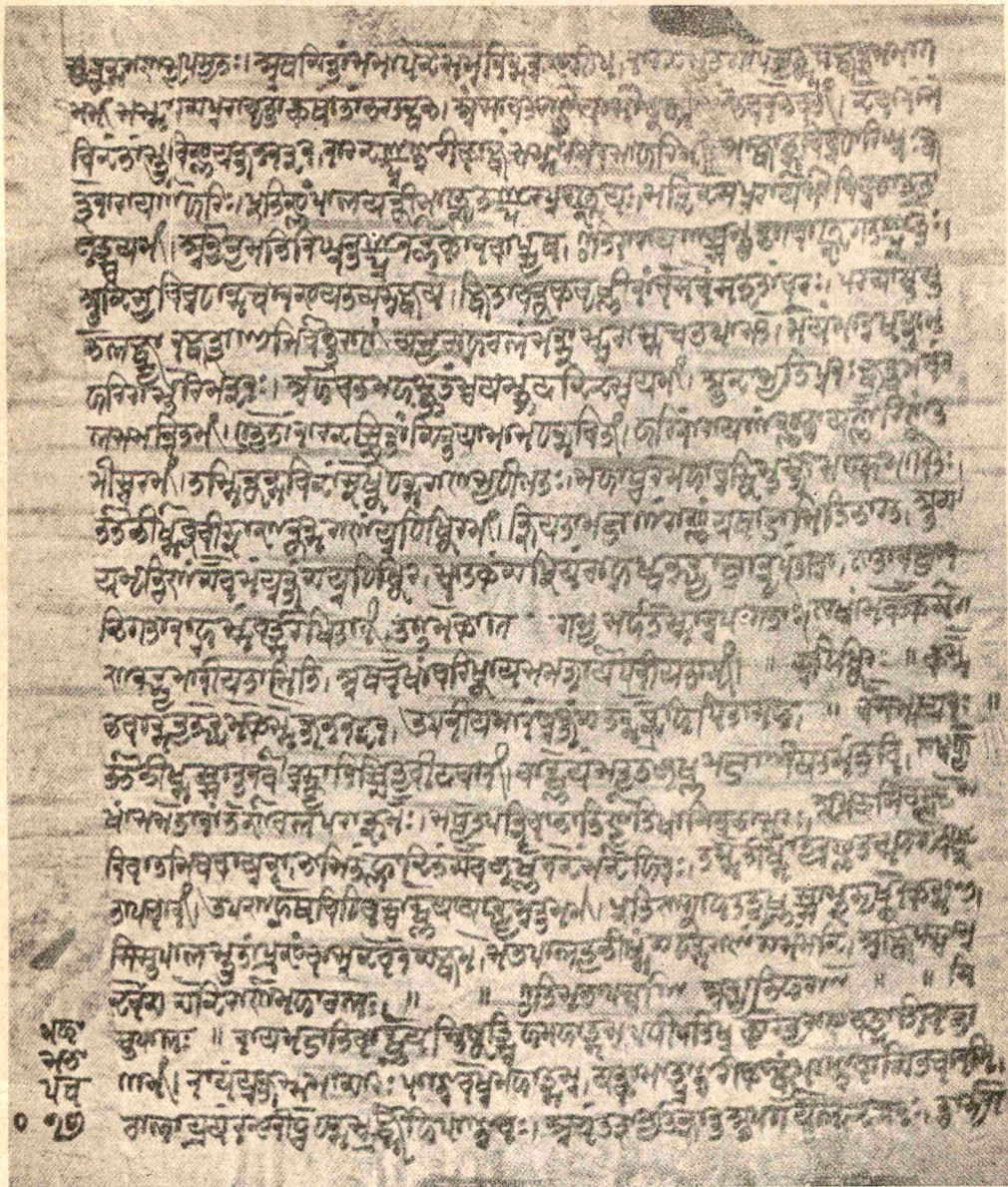
A view of the Mahabharata Collation Hall

working under the direct supervision of the editor-in-chief, Dr. Sukthankar. To ensure accuracy the collated sheets are regularly checked by a batch of collators different from the one who do the collation in the first instance. The majority of manuscripts in all scripts are now collated in the Institute itself; but for greater convenience two other centres have been organized, one at the Visvabharati in Bengal, and another at the Sarasvati Mahal in Tanjore, chiefly for the collation of Bengali and Telugu-Grantha manuscripts respectively. In some cases the Institute has to depute their trained Sastris to different places to collate rare, crumbling or not easily obtainable manuscripts. The entire Mahabharata now stands collated from a minimum of ten manuscripts; some Parvans have been completely collated from twenty, some from thirty and a few even from forty manuscripts.

On the collation and classification of such varied and enormous manuscript-material of the Adi-parvan, the purest source has been found in the Kashmiri tradition, and this has been taken as the basis of the critical text, constituted chiefly with the agreements of the more or less uniform Southern Recension. The other

Northern versions are not neglected; their variants have been carefully considered, weighed and sometimes preferred while their concordant readings with Kashmiri or the Southern have been carefully utilized. But very often there are imperfect agreements, as well as strange disagreements. In such cases definite critical principles have to be evolved, not *a priori* but from the data themselves. Documentary imperfections are to be supplemented by a consideration of intrinsic probability as well as by a cautious valuation of the tradition afforded by different types or classes of manuscripts. From the facts of the case it is evident that the genetic method, usually applied to the case of the ordinary classical works, cannot be properly applied to a notoriously fluid and conflated text; and documentary evidence here is to be further tested by balancing intrinsic and other probabilities. The editor's task, therefore, is not finished by eclectically preferring a text on the basis of purely subjective preference, and haphazardly recording the variants in the footnotes. Each passage, and even each word, has to be carefully weighed in the light of documentary evidence and intrinsic probabilities





Codex Sarada, Fol. 179 B, of the Mahabharata

and such a text, therefore, requires not only strict philological training and soberness of critical judgment, but also a great amount of patience, accuracy and attention to minute details. It is clear that such a work, involving infinite labour and precision, cannot and should not be hurried; and critics who have expressed themselves sceptically and complained of the long delay are probably not fully aware of the extent and nature of the work.

Some misconception seems to exist regarding

the exact object and method of the critical edition. The object has been clearly stated and the method fully discussed by Dr. Sukthankar in his extensive Prolegomena to the edition of the Adi-parvan. "What; the promoters of the Scheme", says Dr. Sukthankar, "desire to produce is briefly this: a critical edition of the Mahabharata in the preparation of which all important versions of the Great Epic shall have been taken into consideration, and all important manuscripts collated, estimated and turned into account." As



we have already indicated above, there is nothing today to go upon for the constitution of a reliable text, but a careful study of the existing manuscript-material and a few other collateral testimonia of other writers. The oldest manuscripts, however, do not go back beyond the 13th or the 14th century, while the majority of manuscripts were written only in the last two or three centuries. The collateral testimonia, such as the Javanese version (ca. 10th century), the Andhra adaptation of the Telugu poet Nannaya Bhatta (11th century), the Bharata Manjari of the Kashmirian Ksemendra (11th century) and the Persian translation made in the reign of Akbar, as well as the text of early commentators like Devabodha, are no doubt older than most of the existing manuscripts, and are therefore to be taken into account, but they do not carry us back to a very early time. We have thus no *a posteriori* means today of tracing the text of the epic to the time when it consisted of real epic songs, or when it was probably of a much smaller dimension; for to do that we have to proceed by *a priori* methods which are however of doubtful value. In the case of these limitations one might ask—what then is possible? In these circumstances, the practicable object could be, in the words of the chief editor, “to reconstruct the oldest form of the text which it is possible to reach on the basis of the manuscript-material available.” In other words, it is not the object to constitute the text on any pre-conceived theory or hypothetical supposition, or to arrive at a conjectural pristine text by purely *a priori* methods; but to proceed entirely and strictly on the existing manuscript-material of diverse versions and recensions, and by a comparative estimate and examination of their agreements and disagreements to purge the current texts of its later accretions, conflations and contaminations, but in no case to effect any change, emendation or modification which is not supported by manuscript authority.

In order to realize this object it is necessary to examine as many different groups or families of manuscripts as possible, ascertain and evaluate the tradition of each group, discarding late and worthless material and considering the relation of these traditions to the variant readings and the genuine and spurious parts of the text. There will, however, always remain unsolved doubts and difficulties, where documentary evidence and textual criticism prove unavailing. It is, therefore, necessary to record carefully and methodically in the critical notes the variants, additions and omissions, not only in these cases but throughout in respect of every passage. The whole manuscript-evidence should throughout be before the reader, so that he can see for himself if the text adopted is certain or less than certain. From such a full critical apparatus it would also be possible for him to find out what the different

recensions and versions have to say in each case; and the reader thus gets the advantage of having in one complete edition all the recensions and versions of the Mahabharata before him.

It is true that in this way we do not indeed arrive at the earliest text of the epic, but we approximate with some amount of confidence to that early form of the text beyond which our existing material does not permit us to travel except by way of pure hypothesis. What the earliest text of the epic was we do not know, and we have no certain means to determine it; all that we can do is to reach the earliest possible form of the text with the material which still exists. The fastidious critics may object that this is not much but this is all that scientific investigation can do without indulging in subjective theorizing. Such higher criticism or theorizing can proceed only after the text is constituted on the existing material; the present business is to supply the text, on which future exegetic and other investigations may proceed more confidently. It will be seen that the attitude is essentially conservative, instead of being imaginatively radical; but considering the fluid character of the text, about which we possess no certain or adequate information regarding its origin, growth and transmission, it is highly desirable to proceed cautiously at the outset and keep within these obvious limitations. Some would perhaps regret to see passages omitted which he would like to be included, while others would like to omit on plausible intrinsic grounds a highly suspicious passage; but one's personal likes and dislikes cannot be allowed to manage the facts of manuscript-tradition. If the manuscript-evidence does not warrant the inclusion of a passage, the editor has no business to include it: on the other hand, a passage may possibly be an interpolation, but it must remain in the constituted text if it is found in the manuscripts of all versions. If it is an interpolation, it must have become a part of the text at some early period to which our present manuscript-tradition does not reach back. The inclusion or exclusion of such passages is not the business of the editor, but must be left to the critical investigation of the epic, of which the critical edition as we have said above, is only the beginning and the safe basis.

The case, however, is not so discouraging as might appear in view of these difficulties and limitations. The manuscripts themselves are not old, but the tradition they embody is often fairly old; and it is possible by such careful sifting to find out some of the oldest parts. There still exists a considerable portion of the text where the Northern and Southern Recensions are in full agreement, where there are no variants, or no really important variants at all. These passages are apparently handed down in unbroken tradition, more or less uniformly in all manuscripts. A very considerable number of



passages, again, can be constituted with an amount of certainty by agreements of versions, between which the chances of mutual borrowing or contamination is the least likely, such as, for instance between the Kashmiri and the Malayalam. In this and other ways it has been possible, not on any subjective ground but on strict manuscript-evidence, to purge the current conflated text of a large number of later additions, spurious passages and doubtful readings. It would perhaps surprise a conservative mind to learn that in the Adi-parvan, about 121 long passages (including a passage of 460 lines) and 1634 short passages have in this way been excluded; but the manuscript-evidence leaves no doubt of their spuriousness. We can in this way *approximate much nearer the elusive original of the epic* than any one manuscript or group of manuscripts of the same class, and than any one of the previous printed editions.

The first fascicule of the Adi-parvan, containing 60 quarto pages, was published in 1927, and the last, completing the parvan in 1115 quarto pages, in 1933. There has been a complaint about the slowness of the progress, but those who are conversant with works of this kind will surely understand that an undertaking of this magnitude and complexity cannot and should not be executed in a hurry. It must also be borne in mind that the preliminaries had to be settled and a great deal of spade-work had to be done before the actual work could be properly begun; and it takes a great deal of time to obtain and collate varieties of scattered manuscripts written in different scripts. Now that the work has been definitely organized and a part of it successfully accomplished, measures are being taken to expedite the publication, so far as it is possible to do so without sacrificing efficiency. The Institute has now decided to invite collaboration of scholars from different parts of India, and even from abroad, under the general editorship of Dr. Sukthankar. The Sabha-parvan has been assigned to Professor Winternitz of Prague; Professor Raghuvir of Lahore has been invited to edit the Virata-parvan; Dr. Sukthankar himself is now working on the Aranya-parvan, while the present writer has been invited from the University of Dacca to undertake the Udyoga-parvan. Of these, the Virata-parvan has now been completed and is already in the press; while the rough drafts of the Aranya and Udyoga Parvans are ready, and will, after revision, be taken up for preparing the elaborate critical apparatus, indices, and introduction and sent to the press. In this way it is expected that at least these three parvans, forming no less than one-fifth of the whole epic, will be published in the course of the next few years.

It is needless to say that in a work of such

herculean proportion and of such national, even international, importance, the Institute earnestly desires the co-operation of the scholars and the public from all parts of India and abroad. It is a matter, however, which concerns India more than any other country. It is desirable that every effort should be made to make the work a worthy monument of the true Indian patriotism, as well as of Indian scholarship; but the ideal can only be realized by active assistance, co-operation and collaboration. The work, like all great work, has been considerably hampered and delayed for want of sufficient funds. The entire estimated cost of producing the complete edition in more than 8,000 demy quarto pages distributed over 10 or 12 volumes is about 6 lakhs of rupees. A part of this amount has been defrayed by the princely liberality of the Ruler of Aundh and other Chiefs, as well as by the financial support of the Imperial Government, of the Governments of Bombay, Madras and Burma, of the Baroda and Mysore Durbars, of the University of Bombay, of the International Association of Academies of Europe, and of individual generous patrons and sympathizers. The Institute, which has devoted ten years of unceasing toil to the task, has already spent more than one lakh of rupees on the work, and is determined to complete the undertaking. But it must receive adequate sympathy and response to its appeals in order to realize this ambition and keep up the high standard already set by the publication of the first volume. It should be realized that the work, which the Institute is doing, is *something more than merely local*. It is, as we have said more than once above, national; and the Institute and its workers are simply the means for the attainment of this national end. As such, it is a sign of the times, a manifestation of the wide-spread national consciousness. And this consciousness should include the claims of scholarship, which has always been, even to a fault, a trait of Indian life. The European Association of Academies have, in the true scholarly spirit, been generous enough to extend monetary aid to this scheme out of their projected Mahabharata edition fund, and have thereby recognized the propriety and competence of India to undertake the work. The Institute is indeed grateful for this act of appreciation; but the needs of the time require that the first critical edition of the Mahabharata, which is a national heritage of India, should be accomplished in India, with the collaboration chiefly of Indian scholars and the support of the Indian public and learned bodies. Let us hope that the Institute, which bears the honoured name of one of the foremost Indian Sanskritists of modern times, will receive the financial assistance and scholarly co-operation that it richly deserves, not only of all Sanskritists, but also of all who are interested in the furtherance of this supremely important undertaking.



## A FEW THOUGHTS ON THE REPORT OF THE MOSLEM EDUCATION ADVISORY COMMITTEE

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

**T**HE Report of the Moslem Education Advisory Committee—an all-Moslem body under the presidency of Khan Bahadur Md. Abdul Momin, was published in December last; but we venture to think it has not received sufficient attention from our public men and publicists. All the recommendations of the M. E. A. Committee are 'special pleadings' for the Muhammadans without any reason or logic behind them. The Muhammadans, having secured the Communal Decision No. 1, *viz.*, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's Communal "Award" in the political field, and Communal Decision No. 2, *viz.*, reservation of a big share in the field of public services, are now out to secure Communal Decision No. 3 in the educational field. This is the main idea underlying all the recommendations made by the M. E. A. Committee.

As it is impossible within the short space of an article to deal with the nearly 200 recommendations we shall deal only with a few of them, and make our submissions before the reader.

Let us begin with their diagnosis about the paucity of Moslem students in Colleges, and their recommendations to remedy the same. The following tables show the percentages of the Muhammadan students in Arts Colleges and Professional Colleges during the last 15 years :

TABLE I (Arts Colleges)

Year	Total Number of Students	No. of Muhammadan Students	Percentage
1916-17	18,478	1,639	8·8
1921-22	16,942	2,175	12·8
1926-27	24,134	3,419	14·2
1931-32	21,624	2,883	13·3

TABLE II (Professional Colleges)

Year	Total Number of Students	No. of Muhammadan Students	Percentage
1916-17	4,412	303	6·8
1921-22	4,653	440	9·4
1926-27	5,322	886	14·06
1931-32	5,208	676	12·9

The Committee lament that

"The very fact that only 13·3 per cent. of those who receive University education are Moslems, although Moslems form 54·8 per cent of the total population of the Presidency, would lead to the conclusion that they are very backward in their education, and as such they require special encouragement."

They then go on to make as many as 14 recommendations.

Let us see whether their complaint is just. It is a fact that the percentage of the Muham-

madan students in the Colleges had increased appreciably and is increasing; but all those who aspire to be benefitted by collegiate education must pass the Matriculation examination. The percentage of the successful Moslem candidates in Matriculation are shown below :

Year	No. of successful Muhammadans	Percentage to total number of successful Candidates
1927	817	10·5
1931	1,455	12·8

[See Table LXXVI, 8th Quinquennial Education Report.]

If the percentage of the Muhammadan matriculates be as low as 12 per cent surely it would be idle and illogical too, to expect more than that percentage of students in the Colleges. But as a matter of fact we find that as a result of the special privileges and facilities given to the Muhammadans, their percentage in the Colleges is slightly higher—higher by about 2 than their Matriculation percentage. But all the same the M. E. A. Committee lament that their strength is not 54·8 per cent.

The Muhammadans of Bengal are inferior to the Hindus in every respect, and in every aspect of life, excepting in numbers. They are inferior to the Hindus in payment of taxes, in wealth, in education, in culture, in public spirit, in personality, and even when counting mere heads in the number of adults. But they are 55 per cent of the population of Bengal, here they surpass the Hindus; and this 55 per cent. argument has been the sheet anchor of their political and public life. And backed by the British bureaucracy, in Bengal they have been eminently successful. So they apply this 55 per cent argument even in cases where it is wholly inapplicable; sometimes they apply it without understanding its implications.

*In the 1921 Census, occupations by religions were given in Table XX, why no such figures have been given in the 1931 Census. Sir Abd-el Krim Ghuznavi, who was in charge of the Census Operations, can best tell us!* We are thus forced to use the 1921 figures as the latest available.

Ordinarily, those who are engaged in ordinary cultivation and field labour are not likely to send their sons to colleges, or for high stages of school education. If we deduct these classes from the respective totals of population in Bengal, we get a fair idea as to the proportion we may expect to find in colleges.



In 1921, Total population of Bengal :		Total Muham- madans
476 lakhs		255 lakhs
Deduct—		
Ordinary cultivators	} 305 „ }	197 „ }
Field labourers		
	44 „ }	22 „ }
	349 „	219 „
Net non-agricultural population, who are likely to send their sons to colleges		
127 lakhs		36 lakhs

The percentage of the Muhammadans in this category is about 28. If we remember the further fact that there are 6 or 7 per cent. more minors (*i. e.*, those who are below age 15) among the Muhammadans, their percentage in collegiate stage cannot be expected to exceed 21 or 22. From these theoretical considerations, we expect the relative ratio of Hindus to Muhammadans to be 79 : 21 while as a matter of fact we find them to be 86 : 14. So the difference between the theoretical number and the actual number is 7 in 100. Because the number of Muhammadan students is relatively small, this difference of 7 appears to be larger in their case.

But the M. E. A. Committee consisting of Muhammadan leaders fanatically fond of 55 per cent argument lament that the Muhammadans are not 55 per cent in colleges, because they are 55 per cent of the population, forgetting that their economico-social structure is different from that of the Hindus.

To remove this paucity they recommend—and this is their first recommendation in this respect,

“that the proportion of free studentships in colleges be raised to 8 per cent of the total population of the college and that 6 per cent should be reserved for Moslems.”

As we have seen above out of 21,624 college students the number of Muhammadans is 2,883; so to give effect to the above recommendation there will be 1,728 free studentships, of which 1,296 will have to be reserved for the Moslems; or in other words, out of 18,741 non-Moslem students, mostly Hindus, 432 or 2·3 per cent will get free studentships, while of the 2,883 Moslem students as many as 1,296 or 45 per cent will be free. To be logical they ought to have employed “proportional to population” argument; they ought to have recommended so much per cent of their own college strength.

The inequity and injustice of the above recommendation lies not in more Muhammadans taking the advantage of free studentships than is properly justified, but in throwing the burden of their education on others' shoulders, mostly Hindus. For in the ultimate analysis, the cost

of free students is borne by the paying students. The annual average cost per student in different types of institutions is as follows :

Table XLIX of the 8th Quinquennial Report

Average cost per student in different types of colleges.						
Govt. Colleges		Aided Colleges		Unaided Colleges		
Public Funds	Total	Public Funds	Total	Public Funds	Total	
1926—27	Rs. 250 379	Rs. 26 117	Rs...	101		
1931—32	Rs. 345 471	Rs. 29 136	Rs...	92		

So far as the unaided colleges are concerned the entire additional burden is going to be thrown on the shoulders of the Hindu boys; so far as the aided colleges are concerned, the amount of aid from public funds being about one-fifth, four-fifths are going to be thrown on others' shoulders. If it be said that all these 1300 Moslem free studentships are going to be given in the Government Colleges, it would mean that the Hindus are to be further pressed out of the Government Colleges, the total strength of all such colleges in 1931 being 3,229, to say nothing of the additional burden to such of them as are admitted, and to the public funds.

That the Hindu students are going to be pressed out of Government Colleges is not an idle fear. The Hindus established the Hindu College, which later on, when the Government took over the management, became the Presidency College. Certain Hindu College foundation scholarships are even now attached to the Presidency College. The fee-rate for the Hindus was Rs. 12; for the Muhammadans Rs 2 or Rs 5—the Mohsin fund being supposed to aid them. Even then sufficient number of Muhammadan students fulfilling the required College standard did not come forth. So 30 per cent of the total strength were reserved for them. When the Islamia College was established, the necessity for such reservation passed away; but still seats are reserved in the Presidency College for the Muhammadans. They, when once they get any privilege, somehow or other manage to retain their strangle-hold on it like the Old Man in Sindabad the sailor's story.

We shall now discuss the question whether the bestowal of free studentships on such a lavish scale does really help their recipients. As free studentships are really aids towards the cost of collegiate education of the recipients; and as they are not going to be bestowed on all and sundry, but on deserving students, the effect of free studentship on a recipient is similar to the grant of a scholarship.

The M. E. A. Committee has compiled a table showing the total number of scholarships etc., and the number secured by the Muhammadans during the years 1928 to 1932. We give below the table :



	Junior Scholarships				
	Total open Scholarships Secured by—			Special for—	
	Hindus	Muham- madans	others	Muham- madans only	Back- ward & Depressed Hindus only
1928	99	5	1	33	5
1929	101	3	1	33	5
1930	100	4	1	33	5
1931	99	5	1	33	5
1932	100	4	1	33	5
	Senior Scholarships				
	Hindus	Muham- madans	others	Muham- madans only	Back- ward & Depressed Hindus only
	Hindus	Muham- madans	others	Muham- madans only	Back- ward & Depressed Hindus only
1928	37	1	...	25	5
1929	36	2	...	25	5
1930	34	2	2	25	5
1931	37	1	...	25	5
1932	38	...	...	25	5

Thus, we see that the number of junior scholarships open to the Hindus is 110, while the number open to the Muhammadans is 138. The number of senior scholarships open to the Hindus is 43; and that open to the Muhammadans is 63. The number of junior scholarships open to the Muhammadans is proportional to their population strength, i.e., 55.6 per cent; although of the matriculates they are about 10 to 12 per cent. In the senior scholarships, they can get as many as 64 per cent, although their college strength is about 13 to 14 per cent. Thus ordinarily, all other things being equal, there is more chance for a Muhammadan boy securing a scholarship. But what strikes us most is the fact that even the 33 recipients of junior scholarships in 1928, 1929, and 1930 have not been able to secure more than 2.1, and *nil* senior scholarships open to all in 1930, 1931 and 1932. The above figures work out to an average of 1 senior scholarship per annum. And during the 5 years under notice only once has a Muhammadan secured a first-grade scholarship. Ordinarily the 33 junior scholarship-holders, who are the best among the Muhammadans, being relieved of their anxiety for the cost of their collegiate education, may be expected to be diligent, and compete freely with the Hindus. No explanation or reason has been suggested by the M. E. A. Committee. Perhaps spoon-feeding and pampering has blunted the incentive of these scholarship-holders to greater efforts. What we want to stress is that in spite of there being 33 junior scholars every year, we find their number reduced to 1 in open competition, so however many free studentships may be given to the Moslems, they will not be able to maintain their strength subsequently—to say nothing of their college strength approaching anything like their population strength.

The M. E. A. Committee gives the figures of the numbers and percentages of Hindu and Moslem teachers in primary schools for boys in the Presidency of Bengal. They are:

Class of institution	Number of Hindu teachers	per cent.	Number of Moslem teachers.	per cent.
1926-27				
Primary Schools—				
Board ...	3,132	44.0	3,937	55.3
Aided ...	19,325	47.3	20,958	51.4
Unaided ...	2,155	43.5	2,642	53.4
Total ...	24,612	46.5	27,537	52.1
1930-31				
Primary Schools—				
Board ...	3,853	44.2	4,808	55.2
Aided ...	22,192	45.5	25,990	53.3
Unaided ...	2,129	42.0	2,890	57.0
Total ...	28,174	45.0	33,688	53.9

After giving the above figures, they go on to say:

"When the Primary Education Act is brought into operation, most of the primary schools will come under the direct management of the district school boards. In the rules that may be framed by Government in connection with the Act, provision should be made for the employment of a **due** proportion of Moslem teachers in the district board schools, and this proportion should be on the **population basis** of the **locality**" (*Antiques* ours.)

The Muhammadans are 54.8 per cent of the population in Bengal; and already we find that they have secured more than their population *hissya* in the board schools. Even if we consider their percentages in total, it is 53.9 per cent; and they have to make up only 54.8—53.9=0.9 per cent to come up to their population ratio; and considering the fact that they have increased their percentage by 1.8 (i.e. from 52.1 to 53.9) in 5 years, we believe they have already made up the deficiency.

In the urban areas and in Calcutta the Hindus are in the majority; so in the rural Bengal the percentage of the Muhammadans will be more than 54.8. When they suggest "the population basis of the locality" should be taken into consideration they mean that this excess percentage should be taken into account.

Considering the "must have the pound of flesh" attitude of the Muhammadans, we have a counter-offer to make. Of the Education Cess, three-tenths are to be paid by the zamindars, and seven-tenths by the tenants. As more than 80 per cent of the zamindars are Hindus; and as the cess in the Burdwan Division and other areas where Hindus are in a majority, is greater both in amount and rate we may estimate the relative education-cess payments of the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

Contribution of—		Hindus	Muhammadans
Zamindar	(3/10)	$\frac{80}{100} \times \frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{20}{100} \times \frac{3}{10}$
Tenant*	(7/10)	$\frac{60}{100} \times \frac{7}{10}$	$\frac{40}{100} \times \frac{7}{10}$
		$\frac{66}{100}$	$\frac{34}{100}$

[\* for details of calculation see *The Modern*



As Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar has pointed out that the number of children of the school-going age among the Muhammadans is 50 per cent greater in number than that among the Hindus, the enforcement of the Primary Education Act 1930 means that the Hindus are to pay more but get less benefit. Our counter-offer to the Muhammadans is this: let what they pay go for their benefit; and let what we pay come back for the benefit of our children. This is not a very revolutionary suggestion; such things are actually done in the premier Dominion of Canada, see *The School Act of Saskatchewan* (Canada), 4 & 5 Geo. 5 ch. 23 of 1915.

One of the recommendations of the Moslem Education Advisory Committee about the Calcutta University is that the proportion of the number of Moslem members of the Senate to the total number of Indian members (why Indians alone?—is it because the all-Moslem Committee is afraid to touch the Europeans on account of the Minority pact of London?) should be the same as the proportion of the Moslem population to the total population of Bengal.

In Bengal, the Muhammadans are 55 per cent of the total population; hence, whenever they can on all possible or impossible occasions, they claim their hissyā or share proportional to population. But the Calcutta University also caters for the province of Assam. Hence logic demands that the Moslem demand should have been proportional to the Moslem population of Bengal and Assam combined. But logic is not a strong point with the Committee.

At the time of the last Budget discussion in the Bengal Council, the Muhammadans claimed more adequate representation in the Senate. What is *adequate* has been made clear by the above demand of the Committee. Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, now the Vice-Chancellor, pointed out that "even now out of 100 members 20 belonged to the Muhammadan community." This leaving out the Europeans and the *ex-officio* members works out to a much higher figure than 20. The relative ratio of Hindus to Muhammadans in 1933 was 56 : 21.

Mr. S. P. Mookerjee further pointed out that 80 per cent of the students in the University are Hindus, and only 12 per cent are Muhammadans. During the last 4 years the University received donations amounting to Rs. 16 lakhs, the Moslem's contribution during the same period being Rs. 600 only.

In explaining away the poor contribution of the Muhammadans K. B. Azizul Haque, now the Education Minister, said that the benefactions from his community is small because they were poor. K. B. Abdul Momin, the president of the Moslem Education Advisory Committee, said that they being poor could not contribute individually,

but the University is largely supported from public revenues, to which they contributed 80 per cent !!! Whence did he get his figures, pray? The real fact is that at least 80 per cent of the revenues raised in Bengal is paid by Hindus.

So the Muhammadans, who are poorer, contribute 80 per cent of the public revenue, although they are 55 per cent of the population. Or in other words, an individual Moslem pays  $\frac{80}{55}$  to an individual Hindu's  $\frac{20}{45}$  i.e. an individual Muhammadan pays 3 times more than a Hindu. News indeed !!!

But in one sense Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin is right—the poorer Moslem contributes; consequently the richer Moslem's duty is to receive only! If both the Khan Bahadurs, one a retired Divisional Commissioner and the other a Public Prosecutor and a prosperous lawyer, instead of drawing upon the public revenues to the extent of more than Rs. 2,000 each as travelling allowances for attending to the Council duties, had paid the same to the University, the Moslems' contribution would not have been so meagre.

Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin further stated that it could not be said that his community as a whole was tardy in their generosity towards education, because *wakfs* and the Mohsin Fund were made in the interest of education—Communal Muslim education, of course.

The following quotation from the Amini Report by D. Anderson, Charles Croftes and George Bogle on the 25th March 1778, when the Muhammadans had not yet fully ceased to be rulers, will speak volumes:

"The lands exempted from the payment of revenue by firmans of emperors are called Aima. They constitute however but an inconsiderable proportion of the Bazi Zamin, and in some place have been made liable to the payment of a small quit rent. Beneficiary grants of this nature have been made by zamindars to a much larger extent, and under so many names and presences that it is difficult to enumerate them. They have been bestowed chiefly for the support of Brahmins, Priests and Hindoo Temples, or for other religious purposes."

No mention here of *wakfs* or endowments for maktabs and madrassahs, etc.

The Muhammadan Educational Endowments Committee 1888 was appointed by the Government under the presidency of Mr. G. C. Paul, then Advocate-General of Bengal, with several Muhammadan gentlemen including the late Nawab Abdul Lateef, and the late Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali, to survey the Muhammadan educational endowments in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Report of this Committee says:

"Although far from complete it may, it is hoped, be sufficient for the purpose immediately proposed, as giving some approximation to the truth as to the *number* (italics ours) of educational endowments known to exist and sufficiently illustrating their working." [Para 4].

In para 8, a list of mixed endowments

*Review* for March 1933, where even assuming that the cess-payment within the division is proportional to population, we arrive at the above conclusion.]



created since 1647 in the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is given. They number 51, and their gross total income is some Rs 350,000 (including the Mohsin fund and the Sasseram endowment). Of this sum only a very small fraction was available for educational purposes. In para 11 and Statement C the character of these endowments as shown by their deeds of foundation in 45 cases out of 51 is discussed. The Report further says :

"It is a matter of regret that although the foundation deeds in statement C have been selec-

ted \* \* \* as having an educational character, but little prominence is given in them to education as compared with the other objects of the founders. In 19 instances education is not specified by the deed in any way, and it would appear that such instruction as may be given in the endowments to which they relate is maintained at the discretion of the Manager" [Para 15].

We take it the Muhammadans have acquired the habit of making educational endowments since 1888, especially after the passing of the Wakf Validating Act, 1913 which makes *Wakfs* for the benefit of one's descendants valid.

## PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF RAMKRISHNA PARAMHANSA.

BY THE LATE PANDIT SIVANATH SASTRI

[The article from which extracts are given below, in view of the Ramkrishna Centenary celebrations, was written by the late Pandit Sivanath Sastri, in October, 1910. Of all the appreciative character-sketches of the Saint written by men who did not believe him to be an incarnation of God, Sister Nivedita considered this to be the most remarkable.—Ed., *M. R.*]

**M**Y personal acquaintance with Ramkrishna Paramhansa happened in the following manner.

In the year 1875, I was employed as Head Master in the South Suburban School of Bhowanipore, in the southern suburbs of Calcutta. While working there, I formed friendship with a teacher of the London Missionary Society's Institution, who had married at Dakkhineswar, a village in the northern suburbs, the famous seat of Ramkrishna Paramhansa. After his visits to Dakkhineswar my friend would come and relate to me the strange sayings and doings of a Hindu mendicant attached to the temple of the goddess Kali at that place. Some of these sayings seemed so remarkable to me that one day I accompanied my friend to see him. He was not known to fame then, which came to him afterwards, when the late Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen began to visit him and to publish the accounts of his visits in his paper.

I do not remember the things he said during our first interview, but I vividly recollect that he received me very warmly, perhaps owing to the fact of my name having been mentioned to him by my friend previously. He said to me again and again, in his well-known open-hearted, simple and childlike manner, "I am so delighted to see you, will you come to me now and then?"

### The Saint's Personal History

The little of his personal history that I could gather from persons living there showed that he was an unlettered poor Brahmin, formerly employed as a *Pujari* or ministering priest in the Kali temple, who subsequently, by his extraordinary penances and austerities, had attained to a state of perfection the like of which was seldom seen.

After repeated visits our friendship became closer and he began to unbosom his experiences to me. The long and short of the story is this :

### His Religious Exercises

When acting as a priest in the temple, he came in personal contact with many Hindu *Sadhus*, saints, sages

and mendicants who, on their way to and from Puri or Jagannath, would visit that temple and would sometimes stay there for stated periods. The personal contact with these men brought on a revolution in Ramkrishna's life. His hunger and thirst for spiritual truth, which was naturally great, was further strengthened. As a result, he devoted himself to the religious exercises which many of them taught, and began to practise austerities that were very severe.

### Shunning Gold

I recollect some of them as related by the saint. The idea that struck him most, and had an abiding influence on his mind, was to avoid as poison *kamini kanchan* or woman and wealth, as the most effective way of ensuring spiritual detachment; and the means that he adopted for that purpose were also very peculiar. With a quantity of dust in one hand, for instance, and some pieces of coin in the other, he would sit by the side of the river, flowing near by, and then would compose himself into a state of meditation, trying to realize the equal nothingness of both of them, the quantity of dust, and the pieces of coin. Then he would go on repeating, "dust is money, money is dust, dust is money, money is dust," and so on, till the realization of that truth was complete, when he would throw both 'money and dust' into the stream.

### Woman-shunning Exercises

Similarly, his efforts to rise above the attractions of woman were also very peculiar. I need not recount all of them, which the saint related to me. Suffice it to say that ultimately his abhorrence of the touch of woman became so great that he would not permit, in after years, any woman to approach him within some feet of distance. To one approaching too near he would often bow and say,—“Mother! mother! stay there, please come not nearer.” To my question, what were his apprehensions about the nearer approach of woman, he made the reply, that the shock would be too great for him, he would be



simply overpowered and would faint away. I do not remember having ever seen any woman approaching him too near, with the result of his falling into fits, but I was personally present on occasions when pieces of coin were placed in his hand by an enquiring visitor, as an experiment, and the saint fell into his usual fits, and did not come back to consciousness, until the pieces of coin were removed from the hand.

Some more words about these woman-shunning exercises are needed. As a consequence of them, at the time I first saw him, Ramkrishna was living practically separated from his wife, who was living in her village home. . . . One day finding myself expostulating about this part of his teaching, and also declaring that our programme of work in the Brahmo Samaj includes women, that ours is a social and domestic religion, and that we want to give education and social liberty to women, the saint got very much excited, as it was his fashion, when anything against his settled conviction was asserted in his presence, a trait we liked so much in him, and exclaimed, "Go thou fool, go and perish in the pit that your women will dig for you." Then he looked with glaring eyes at me and said:—"Suppose the case of a gardener who is planting a young plant in his garden. What does he do? Does he not surround that young plant with a fence, to protect it from being eaten up by goats and cattle? And then when the young plant has grown up into a tree and it can no longer be injured by cattle, does he not remove the fence and let the tree grow freely?" I replied:—"Yes, that is the custom with gardeners." Then he remarked:—"Do that with regard to your spiritual life; shun women in the beginning of that life, be strong, be full-grown, then you may seek them." To which I replied:—"I don't agree with you in thinking that women's work is like that of cattle. only to destroy our spiritual life; they are our associates and helpers in all our spiritual struggles and social progress,"—a view with which he could not agree and he marked his dissent by shaking his head. Then referring to the closing evening he jocularly remarked:—"It is time for you to depart; take care, don't be late, otherwise *your woman*, would not admit you into her room." There was a hearty laughter of all present over these remarks.

#### Cultivating the Spirit of Hanuman

Besides the woman-shunning exercises, the other modes of exercise, adopted by him were also characteristic. Many of them appeared to us to be quite fanciful and involving needless waste of time and energy. There were certainly better ways for serving the ends he had in view. But we must judge a man by his sincerity and his hunger and thirst for religion. He had earnestly resolved to practise all that the mendicants visiting that temple had dictated. One sage told him, for instance, that the best way of acquiring perfect obedience to the Divine will, was to cultivate the spirit of Hanuman, the famous monkey-servant of Rama, as delineated in the Ramayana. In order to cultivate that spirit Ramkrishna shut himself up in a room for a number of days, meditating on the virtues of Hanuman. He caused an artificial tail to be made, which he put on, to look like a monkey, and then jumped about in the room calling upon God,—*"Lord, Lord, I am thy devoted servant."*

#### To be Like the Meanest Sweeper

Another sage told him to practise humility, to believe himself to be equal to the meanest sweeper, for instance. Ramkrishna at once resolved to do the duty of a sweeper. By stealth he would enter the *paikhana* or privy of a neighbour from below, and would take away the pots to the river to wash them and place them again in their places. This thing went on for some time, till at last

it was discovered, and remonstrances were forthcoming, and he had to give up the practice.

#### His Austerities

Added to all these there were hard regulations about diet and sleep. He fasted for days and denied himself rest during nights. One can easily imagine that these severe austerities told upon his constitution, which seems to have been naturally frail.

#### His Direct Vision of Spiritual Truth

In fact, the impression left in my mind, by intercourse with him, was, that I had seldom come across any other man, in whom the hunger and thirst for spiritual life was so great and who had gone through so many privations and sufferings for the practice of religion. Secondly, I was convinced that he was no longer a *sadhak* or a devotee under exercise, but was a *siddha purusha* or one who had attained direct vision of spiritual truth.

#### Divine Motherhood

The truth of which he had direct spiritual vision, and which had become a fountain of noble impulses in his soul, was Divine Motherhood. He loved to speak of God as his mother, the thought of Divine Motherhood would rouse all his emotions, and he would faint away from excess of excitement when singing of the Mother's love. Yet this conception of Motherhood stretched far beyond any idol or image into a sense of the Infinite. When he spoke or sang about the Mother, his thoughts far out-stripped the limits of the four-handed goddess Kali. One of his favourite songs was—"Oh mother, dance, once commingling thy smiles and thy flute"—i.e., commingling Kali and Krishna. He would often say, only fools make distinction between Kali and Krishna, they are the manifestations of the same Power.

#### The Catholicity of His Conception

Speaking of the spirituality and catholicity of his conception, one incident comes to my mind. A Christian preacher of Bhowanipore, who was my personal friend, once accompanied me on my visit to Ramkrishna. When I introduced my friend to him, I said—"To-day I bring a Christian preacher to you, who having heard of you from me, was very eager to see you," whereupon the saint bowed his head to the ground and said, "I bow again and again, at the feet of Jesus." Then took place the following conversation:—

My Christian friend—How is it Sir, that you bow at the feet of Christ? What do you think of him?

Ramkrishna—Why, I look upon him as an incarnation of God.

My friend—Incarnation of God! Will you kindly explain what you mean by it?

Ramkrishna—An incarnation like our Rama or Krishna. Don't you know there is a passage in the Bhagavat where it is said that the incarnations of Vishnu or the Supreme Being are innumerable?

My friend—Please explain further; I do not understand it quite.

#### What is an Incarnation of God

Ramkrishna—Just take the case of the ocean. It is a wide and almost infinite expanse of water. But owing to special causes, in special parts of this wide sea, the water becomes congealed into ice. When reduced to ice it can be easily manipulated and applied to special uses. An incarnation is something like that. Like that infinite expanse of water, there is the Infinite Power, immanent in matter and mind, but for some special purposes, in special regions, a portion of that Infinite Power, as it were, assumes a tangible shape in history, that is what you call a great man; but he is properly speaking a local manifestation of the all-pervading Divine Power; in other words, an incarnation of





RAMKRISHNA PARAMAHAMSA

From an oil-painting by Franz Dvorak, Prague, Czechoslovakia



God. The greatness of great men is essentially the manifestation of Divine Energy.

My friend—I understand your position, though we do not quite agree with it. (Then turning to me)—“I should like to know what my Brahmo friends would say to this.”

Ramkrishna—Don't talk of those fools, (meaning members of the Brahmo Samaj), they have no eyes to see such things.

Myself—(addressing Ramkrishna) Who told you, Sir, that we do not believe that the greatness of the great teachers of humanity was a Divine communication, and in that sense they were incarnations of a Divine Idea?

Ramkrishna—Do you really believe it to be so? I did not know that.

#### Are certain Divine Attributes Reasonable?

On one occasion, I was present in his room along with a few others, who during the saint's temporary absence from the room, began to discuss the reasonableness or otherwise of certain Divine attributes. I was getting tired of the discussion when the saint returned. Whilst entering the room he had caught some words of that discussion and had also observed the heated nature of it. He at once put a stop to the discussion, by saying, “Stop, stop, what is the good of discussing the reasonableness or otherwise of Divine attributes? These things are got by other ways, by prayerfully waiting and thinking. For instance, you say God is good, can you convince me of His goodness by reasoning? Take for instance that mournful incident, the encroachment of the sea on the land, that lately took place at Dakshin Sabazpore, the great inundation during a storm. We hear thousands of men, women and children were carried away and drowned by that flood. How can you prove to me that a good God, a beneficent Deity, ordered all that? You will perhaps answer by pointing out the attendant good that that flood did; how it carried away filth, how it fertilized the soil and so on. But my question is this, could not a good God do all that without carrying off hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children?” At this point one of the audience interrupted him by saying, Are we then to believe that God was cruel!

Ramkrishna—“Thou fool, who tells you to do that? Join your hands in reverential humility and say—‘O God, we are too weak and too incompetent to know thy nature and thy doings. Do thou enlighten our understanding.’”

Then he illustrated the truth by the following parable:—“Take the case of two men travelling by a certain road, who take temporary shelter in a mango-grove. It was the season for mangoes. One of them sits with pencil and paper in hand and begins a calculation. He counts the number of mango trees in the garden, the number of branches in each tree and the average number of mangoes on each branch. Then he tries to imagine how many cart-loads of mangoes that garden will supply, and then again taking each cart-load to be worth so many rupees when taken to market, how much money that garden will fetch.

“When one man was employed like this, in counting up the probable income from the garden, the other was engaged in plucking ripe mangoes and eating them. Which of them do you consider to be the wiser of the two?”

“The second one was certainly the wiser,” said the visitor, “for it is certainly wiser to eat the fruits than counting up on paper the probable income from the garden.” Then the saint smiled and remarked:—“It is likewise wiser to pray to God and to cultivate communion with Him, than to argue about the reasonableness or

otherwise of his attributes. Pray and open your hearts to Him and the light will come to you.”

#### Are Spiritual Preceptors Necessary?

On another occasion, when I was seated with him a number of men arrived, one of whom amongst other questions asked: “Whether it was necessary for a man, for the purpose of spiritual improvement, to place himself under the guidance of some guru or spiritual preceptor?”

Ramkrishna replied—“Certainly, it is of advantage and a great good fortune for a man if he can find a worthy director of his spiritual life; such a one would materially help him. Not that he cannot attain to true spiritual progress by his self-exertions, but such a company would certainly facilitate it.” Then turning to the river flowing near by he pointed to a passing steamer, and asked his questioner: “When do you think that steamer will reach Chinsurah?” The man said—“By five or six in the evening.” The saint said, “You mark a boat attached by a rope to the stern of the steamer. With the help of the steamer, that boat also will arrive at Chinsurah, by that time. But suppose that boat is detached from the steamer and has to ply unaided, when do you think it would reach that place?” The questioner replied—“Most likely not before next morning.” The saint concluded:—“Exactly like that, a man may go on unaided in his spiritual life, through his weaknesses and blunders, it only takes time; whereas if he can get the advantages of the companionship and help of an advanced spirit he can accomplish the journey of ten or twelve hours in four.”

#### “Jnanā” and “Bhakti”

On another occasion one of the visitors asked—“Of *jnan* or knowledge of God and *bhakti* or ardent love of God, which is better?” Ramkrishna took advantage of the gender of the words according to Sanskrit grammar, calling *jnan* to be a male and *bhakti* a female. But in this, through his ignorance of Sanskrit grammar he committed a mistake, for *jnan* in Sanskrit is in the neuter gender. However, his application of the Sanskrit grammar in this instance was very striking and peculiar. After describing one to be masculine and the other feminine, and then referring to the Indian custom of shutting up women in the inner apartments, he said—“*Jnan* or knowledge being a male is obliged to stand and wait at the outer court of the Divine Mother's house, whereas *bhakti* being female goes direct to the inner apartments, to the very presence of the Mother.”

#### Concentration on Things Divine

On another occasion one of the visitors asked,—“Living in the world as we do, surrounded by our daily cares and daily duties, what are we to do, to concentrate our attention on Divine things?” To which the saint replied—“Have you ever seen women making *cheerah*? (a kind of boiled and threshed paddy). There is the threshing-machine called *Dhenki*, with its big pestle going up and coming down, in measured movement. A woman generally takes her seat near the small pit made in the ground, where the grain to be threshed is put, and where the pestle rises and falls and, as the pestle rises and falls, she gathers up the threshed corn and removes it to be spread in the sun. She has to be very careful about her hand gathering the threshed corn from the pit, for the least carelessness on her part would make that pestle come down upon her hand and crush her fingers. Now suppose the case of such a woman, thus employed. Also suppose that woman is at the same time employed in other ways. She has a baby on her lap to whom she is giving suck, with her left hand she is spreading the threshed corn to the sun, and at the same time is speaking to a neighbour about the price



of some *cheera* she had taken sometime ago. Where do you think that woman's attention is primarily directed? Certainly to her hand in the pit, lest that hand be crushed by the down-coming pestle. Similarly in this world be ye occupied with many concerns, and be ye attentive to many duties, but primarily attend to your spiritual interests, take care that these are not crushed."

#### Repeating Names of the Deity

On another occasion the conversation turned upon the usefulness or otherwise of counting beads or repeating the names of gods or goddesses. The saint replied:—"The mere repetition of a name in itself is nothing, unless it is attended by a corresponding spiritual emotion. Take the case of a parrot for instance. Its master has taught it the names of his own deities. Accordingly the parrot is going on repeating in season and out of season, the names of *Radha* and *Krishna*. *Radha Krishna, Radha Krishna*, the parrot repeats morning and evening, and seems to be quite in love with them. But mark one day the wily cat pounces upon the parrot from behind and tries to kill it. What do you hear then? You perhaps observe that *Radha Krishna* has vanished from its throat, and in its place has come in the frightened and agonised bird's natural cry,—*Kan Kan Kan*. So your bead-counting man, when tempted and tried, perhaps forgets the name he repeats, or your professed lover of God forgets his God's name, and falls into his natural mood of unbelief and want of resignation. A faith that cannot stand the trials of life is no faith at all."

#### His Personal Affection for me

Enough: let me now proceed to relate some incidents expressive of the saint's personal affection for me. On one occasion he had been sending repeated messages to me asking me to come and see him; but I was being detained by Brahmo Samaj work, till at last he turned up at my house one day, perhaps on his way to keep some other engagement. Then took place the following conversation.

Ramkrishna—How is it you have not seen me for so long a time even after repeated requests, and your repeated promises to do so?

Myself—The work of the Brahmo Samaj detains me. I am just now very busy.

Ramkrishna—Perish your Brahmo Samaj, if it denies you liberty to see your friends!

Then looking at my face, he smiled and said:—"When I was coming to you the fellows (meaning his new disciples) said, 'Why should you go to a Brahmo, he is not worthy of a visit.' Do you know what I told them?"

Myself—What did you tell them?

Ramkrishna—I told them, now look here, I am at the service of all.

#### At a Brahmo Festival

On another occasion he had been invited to be present at a Brahmo festival held in a garden-house at Dum Dum. I arrived a little late. Upon my arrival I found him standing and singing in the midst of a crowd of people. As soon as he saw me he clasped me to his bosom, declaring, "Oh! my bosom is now soothed." After that his proceedings went on with unusual fervour and enthusiasm.

#### To see Lions at the Zoo

On a third occasion as I was approaching the temple of Dakkhineswar after a long time, I found the saint in his simple and childlike fashion trying to drive away a number of crows from the adjoining trees, with a bow and arrow in his hands. To find him in that condition was a surprise to me. "What is that? turned an archer?" I exclaimed, whereupon he seemed to be equally surprised

to find me coming after a long time and threw away the bow and arrow and ran to my bosom. So great was his delight that he fainted away from excess of emotion. Slowly I took him inside his room, laid him on his bed and waited till he came to consciousness. When able to speak again, he broached to me the proposal of accompanying him to the Zoological Gardens, whither some of his disciples had proposed to take him to see the lions. The manner in which he expressed his joy at the thought of seeing the lions, was charming in its simplicity. He repeatedly asked me, did I not like to see the lions, the celebrated riding-beasts of goddess Durga?—I smiled and said, "I have seen the lions several times." To which he replied—"Is it not a pleasure to accompany me to see them once more?" I said, "Yes, it is a great pleasure, no doubt, but, unfortunately, I have another engagement to attend to. I shall, however, accompany you down to the Sukea Street crossing in Calcutta, and then shall send for Naren (subsequently known as Vivekananda, who was then employed as a teacher in the Metropolitan Institution) from his school and he will take you to the Zoological Gardens."

#### "I am a Woman for the Time Being"

At last it was so arranged, and a carriage was brought by a young disciple, who, as far as I remember, became our fellow-passenger in the carriage. But while in the carriage, Ramkrishna insisted upon sitting on my left-hand side on the seat. I could not at first understand his meaning. But as the carriage started he covered his head with his *chudder* or covering sheet, in the fashion of young married women of Bengal. I asked for the reason of his so doing. He said, "Don't you see I am a woman for the time being. I am travelling with my lover." Saying this he threw his arm around my waist and began to make a sort of dancing movement, seated as he was, as a mark of his great pleasure. At this point there came on his fit or trance, and then I witnessed a scene that I shall never forget. His whole countenance was aglow with a strange spiritual light, and before he became fully unconscious, he began to pray with incoherent words, in the following fashion—"O Mother, my beloved Mother, do not make me unconscious. O Mother! I am going to see the lions in the Zoological Gardens. O Mother, I may have a fall from the carriage. Do, do let me be all right till the journey is finished." At this point he became thoroughly unconscious, leaning on my arm for some minutes. After consciousness had returned he once more began conversation in his usual childlike and simple manner, till we reached the Sukea Street crossing and Naren was sent for. He came at once, as far as I remember, and took my place in the carriage and took his master to the Gardens. It should be mentioned here that the Metropolitan Institution was at that time situated in Sukea Street.

#### My Last Visit

During the last few years of the saint's life, my visits became less frequent than they were before. Two causes contributed to produce that result. . . . So I kept away. At last when the news of his fast declining health was brought to me one day, I left all work and went to Dikhhineswar. I found him very low. That was before his final removal to a more commodious house on the riverside for treatment. Ramkrishna took me to task for neglecting him. I pleaded guilty to the charge and made a clean breast of it by letting him know the exact causes. . . . He, too, smiled and said:—"Just fancy, God Almighty dying of a cancer in the throat. What great fools these fellows must be!"

#### A most Remarkable Personality

That was my last interview with him, after which



he was removed from Dakkhineswar, was placed under the treatment of the most distinguished physicians of the town, and was devotedly nursed by his disciples; but nothing could stay the progress of his disease and he passed away, leaving behind him a memory that is now spiritually feeding hundreds of earnest souls, My

acquaintance with him, though short, was fruitful by strengthening many a spiritual thought in me. I owe him a debt of gratitude for the sincere affection he bore towards me. He was certainly one of the most remarkable personalities I have come across in life.

## THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

### XXVII

**F**ROM the next day, the real work began. Suparnā had hardly any time to breathe.

A tent was set up for the female ward, and very soon a good number of patients arrived on the scene. A hut was erected for Suparnā and the two nurses, but they got no opportunity to set foot inside it before the afternoon. It was a cloudy day. There were occasional showers. But the workers at the relief camp ignored all these, and worked on as usual. The waters of the Bhairabee had begun to increase again and several more villages were in danger. So the volunteers had to work on, without rest and sometimes without food even.

Sudarshan came in once and looked over the female ward. Suparnā was examining the patients and the nurses were busy attending them. "Please go and have your breakfast, one by one," said Sudarshan. "You cannot get off, all at the same time."

"Yes, Mrs. Roy is going first," said Suparnā. "Will you examine these patients? There is nothing much the matter with them. Mostly cases of semi-starvation and of consumption of food unfit for human beings."

"Oh, I need not bother about them," said Sudarshan. "You can manage them quite well. If any serious case comes in, then you can send for me. I have hardly any time. We shall have to put two patients on one bed after this. More villages are going under water every day."

"Do you know, my father's village too is in this very neighbourhood?" asked Suparnā. "Is that so?" asked Sudarshan in surprise. "Which village is it?"

"Jamral," said Suparnā. "Is that threatened too?"

"Certainly", said Sudarshan. "But there is another relief camp in that part. We are taking care of this side only. I do not think a single village hereabout can be saved. The water is ever on the increase and I do not know how long it will go on. We, too, might have to remove the camp from here, if the rains continue."

"So it seems", said Suparnā. "We shall be driven back to Chorabil station in that case."

Someone came to call Sudarshan at this juncture and he went out. Mrs. Roy and Miss Bhadra had their breakfasts by turns. Next Suparnā went out for hers.

It was a small hut, made of split bamboo tied together. No arrangement for comfort and ease was possible here. They would have to live in extreme discomfort and suffer from many inconveniences. Still Suparnā seemed to feel as if a new life had been granted her and all the sorrows, shame and limitation of her past life had been washed away. But why did a sense of joy permeate her whole being? Was it because she had seen Sudarshan again? Because he had come back again into her life? She could own it now to herself and even to Sudarshan. It was impossible for them to be united in this world. But still they could see each other, speak to each other. Even this much was a priceless boon to them. Suparnā might think that the purpose of her life had been fulfilled, if she could spend it in the service of humanity, in his company. But would this even be granted her? Who knew how many trials and tribulations still awaited her?

In the evening, she became free for a while and came out of the female ward. She had brought pen and ink with her. She wanted to write to her father. She wondered whether it would be right to write anything about Sudarshan. But what would be the use? Pratul would not be able to offer her any solution of her problems. His peace of mind might be impaired very much instead. So she did not write anything in detail. The only thing she told him was that a friend, whom she had met in Delhi, was working here as a doctor. Pratul was not to be anxious about her.

Sudarshan came again after a while. "I usually go out for a walk at this time", he said. "But today I would not be able to get off, I think. If you are not very busy, I have a few words to say to you."

Suparnā put back her writing material and said, "No, I have nothing to do now. I had only one letter to write, and that is finished. Please sit down."



"You need not bother to get a seat for me", said Sudarshan, as he saw that Suparnā was looking about for a seat for him. "I shall get one for myself." He dragged forward an empty packing box and sat down on it. "The words you said last night had kept me awake till the morning," he said. "I could not get them out of my head. It is true that there is no straight way out, as you said. But there might be ways which are just a bit crooked. Would you care to get out of this horrible fix, availing yourself of one of these?"

Suparnā thought for a while, then she said, "I would not object, if I don't have to do anything really wrong."

"It is difficult to say what is really wrong and what is not. Each person has a different definition for these things. But circumstances alter our judgments. If you ask my opinion, anything, short of murder, is right to get a woman free from such senseless slavery. Even murder would have been justifiable to me, if I had known that I would get you by committing it. But I know, that is not possible. There is nothing that I dare not do to gain you. But perhaps, your opinion on the matter is different."

Suparnā felt inclined to laugh at this child-like curiosity. "Would it be any easier if you knew my answer to this question?" She asked. "Even if I thought alike, the difficulty would remain the same."

"Please, don't get angry at what I am about to say," said Sudarshan. "I love you best of all human beings and I hold you in the highest esteem. I would think myself the most fortunate of human beings, if I could get you, even outside the pale of social sanction, if it were impossible to obtain that sanction."

Suparnā's face turned red. "Many have tried this experiment before us," she said, "with little good result. We would not only suffer ourselves, but make others suffer also."

"Who are those others?" asked Sudarshan. "Your relatives? Did they think about you or consider you at all?"

"No, you cannot exactly say that," said Suparnā. "My father at least was not responsible for this deplorable state of affairs. I shall speak still more plainly and clearly, since God has not ordained that I should observe womanly reserve. We should never leave to innocent children a heritage of shame and sin. They would suffer all their lives and curse us. I should never take revenge on them for the wrong done to me."

"If you think so, then it is best to give up all hope," said Sudarshan. "Since it is impossible to think of a way, through which our children too could be kept from being looked down upon."

Suparnā did not reply. After a while Sudarshan got up and said, "Please give me the name and address of the man to whom you were married." Suparnā wrote out Shribilas's

name and address on a piece of paper and gave it to Sudarshan.

The rains continued. The angry waters of the Bhairabee became wilder than ever. It looked as if it wanted to swallow the whole countryside to appease its terrible hunger. The volunteers of the relief camp were fighting a superhuman fight. They wired and wrote continually to the central organizations for more men and money. They too, sent supplies, more workers and money, as much as they could, but nothing seemed to suffice. The cry of the distressed and afflicted seemed to rend the very skies.

\* Even amongst the workers, cases of illness began to occur. Two of the young men were down with fever. Of the three lady workers Mrs. Roy had become quite frantic for leave. She was not ready, as she said, to lay down her precious life for the sake of these country louts. She had been persuaded to stay on, till another nurse from Calcutta could be brought over. Suparnā herself was feeling unwell, but she had no time to think about that.

Today four volunteers and one nurse were expected from Calcutta in the evening. If they would come, then Mrs. Roy could be relieved and the two sick young men could be sent away to Calcutta. Suparnā was expecting some supplies also. She came out of her hut continually and looked across the fields to see if anybody was coming towards their camp.

Sudarshan came out after a while, stick in hand, quite ready for his evening walk. Seeing Suparnā standing outside, he came forward and said, "I am going that way for a walk. I shall be able to welcome them. If you have got an electric torch, please give it to me. The batteries have become exhausted in this one. It is not safe to go out with it in this place."

Suparnā brought him her own torch in haste. "Why are you walking barefoot?" she asked, "Snakes abound in these parts."

"I don't mind," said Sudarshan; "all the better if I get a short cut out of this existence with the help of a friendly snake. God Almighty is trying His best to decrease my love for my own life."

Suparnā's face turned pale with suppressed emotion. After a while she said, "Do you think it just to punish me for a crime I did not commit? Am I suffering any less than you?"

Sudarshan moved nearer to her and said, "Please don't be angry. You must bear with these stupidities of mine. Perhaps you cannot understand what a struggle is going on within me. I love you, and I know, that you love me too. Still I must remain at a distance. I have not the right even of touching your hand. If I die tomorrow in this God-forsaken place, you would not have the right of stroking my aching brows once, or of taking my head on your lap. Yet thousands of couples, who do not bear



any love for one another, are living together and enjoying the rights of marriage. Perhaps they are fretting and cursing the chains that bind them together. How can one bear such injustice?"

"Just in the way one bears death, disease and sorrow", said Suparnā.

"But these are not alike", said Sudarshan. "Death and sorrow are inevitable, since they come from God. But our plight has its origin in the folly of man. I do not think we ought to bear it in silence. I know you don't think in the same way. I am trying with all my might to find out a solution to our problem, but I do not succeed. I have no one with whom I can consult. I am thinking of asking the central organization to send another doctor here to relieve me for a while. Then I can go to Calcutta and take suitable legal advice."

It was fast getting dark, so Sudarshan went off, without tarrying any longer. Suparnā stood there, thinking. Did Sudarshan really think that she was not suffering? Was it less difficult for a woman to remain ever apart from the beloved, than it was for a man? Was not her heart, too, being torn to pieces, with warring emotions? But she could not allow impulses to carry her off her feet. They were not inexperienced children who did not know the consequence of hastiness. They were a grown up man and woman. Perhaps their love would achieve its fulfilment, if they could surrender to each other, but had they the right to do so? Suparnā knew that she had not. She knew also, that their children would curse this unbridled passion of theirs, and they would be justified in doing so.

Suparnā's reverie was ended by a call from Miss Bhadra. Pratap Babu had sent a message to the female ward, that half a dozen more patients were arriving soon. Their beds must be kept ready for them. The space at their disposal was limited. So they had to push the beds closer together, and remove some tables, etc., for making room for the new arrivals. It had grown quite dark by that time. Suparnā looked out anxiously every now and then. Even the day before, two persons had come to the hospital to be treated for snake-bite.

Mrs. Roy had gone out a few minutes ago. She now returned with the news that she had seen lights approaching the camp over the fields. "The lights are pretty bright," she said. "It is certain the party is coming here; who else have got such good petrol lamps hereabouts? You may stand ready to receive another batch of patients. The lord alone knows how you will be able to manage them. I have grown old in this business. Yet my bones too are aching from morning till night."

"We shall have to manage somehow, that's about all," said Suparnā shortly.

"But you must consider your own health too," said Mrs. Roy. "If you fall ill, who will look after you here?"

Suparnā had no time then to listen to Mrs. Roy's advice. She ran to help Miss Bhadra, who was trying to get the beds ready for the new patients.

These arrived very soon. No sort of conveyance was easily available in these parts. A few small palanquins could be procured with great difficulty. Those amongst the patients who were entirely helpless had been conveyed to the hospital in these. Others came in bullock-carts, some even on foot.

There were five female patients. A bullock-cart came and stood before the female ward. Suparnā went with the nurses to help them down. Four of the women were sitting and the fifth one was lying down, huddled up in a corner.

"What is the matter with her?" asked Suparnā. "Can't she get up at all?"

"She has got pneumonia, I think" said the volunteer who had brought them. "She is unconscious. I had to rescue her from a half-submerged house, with the help of our boat. All her relatives had fled, leaving her alone in the doomed house."

Miss Bhadra and Mrs. Roy got into the cart and lifted the woman bodily down from it. As she was brought out the covering fell from her face. Suparnā gave a start of surprise at the sight of her face. It was Arunā, from Bhatgram!

Mrs. Roy looked at Suparnā with curiosity and asked, "Do you know this woman?"

"I think, I have seen her before," said Suparnā shortly, "please carry her in."

Arunā was carried in and laid on a bed. She was totally unconscious. Her body was burning with fever. Suparnā felt a bit nervous and called Mrs. Roy to her. "Please go and see whether Sudarshan Babu has returned," she said. "He must see this patient."

"She is past the help of medical science," said Mrs. Roy wisely. "Don't you see the expression on her face? She won't last long."

"Please go and call the doctor," said Suparnā, rather displeased.

Mrs. Roy went out. Suparnā sat down by the side of Arunā in order to examine her. Nothing but a skeleton had been left of the once robust girl. She must have been starving for a pretty long time. She had been living with her brother's family. Suparnā could not understand how she was reduced to such a state. Were there no human beings left in Bhatgram? Because a girl had been obliged to stay on at her father's house even after marriage, was starvation to be her lot?

Mrs. Roy came back and said, "The doctor has not returned yet. But you must give her something to eat now. She has been brought over here at the very last stage. What can a doctor or a nurse do for her now?"

Suparnā ordered some light food to be brought in for the patient. She again got busy, trying to restore her to consciousness. After



a while, she opened her eyes just once but closed them again immediately after muttering, "I say, are not you going to cook, even today?"

Miss Bhadra brought some milk and barley water in a feeding cup and began to try to feed her. Suparnā went over to the other patients. Three of them were total strangers to her. The face of the fourth seemed rather familiar. "Are you from Bhatgram?" asked Suparnā, bending down over her.

"Yes, mother," replied the woman. "I belong to the boatman caste."

"Is the whole village under water?" asked Suparnā again.

"Yes," said the woman. "Everyone has fled, the village is completely deserted. All the mud hovels have been destroyed. Even the brick-built houses are beginning to tumble down. All the cattle, too, have been washed away."

Suparnā was about to ask her something again, when a tumult outside arrested her. She came to the opening of the tent and looked out. The band of volunteers from Calcutta had arrived. There was a pile of boxes and bundles just in front. A few new faces too could be seen. Sudarshan came forward in the company of an elderly lady. He was looking extremely grave.

"Is this lady from Calcutta?" asked Suparnā.

"Yes," replied Sudarshan. "Mrs. Ghosh, this is Miss Mitra."

Suparnā greeted the new nurse and sent her in to take over the charge from Mrs. Roy. Then she turned to Sudarshan and said, "One of the patients seems rather seriously ill. It would be better, if you saw her once."

Sudarshan went in with her. As they came and stood by Arunā's bed, Suparnā said, "I am sorry for the woman, specially as I know her. Bhatgram, too, has gone under water. This woman is from that village."

Sudarshan was examining the patient. "It would have been better if all the villagers, too, had gone down there," he said bitterly.

"God does not see with human eyes," said Suparnā. "And he has no partiality for me. So why should he destroy a whole village for my benefit? It would scarcely have been just, if he had."

"Do you find an abundance of justice all around you?" asked Sudarshan.

"No, I don't," said Suparnā, with a smile. "But our business can wait. Please tell me now what is to be done for this woman."

Sudarshan wrote out a prescription and gave some directions for the nursing. "Let us see whether there is any change today," he said. "Please come out for a moment."

Suparnā told the new nurse to attend to Arunā and went out with Sudarshan. They advanced to a little distance, leaving the tent behind. "Do you know what has made me so bitter?" asked Sudarshan. "Usually I never speak

about God's justice or injustice, as I do not understand them, but something I heard today made me so mad."

"What is it?" asked Suparnā rather anxiously.

"I heard from the new batch of volunteers that a man named Shribilas Guha has come with them from Calcutta," said Sudarshan. "He has put up in Chorabil for the evening and is going to come over here to-morrow morning. He has told them that he is a resident of Bhatgram and has come to enquire about his family. That is not the whole truth, you understand?"

Suparnā's face became stern. She remained silent for a while, then she said, "Let him come. I do not fear anything from him any longer. I came here fully prepared for this. But I never expected you, too, to be here. That, of course, complicates matters still more."

"It is sure to do so," said Sudarshan. "It would be better for him, if he gave me a wide berth. It would go hard with him, if he did not."

"It would be still better, if you kept out of his way absolutely," said Suparnā.

"I am not afraid of unpleasantness, but I do not want it, if I can avoid it."

"Do you think it possible for me to stand by calmly and let that brute insult you?" asked Sudarshan, very much excited.

"But why not wait and see, whether he really means to insult me?" asked Suparnā.

"I thought his coming would make matters easier of settlement," said Sudarshan. "Have you told him everything? I mean about myself and you?"

"No," said Suparnā. "It would not have made any difference."

"You cannot tell," said Sudarshan. "No gentleman who has received education and culture, would want to hold a woman by force, when he knows that she loves another. Specially, if there are no children, to complicate matters. In the latter case, of course, the small people must be considered above all things."

"He is far removed from your idea of an educated gentleman," said Suparnā. "He has not got a bit of refinement or culture. He had, of course, read some English books, in order to pass his examinations. Though he does not know that I love you, he knows quite well that I do not love him—that I detest him. In spite of that, if a man tries by force to assert his rights as a husband, you would not call him cultured, I suppose?"

Sudarshan's face turned dark with anger. "Did he really try to do that?" he muttered through his teeth.

"Don't get excited over it now," said Suparnā. "He tried, but he could do nothing. I escaped from his house that very night and went over to Calcutta. From Calcutta, too, I went away for a change and stayed out for a month. He sought



in vain for me during that time. Now through the help of newspapers, he has come to know where I am, and what I am doing. So it is not strange that he has arrived. The wonder is that he did not arrive before."

"Well, let matters come to a head," said Sudarshan. "One cannot remain like this for ever. I have one thing to ask of you. Some people have got out of this trap of Hindu marriage by becoming converts to another religion. What do you think of that?"

"We must consider first, whether religion should ever be employed for such a purpose. But that question does not arise in this case. If I become a convert, he will also become one, that much I can tell you for certain. So I won't be able to get rid of him in that way. The cases you mention were not exactly like this one. There nobody must have stood in the way of the party who was trying to dissolve the marriage."

"It is very strange that a man who feels so strongly should ill-treat you himself and even allow others to do so," said Sudarshan.

"Well, there are various kinds of feelings", said Suparnā. "He wants me, of course, but he wants my money more. His desire for me has become now an obsession with him. There is nothing he cannot do to get me in his power again. The way he began to behave at last in Bhatgram was incredible. You seldom find such things out of cinema-land."

"Well, it is better in a way," said Sudarshan. "It is easy to tackle a brute and to deal with a human being. But if a person is half brute and half man, you don't know how to proceed with him."

"Let us go back now," said Suparnā, "We must take great care of that girl Arunā."

"Send for me, if you need me," said Sudarshan, "I shall remain awake all night, most probably. I have got so many things to think over."

"It is useless," said Suparnā. "I have thought for ten or twelve years, but I have not arrived at a solution yet."

"I am a mere man of flesh and blood," said Sudarshan. "Don't expect anything divine from me. To the last day of my life, I shall hope for you and fight for you."

Suparnā began to walk towards the camp without speaking. Sudarshan followed her. As they came close to the hospital, he stopped and said, "Suparnā, will you let me hold your hand once? You never know what the morrow might bring for us. It might even be our last day on earth."

Suparnā stretched out her hand silently. Sudarshan took it in both of his and stood speechless. Then he bent down and imprinting a fervent kiss on it, let it go. "Do you feel as if you have committed a sin?" he asked.

"Though you are older in years," said Suparnā with a smile, "yet in reality you are

younger than myself. Why should I think it a sin? Even if others deny it, I know full well that I am a maiden and I have a right to love, where I please."

"Don't you ever forget it," said Sudarshan and hurried off.

## XXVIII

Suparnā remained awake the whole of that night. Though a nurse sat by Arunā, Suparnā too remained by her side. Her mind was full of anxiety and disquietude. God alone knew when He would set her free from this fearful bondage. Would she ever know peace again in this life?

The day dawned, a cloudy and dark one, and still Suparnā sat by her patient. Mrs. Roy was going away by the morning train and was therefore feeling unusually cheerful. She had got up very early in order to pack up her things. She came forward and asked Suparnā, "shall I pour out a cup of tea for you? I have kept it ready in a thermos flask. You have not slept at all, I see."

"If you please," said Suparnā. She drank the hot tea gratefully and got up from her chair. Mrs. Ghosh now came in to relieve her. "Please sit here," said Suparnā to her, "I shall go and lie down for a bit, though I don't think I can sleep."

She went into her hut and laid herself down. Though her mind was still restless, yet bodily fatigue conquered her at last, and she fell asleep.

Sudarshan too had remained awake the whole of the night. He had come out of the tent towards the small hours and was walking about, trying to soothe his overexcited brain. He felt sorry for having been born in a civilized world. No direct solution of problems was possible for them. In the morning, he sat as usual in the hospital, examining the patients. Suddenly Pratap Babu came in with a stranger. "This is our hospital," he explained to the new-comer. "This is our doctor, Sudarshan Babu." He turned to Sudarshan and said, "This is Mr. Shribilas Guha. He has come to see our relief camp. He is a native of this place and you can get much useful information from him."

Sudarshan had a good look at the man. So, this was Shribilas?

Shribilas did not seem at all eager to see the hospital in detail. "You are doing very good work," he said, out of politeness. "You have got also a female ward, have not you?"

Sudarshan felt his body stiffening. He was unconsciously getting ready for a fight, sensing an enemy before him. But he had to remain silent, as the man was not talking to him, but to Pratap Babu.

"Yes, we have," replied Pratap Babu.

"It has only very recently been opened. We had so many suffering women pouring in that



we were obliged to have a ward all for them. The number of patients in both is the same. Our lady doctor, Miss Suparnā Mitra, is very efficient. Sudarshan Babu can safely leave the female ward in her capable hands."

"Are male visitors admitted there?" asked Shribilas. "If I may go in, I can see if anyone from our village is there. The whole village has become submerged, as I hear. I went to Calcutta on business a few days ago, when this catastrophe occurred. My sister had foreseen this calamity and gone away to her husband's village, else she too might have died."

"Male visitors are not generally admitted," said Pratap Babu. "But an exception can be made in your case, as you have a special reason for wanting to go in. I shall just ask the permission of Miss Mitra and take you in. Please come with me."

As soon as Pratap Babu and Shribilas had gone out. Sudarshan jumped up hastily. "Amar, you sit here and take care of these medicines," he cried to one of the volunteers. "Let none touch them. I shall be back presently." He could not restrain himself any longer. He must be by her side now, even if she did not want him, even if she resented his presence there.

It took about two minutes to cover the distance between the two camps. Sudarshan walked so fast, that he covered it in half the time. He was just in time to see Pratap Babu entering the tent of the female ward, with Shribilas. But where was Suparnā?

He followed in their wake and entered. He needed no permission for coming in, as he was the head of the hospital department. The two nurses were present, but Suparnā was not there. Shribilas was going round with Pratap Babu closely examining the faces of the patients.

Sudarshan hurried to Miss Bhadra and asked in a low voice, "Where is Miss Mitra?"

"She is lying down for a bit," said the nurse. "She could not sleep at all last night. She told me to ask you to attend to that patient who is suffering from pneumonia. She is in a state of delirium."

Sudarshan looked towards Arunā's bed and found that Shribilas was standing there, talking excitedly. Pratap Babu was politely nodding his assent. Sudarshan went forward, curious to see what was going on.

"This woman is not only from my own village," Shribilas was saying, "she is a distant relative as well. How does she happen to be in such a condition? I am sorry, I could not see Miss Mitra, I would have asked her to take special care of her—"

"Special care is being already taken," interrupted Sudarshan. "Her condition calls for it."

"Of course, of course," said Shribilas, rather taken aback. "But this is a charitable concern, and you may not be able to afford any costly medicine for her, though she may need them.

That is why I am speaking. In that case I can leave some money with you."

Sudarshan felt an irresistible desire to knock out some of the fellow's teeth for him. What a kind-hearted philanthropist! He looked as innocent as the babe unborn. "You may certainly leave some money," he said. "Even if she does not need it, there are many who do. These works are carried on solely by public charity."

Pratap Babu cast an astonished glance at Sudarshan. He was the last person to ask donations from strangers. Hitherto he had never once been persuaded to join in this campaign of collecting subscriptions. Then what made him say such things today?

But Shribilas was too brazen to be put to shame so easily. Indeed shame of any kind was foreign to his nature. He was, besides, very stingy by disposition. So he merely bared his teeth in an ugly smile and said, "It would have been very fortunate, if I could have afforded something just now. But if you really need it for the lady, write to me, and I shall procure the money somehow. I shall be in Chorabil for a few days. I may come over here again."

Sudarshan said nothing but sat down to examine the patient. Shribilas was taken out by Pratap Babu.

Though Suparnā had not slept at all last night, yet she could not sleep long in the morning. The great disquietude of her mind made her wake up after a while. Mrs. Roy was busy packing up her things in the same hut. Seeing Suparnā sitting up on her bed, she exclaimed, "So you are awake so soon? I must say, you don't take any care whatsoever of yourself."

"I cannot sleep out of season, like this," said Suparnā.

"Some one wanted you a few minutes ago," said Mrs. Roy. "A certain gentleman had come to see the hospital and has recognized that patient who is suffering so much. He wanted to say something to you about her. I thought you would sleep a little longer yet, so I did not call you."

Suparnā understood well who the gentleman was. So he had arrived at last? Well, she did not want to run away from him for ever, she knew also that she could not. She had chosen her way, and she was determined not to budge an inch from it through fear or impediment of any sort. Still she felt extremely anxious about Sudarshan. Her heart trembled with fear, lest he should do anything rash in a moment of excitement.

But she had no time to sit still and think. She must hurry off to the hospital without delay. Suparnā began to get ready for going out. "I may not see you again," said Mrs. Roy, "as I am starting within half an hour. Goodbye then. If you need me again, I may come back after



a month. I would not have gone away, but you see I have really become too unwell."

Suparnā bade her goodbye and promised to write to her, if ever she needed her again. Then she went out to the hospital.

It was nearly time for the morning train, so Mrs. Roy started for the station. No sort of conveyance was available. So she hired a man to carry her luggage and began to walk towards the village Chorabil. She did not take leave of anyone else, because she felt that her leaving was regarded here as a desertion. But she could not afford to neglect her own health out of consideration for others. If once she really became ill, nobody would then come forward to nurse her.

After having gone some way, Mrs. Roy found another person walking in front of her. He was a gentleman by appearance and it seemed he too was headed for Chorabil. The man was a stranger to her. Mrs. Roy rightly took him to be the same gentleman who had come to visit the hospital in the morning. She was well aware of the social rule that a lady should never speak to a gentleman until introduced to him. But here, in this God-forsaken land, one could not fully observe every etiquette. The people of the relief camp were very rude. Not one of them had taken the trouble to come with her to see her off. She had not, of course, requested anybody to do so, but they ought to have enquired whether she was going absolutely alone. She was going alone over this lonely field with this evil-looking villager. If he had a mind, he could easily throttle her and run away with all her luggage.

Mrs. Roy began to walk fast in order to catch up with the stranger. The man probably heard the sound of her footsteps and turned round to see who it was. "Are you going to the station?" called out Mrs. Roy, while at a little distance from the man.

The man stopped, somewhat surprised. He had a good look at Mrs. Roy first, then he said, "I am not going to the station, but to the village. Do you want to go to the station?"

"Yes," said Mrs. Roy. "I am coming from the relief camp and I want to catch the morning train for Calcutta. It is a piece of good luck, my meeting you here. I was feeling rather nervous here, being all alone."

"There is nothing to be afraid of during the daytime," said the man. "Did you come to the camp on any business?"

"Yes," said Mrs. Roy. "I was in charge of the female ward here. But as my health was beginning to suffer, I have to go away on leave."

The man was none other than Shribilas.

"So you were in charge there?" he asked with astonishment. "But did not I hear that a young lady doctor, named Suparnā Mitra, was in charge?" Though, how he came to know that

the lady in front of him was not Suparnā, was not evident.

But Mrs. Roy was feeling too angry at his words to notice this thing. "Of course, she is sure to get all the credit," she snorted. "She is a rich man's daughter and has given some money to the relief camp. Besides she had studied for a few years in the Medical College. So everyone calls her the head now. Nobody bothers about those persons who work themselves to death silently. We are veteran workers, though we do not carry any big names. But no one will be able to find any fault with our work. They have learnt from books only, while we have learnt through constant practice."

"Is Miss Mitra very young?" asked Shribilas.

Mrs. Roy turned up her lips. "Not so very young", she said. "She must be about thirty now, though she looks a bit younger, having been brought up in idleness and luxury."

"Is she a Christian or a Brahmo?" asked Shribilas.

"She is not a Christian, certainly," said Mrs. Roy, "else, we would have known about her. She might be a Brahmo, for all I know. But from her words, you would not take her to be such. She told me once that she passed her early life in a village, and came away to Calcutta, when she was nearly fourteen. I don't suppose a Brahmo girl could live in a village so long."

"You are right", said Shribilas. He thought for a moment, then said again, "Please don't think it strange. I may seem rather curious about Miss Mitra. The name seems very familiar to me. The lady in question was a medical student too. But I heard that she had got married."

"Why, no," said Mrs. Roy. "But she might get married soon, to our doctor."

Shribilas started violently and asked, "To Sudarshan Babu, do you mean? Is there any talk of marriage?"

Mrs. Roy smiled wisely and said, "Look how we digress from one topic to another. Please don't tell anybody at the camp that I have told you this. They would then take me for a busybody and a gossip. Nothing has been settled as yet. But it is evident that they are violently in love with each other. So a marriage may not be very far off."

Shribilas walked on without speaking. His face had become distorted with rage and jealousy. "How far is the station?" asked Mrs. Roy. "My feet are aching."

"You have still a bit to go," said Shribilas, "but the worst part is over. Now we have reached the road. You won't find it so difficult to walk now."

"If I could get even a bullock-cart," said Mrs. Roy.

"You may get one, once we reach the village," said Shribilas. "If you wait here a while, I can fetch you one." As Mrs. Roy had no objection, he left her, and hurried on by himself. The



foolish jabbering of the woman was becoming unbearable. He wanted to be alone, to think.

So Suparnā was in love with the doctor fellow? Was it true? Who can tell? And how long had this state of affairs been going on? Shribilas had not heard about Sudarshan before. But who could have informed him? Not certainly Suparnā. She would never want him to know that she was carrying on with another man. So, this was why she did not want Shribilas? Even his touch was repugnant to her! Oh, what a hypocrite! Shribilas bit his lips, till they bled. He wanted to go at once to Sudarshan and break his head. But though he could ill-treat defenceless women, he never dared to fight with one of his own sex.

He sent on a bullock-cart to meet Mrs. Roy, then went into the shop of Rasik and flung himself down on his bed. He had engaged a room here for a few days. He went on thinking and but could not determine on any course of action.

Once he thought of stealing Suparnā from the camp and going away somewhere else with her. But it was no easy task for one man. About fifty young men went about the camp all day long on various duties. Even at night, the fools could not sleep. It was impossible to manage the thing single-handed. He would need help. But the whole countryside had been devastated by the terrible flood. Where could he get men to help him in this questionable enterprise? This was not Calcutta, where for money you can get anything.

He might go straight to Sudarshan and pick up a quarrel with him. But he must accuse him of some definite crime. Shribilas had no proof that Sudarshan had committed any. He was a lawyer and could not do such a silly thing, relying solely on the words of the old gossip, Mrs. Roy.

The old woman might easily deny having spoken, if she was cornered. Shribilas would only get a sound beating then, for his pains.

Suparnā was living as an unmarried woman there. If Shribilas went and exposed her, she might feel a bit ashamed, but it was doubtful whether this exposure would matter very much to her, brazen hussy that she was. If he wanted to take her away, she would most certainly refuse to go. Shribilas would have to drag the affair to the law courts after all. But it was difficult to foresee the result.

But while he would be thinking about legal steps, Sudarshan would be passing the time very profitably, making love to his wife. Shribilas felt his brains catching fire. He jumped up from the bed. This was unbearable. After all, she was his wife. A Hindu wife becomes polluted even if she was touched by the shadow of another man. But just look at the way this one was behaving? She was an educated modern woman

and a lady doctor to boot. So these things were bound to happen.

But how to get her in his power again? Shribilas was ready to die in order to keep her for himself. He might have ill-treated her and oppressed her in the past, still he was her legally married husband. She could not go away from him to another man, with impunity. If she wanted to lead a conjugal life, it must be with him and none else. If she wanted to become a nun, that was another matter.

The shopman came in and said, "Babu, I have prepared everything, you can begin your cooking now, it is late enough."

Shribilas had to get up. He was hardly in a mood for cooking, but he was incapable of bearing hunger and there was none else to do the cooking for him. He finished in a hurry. He bathed and had his breakfast, then tried to sleep awhile. But the bed seemed to be on fire. He got up again from it. He looked out, then taking up his umbrella, set out for the relief camp again.

Suparnā had finished her morning round and was just going towards her hut to take her breakfast, when Shribilas suddenly came and stood before her. But he did not make as great an impression on her as he had expected to. She seemed fully prepared for his appearance.

Still Shribilas bared his teeth in an ugly smile and said, "You are very much surprised, are not you? It is only to be expected. I seem to you like an impediment personified, in your path of joy."

"This is neither the place nor the time for playing the clown," said Suparnā, very much displeased. "Please go away from here."

"What if I don't go?" asked Shribilas unpleasantly. "Would you send for friend Sudarshan?"

Suparnā felt furious. Still she tried to appear as calm as possible and said, "He has other duties to perform. He is not here for the purpose of chastising ill-mannered brutes. You have none of the sensibilities of a human being, otherwise you would never have appeared before me again. You are even worse than an animal. Get out of here." She again walked on towards her hut.

Shribilas again barred her way. "Don't think that you can drive me away with abusive words", he said, "I am not such a weakling. I have heard all about your fine doings. You must come away with me. I won't allow you to stay here any longer. Whatever you have done, you are still my wife. Any scandal that touches you, touches me also."

"If you want to indulge in boorish melodrama, you can do it alone. I am really too busy to listen to you," said Suparnā.

Shribilas lost his temper completely. Once he got angry, all his legal wisdom deserted him at once. "Ill-mannered and too boorish you are yourself," he shouted. "A lady by birth would



never behave as you are doing, You are putting both the families to shame."

Suddenly, some one from behind took him by the scurf of his neck, and dragged him forcibly aside. Shribilas turned round, snarling like a mad dog, and found himself face to face with Sudarshan.

"Right it is," he exclaimed. "You have got to appear in this scene. Otherwise the drama would fall flat. How dare you lay your hands on me? I shall sue you for this."

"You can do whatever you please," said Sudarshan. "But if you don't take yourself off from here this moment, I shall break both your legs for you. No one can enter the camp premises without a permit from Pratap Babu or myself. Who permitted you to enter?"

A few of the volunteers saw the scene from a distance and sensed that something was wrong. Seeing them advancing, Shribilas thought it high time to retreat. Otherwise, he would be too much outnumbered. He picked up his umbrella, which had fallen down from his hand, and said, "All right, I am going. But I warn you, you shall hear from me pretty soon."

"Glad to hear it," said Sudarshan. "I have no objection to hearing from you. But you, too, will hear something from me."

Shribilas rushed off with undue haste. "See, how cultured a man he is and how learned," said Suparnā to Sudarshan.

"He will learn soon enough," said Sudarshan significantly. "I shall 'learn' him."

## XXIX

It had cleared a little in the afternoon, but as the day advanced, it clouded over again. Soon a heavy shower came on. The roofs began to leak in many of the huts. The volunteers tried their best to repair the damage with the aid of corrugated iron sheets and pieces of canvas.

Pratap Babu ran to the store room to see whether the roof here too, was leaking. He met Sudarshan on the way. He was going to examine the hospital tent. "The field in front is half-submerged," called out Pratap Babu; "if it continues to rain for a few more hours, then our tent too would be submerged. What are you going to do about it?"

"We shall have to shift our camp," said Sudarshan. "It is already dark now. We must pass the night here, somehow. Tomorrow morning we must arrange to shift. It will be mercy, if the stores do not become damp and the patients do not die of cold, during the night."

"We must shift to the field that lies by the side of the railway station," said Pratap Babu, as he ran. "That is the only piece of high and dry land in the vicinity."

"If there is no suitable place on this side, then we must go there," said Sudarshan.

The tent-roof was not leaking, but all the

volunteers and nurses had become very nervous. The flood was unprecedented in its fury, in the history of the countryside, and no one hoped to escape from it. The hungry waters chased the people like a tigress and killed without mercy. Sudarshan tried to calm their excited minds, as much as he could, then he proceeded to the female ward.

Suparnā too was going round inspecting every part of the tent, accompanied by her two nurses. "Can you tell, what is going to happen to us?" she said, seeing Sudarshan.

The two nurses moved away to a respectful distance. They never approached near Sudarshan, if they could help it. "Why, what is the trouble?" asked Sudarshan. "The rain, or the unwelcome visitor?"

"The unwelcome visitor is past worrying about," said Suparnā. "That is nothing new to me. I know that there is no remedy for it. But what about the rain?"

"We are thinking of shifting to the field by the side of the railway station," said Sudarshan. "You were right when you said that we need not worry about Shribilas. It is his turn to worry now. What was the wretch saying to you in the morning?"

"You heard what he said," said Suparnā. "I am bringing disgrace on his fair name, so he wants to take me away."

"Let him try," said Sudarshan. "A good licking would soon bring him to his senses."

"No licking would ever do that for him," said Suparnā. "He is not that sort. They are all the time fighting and quarrelling in their home, so a beating or two is of no account to them. Indeed, he would rather like it. He feels much at home in an atmosphere of abuse and dirty language."

"I am not spoiling for a fight," said Sudarshan. "But if he tries his monkey tricks here, he must come prepared for a thrashing. I have half a mind to take you away from here. It is not fair to keep you here, to face all this unpleasantness. If you permit me, I can write to Calcutta for two other doctors. Then we can go to Calcutta, and give our undivided attention to our own business."

"That too would not be fair," said Suparnā. "Why should we run away from duty, for fear of him? You are giving him undue importance. I don't mind unpleasantness. I am accustomed to it from childhood. I got only a few years' respite, when I was in Delhi. But his weapons have become powerless against me. What can he do? The worst he can, is to publish the news of his marriage to me. Let him do it. The people here are too busy to enjoy such sensations now."

"But what about ourselves?" asked Sudarshan. "Are we to fritter away our lives like this?"

"What is the use of pondering over it



needlessly?" asked Suparnā. "We must try to forget our personal miseries in our work."

It became darker and darker. All the lamps were lighted, still the darkness remained as deep as ever. The boys made some torches from the branches of trees and stuck them on the ground here and there. The roar of the flood seemed to be approaching nearer and nearer.

"No one must sleep tonight," said Suparnā to Miss Bhadra. "Let us go and sit inside the hospital tent, else the patients will die of fright."

Miss Bhadra had no objection. She went out to get three camp chairs from their hut. Suparnā stood within the tent and looked out, through a slit in the curtain at the war of the elements outside. The very heavens seemed to be coming down. Would this rain never cease?

Miss Bhadra returned with the chairs and said, "Are you going to take your dinner too, here? They have placed it ready in our hut. Shall I bring it over?"

"No, don't bring those things here," said Suparnā. "You go and have your dinner. I don't feel like eating at all. If I want it afterwards, I shall go and get it."

Miss Bhadra went out for her dinner. She returned after a while and said, "A stray dog must have got into the store-room. Something is moving about there. It is too dark to see anything. I searched our hut thoroughly, but I could not go in there. Shall I call one of the volunteers and ask him to have a look?" If it is a cat or a dog, it might break all the medicine bottles."

"Don't go in yourself," said Suparnā. "call one of the boys." Miss Bhadra called one of the boys and sent him to the store-room.

The boy came out running after a while and said, "It is not a dog, but a thief. I could not catch him in the dark, he ran away very fast. The door could not be secured properly."

"Goodness gracious!" said Miss Bhadra. "It is a mercy that I did not go myself."

"I don't know what he would have gained by stealing some medicines," said Suparnā. "But it is well that he had run away himself. Go and tell Pratap Babu and Sudarshan Babu about this. Ask them to get the door mended, if possible."

Suparnā was nearly certain about the identity of the thief. She decided to remain in the hospital tent, throughout the night. Shribilas had become desperate now, he might try anything and everything.

Sudarshan entered the tent after a few minutes. "I hear that somebody broke into the store-room," he said. "Has he taken away anything?"

"We are not certain yet," replied Suparnā smiling sadly. "Let us go and see."

They took up a petrol lamp and advanced to the store-room. It was still raining. "Where were you all?" asked Sudarshan.

"We were all sitting by the patients," said

Suparnā, "so that they might not feel nervous." As they stopped before the store-room, Suparnā said, "We need not go in. The thief did not come to steal the medicine bottles."

"What did he come for then?" asked Sudarshan, "for you?"

"So it seems," replied Suparnā. "Wonderful!" exclaimed Sudarshan, "It seems like a story out of filmland. But we must thank him for giving us a warning. We must be extra-careful in future. You must remain in the tent at night. I shall post a guard here."

"What a strange thing the human mind is," said Suparnā. "This man is frantic for me now. He must have me, even if he has to commit murder for it. But this very person had once literally kicked me out of his house, and branded me with red-hot iron."

"There is retribution for every sin committed," said Sudarshan. "That red-hot iron has entered his own heart now. But I do not blame him, Suparnā. I would not think it strange, if a fellow went to the gallows in order to get you."

Suparnā wiped the tears off her eyes surreptitiously. What was the use of listening to these words now? It seemed to sweeten the very core of her being, but it pierced her heart also. This love was nothing but a mirage to her. She could never accept it for her own.

"Please look in once," she said to Sudarshan. "Since we have come all this way for that purpose, see if the thief has knocked down anything in the dark. We need not wait here long in the rain. Tell the boys to fasten the door as carefully as possible."

Sudarshan held up the lantern and had a good look inside. "No, he has not disarranged anything," he said. "Let me take you back to the tent."

He escorted Suparnā to the female ward and said, "Never come out alone at night, under any circumstances."

Nearly everybody in the camp passed a sleepless night. The sight that met their eyes in the morning left no room for doubt that they must remove the camp at once. The wide field in front was looking like a fair-sized lake and the roar of the Bhairabee had become deafening. A party set out to reconnoitre and came back very soon. More villages had been washed away they reported, and the fearful current was carrying away countless trees and carcasses of dead animals.

The whole batch of volunteers set to work at once, shifting the camp. They decided on the field, next to the railway station. They applied to the railway authorities and were allowed to use two large tin sheds in the station compound for a few days. Then with the help of some hired men, they first began removing the stores. Within two hours, all the stores were removed.

"The clouds do not forebode anything good,"



aid Sudarshan. "We may safely expect a heavy shower by the afternoon. We must remove the patients before that. Let them remain in the empty storerooms here, while we strike up the two tents. As soon as we can set these up over there, we can remove the patients too. Then we shall see about arranging and putting things to order."

Everyone consented. The patients were soon removed to the empty huts, which had hitherto served as store-rooms. They were given all the chairs, stools and mats to make themselves comfortable with while the two tents were struck up. The furniture and medical instruments too were removed with the tents.

Suparnā sat inside one of the huts with the women patients. Sudarshan ran in and said, "I must go over there for a few hours, otherwise there will be great damage. I am leaving eight or nine volunteers, tell them if you need anything. It might begin raining any moment, so I must hurry."

"Very well," said Suparnā. The patients were mostly seated on the camp chairs covered up to their ears. Only Arunā lay on her chair. She could not sit up any more.

Sudarshan hurried off. A long chain of men was seen passing across the fields with loads on their heads. Sudarshan kept on cautioning everyone continually. One false step on the muddy, slippery ground meant much loss.

However, they crossed the wide field safely and began to load the things in bullock-carts. "Drive as quick as possible," said Sudarshan to the cartmen; "we must be ready to receive the patients by one hour."

They got down by the side of the site they had chosen. Everything was put down on the damp ground, while the boys began to work like Trojans, building the camp up again. No one had time to speak a word or to look up once.

One of the tents had already been set up, the volunteers were working at the second one, when a boy ran up to Sudarshan and said, "You must come back to the camp for a while."

Sudarshan was busy digging, with the rest of the company. He threw away his spade, and asked with some astonishment, "Why so?"

"Miss Mitra had to go away to attend a labour case," said the boy. "The people cried so much and implored her to save their daughter, so she had to go. She told me to ask you to stay with the patients till she comes back."

Sudarshan's face turned white with dismay. "Are you all mad?" he cried. "Why did you allow her to go? All these villages on both sides of the Bhairabee have been washed away. There can not be any labour case here. She must have fallen into the hands of that scoundrel. Let's go at once."

"The fellow who came for her was an old man," said the boy. "He fell at her feet and cried so piteously, that we never suspected any-

thing. Even Miss Mitra did not think that anything was wrong. She did not go alone. Atul went with her."

Sudarshan was already walking towards the camp, as fast as his legs could carry him. "How did she go?" he asked, "in a boat?"

"They will have to take a boat, after they have crossed the field in front of the camp. The name of the village sounded like Amtor or something."

Sudarshan covered the road in half an hour, though ordinarily it took him a whole hour to do it. He took two more boys from the camp, and all four ran along over the swampy field that lay in front. Everyone had taken big bamboo sticks.

When they reached the ferry station they did not find a single boat there. They found a large boat in mid stream. The boatmen were pulling frantically, as if they wanted to get the better of the mighty current of the flood.

Suddenly one of the boys cried, "There is Atul. I see his red wrapper."

"Atul, Atul!" called out Sudarshan loudly.

Nobody answered. But they saw even from that distance, that a tussle was going on, inside the boat.

"We must swim over to the boat and catch it," said Sudarshan. "How many of you can swim?"

Two of the young men got ready to swim. Sudarshan gave all the sticks to the fourth boy and said, "Run to the camp and try to procure more help. If you can get a boat, all the better."

Sudarshan sprang into the river first of all. The strong current pulled him along with it. The two boys followed him.

Suddenly Suparnā was seen to rush out of the boat and spring into the river. A man also sprang in after her.

"Good Heaven!" cried Sudarshan. "She does not know how to swim."

He swam with all his might towards the place where Suparnā had gone down. She was seen to come up for a moment, then go down again. The end of her sari was seen floating after a minute or two. Sudarshan dived down at once. He found Suparnā, but she looked scarcely alive.

He clasped her body with one hand and came up to the surface again. Suddenly some one caught him from behind, crying, "May you go down to perdition, both together!"

Sudarshan fought with all his might to get out of the clutches of the mad Shribilas. But he was terribly handicapped, having to support the insensible Suparnā. He went down with her, dragging down Shribilas too.

The boat had come to a standstill. One man was seen abusing and berating the boatmen, because they refused to pull. But they had turned recalcitrant and were saying, "Hold on, sir, we won't go any further. We would not



have come at all, if we had known that you meant murder. You lied to us, saying that you were going to bring back a truant wife."

The man snarled at them, crying, "You will all have to go to jail, if you don't listen to me. It would be better for you, if you can escape now. That man is already dead, nobody can get out alive from this raging flood."

"This person will give evidence in our favour," cried the boatmen and they took off the gag from Atul's mouth and untied his hands. "You will get a reward of ten rupees each," cried Atul, "if you can pick them up."

The boat began to advance again. The two boys reached the boat at this time and began to direct the boatmen saying, "Row in this direction, you might find them. They turned next to the man who had come with Shribilas and said, "If you don't keep still, we shall throw you into the water."

The boat was advancing as quickly as possible. A human head came up at a little distance. The boys sprang out and after a while recovered Suparnā's body. It was uncertain whether she was alive or dead.

"There is something clinging to that tree," cried one of the boatmen. "See if it is a man."

It was a man indeed, in fact two men, Shribilas and Sudarshan. The latter had become

unconscious and Shribilas was trying to push him back into the current.

Atul took up an oar and dealt Shribilas a furious blow on the hand.

Shribilas could not save himself and fell into the water. Sudarshan was picked up by his companions. They sought for a long time, but Shribilas never came up to the surface again. So at last the boat was rowed back slowly to the ferry station.

Many persons from Chorabil and nearly everyone from the relief camp had gathered there. Suparnā and Sudarshan were carried to the hospital in stretchers. The village doctor was called, and began to render whatever aid he could.

Suparnā became conscious towards evening. Seeing Miss Bhadra before her, she asked in a whisper, "How is Sudarshan Babu?"

"He is in the tent over there," said Miss Bhadra. "He is still unconscious."

Suparnā closed her eyes again. After a while she opened them and asked, "What became of the other man?"

"His body has not been found," Miss Bhadra replied. "He is dead, probably."

Suparnā sighed deeply. So this was how God had ordained her liberation? Tears flowed freely from underneath her closed eyelids.

THE END

### KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE

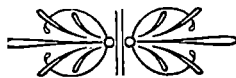
#### SIVAJI AND THE CAPTIVE LADY

When the Marhatta general Abaji conquered the fort of Kalyan belonging to the Bijapur King, the members of Killadar Ahmed's family fell into the Marhatta general's hands. The beauty of the daughter-in-law of Ahmed attracted Abaji's notice and he soon produced her before his master Shivaji. "Had my mother been as charming as you" said the Marhatta King to the captive lady, "I would have been handsome" and sent her to Bijapur with all honour.

### CORRECTIONS

*The Modern Review* for March, 1935.

At p. 325 cl. 1, ll. 4 & 5 from bottom, delete "and chairman of the Jessore District Board."  
At p. 327 cl. 1, 12, insert "at Calcutta" after the "I.C.S. Judges."





## THE ORNATE STRUCTURES OF THE HOYSALA SCHOOL

By B. SUBRAHMANYAM

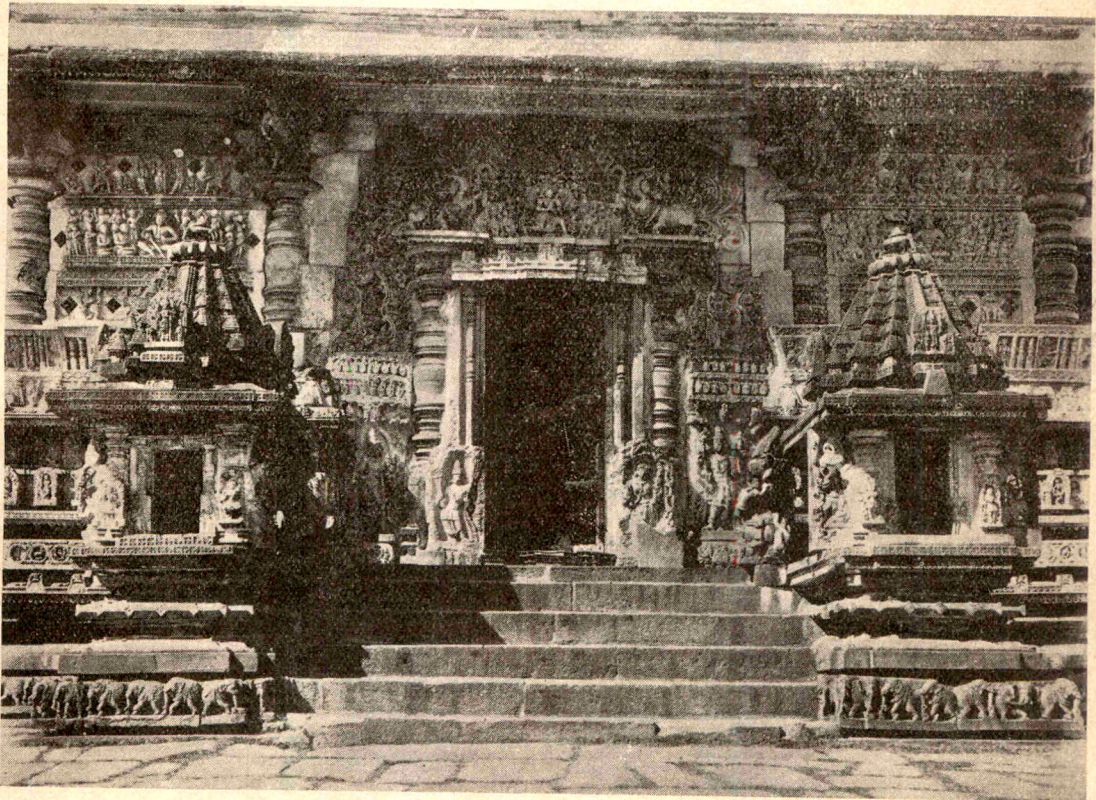
I

'In the elder days of Art,  
Builders wrought with great care  
Each minute and unseen part;  
For the Gods see everywhere.'

**I**N the History of Karnataka, the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries of the Christian Era could well be called the "Architectural Period". For it was during these two centuries that the Hoysala kings built all over their kingdom in Western

distinguished place among the architectural possessions of mediæval India.

These temples have been evolved and perfected out of a happy blending of the Dravidian and Northern schools of architecture. There were the tendencies of this blending even in the constructions of the Chalukyas who ruled over this territory before the Hoysalas. But it was during the reign and within the dominions of the Hoysala kings that this style of architecture developed un-



Front view of the Chennakesava temple, Belur, Hassan District, Mysore-State

India, which covered a considerable portion of the present Mysore State and the neighbouring Kannada country, numerous temples of exceptional architectural beauty which have won a

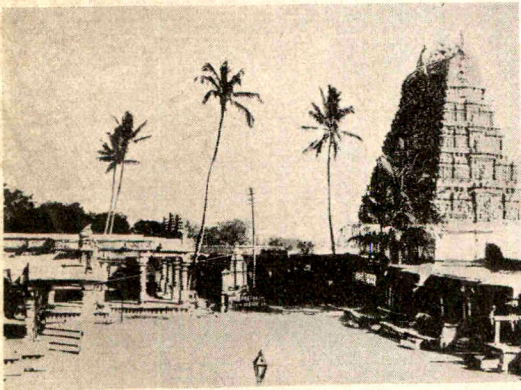
mistakable and finished features of its own and brought into being these lovely groups of ornate structures. Therefore, though Fergusson called this style Chalukyan, it has



been decided by later writers as distinctly "Hoysala."

All the various structures of this style, however, had been fostered, developed by and had their being amidst the Kannada-speaking people whose genius, tradition and culture have largely influenced the final shaping of these artistic treasures of mediæval India. It would, therefore, be not inappropriate, should this style be hailed as the Karnataka style of architecture and sculpture.

There are numerous temples, built of the Hoysala style, scattered all over Mysore State and northern Karnataka, dedicated to the worship of Saivite, Vaishnavite and Jain gods. But most of these have fallen into a scrap-heap of ruins or have undergone much deterioration and decay through neglect and age leaving only a few in any state of good repair. They are, however, enough to serve as specimens of the development of the various phases of this immortal school of art.



Courtyard of the Chennakesava Temple, Belur

## II

The builders of these lovely group of temples were the Hoysala kings who were first Jains and then became Vaishnavites during the time of king Vishnuvardhana under the influence of Sri Ramanujacharya. Nevertheless these kings were very characteristically tolerant as could be seen from the many temples dedicated to the gods of the different religious denominations, built during the reign of these kings.

The ancestors of the Hoysalas were small chieftains in the Western Ghats under the

Rastrakutas and the Chalukyas. They were natives of Sosevur or Sasakapura which has been identified as the modern Angadi. Sala was the founder of this dynasty and an interesting story is recounted as to how they came to be called "Hoysalas."

"Going one day to worship Vasantika, his family goddess, whose temple was in the forest near Sasakapura, his devotions were interrupted by a tiger which bounded out of the jungle glaring with rage. The yati or priest of the temple, snatching a salaki (a slender iron rod) gave it to the chief saying in the Kannada language *hoý sala* (Strike, Sala); on which the latter discharged the weapon with such force at the tiger as to kill him on the spot."

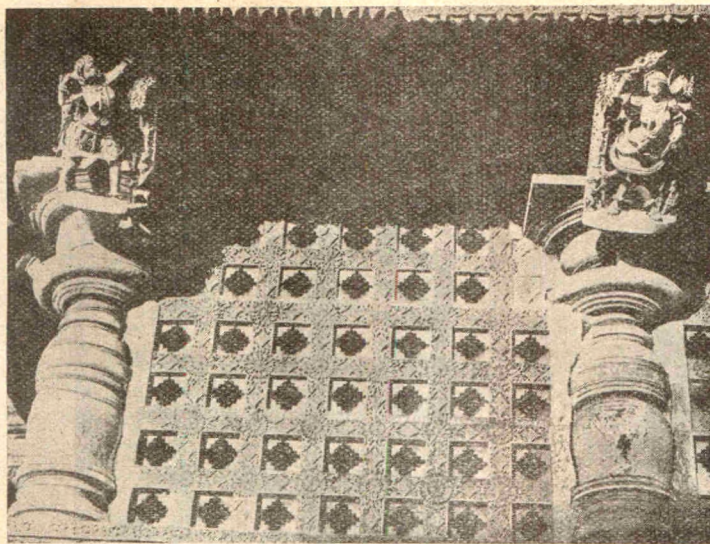
Thereafter, he and his successors came to be known as Hoysalas and Sala fighting the tiger became the symbol on their crest. This story is recounted in many of the Hoysala inscriptions with minor local variations here and there.

Sala built his new capital Dwarasamudra (the present Halebid) in about the year 1010 A. D. and his descendants ruled over their kingdom for over three centuries.

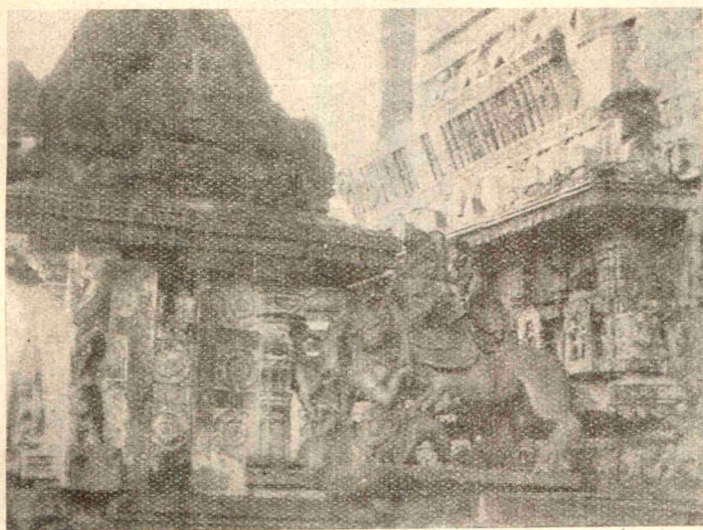
By far the most powerful of the early Hoysalas, was Hoysala Vishnuvardhana who became almost independent of the Chalukyas though he acknowledged the nominal sovereignty of the latter. He was converted by Sri Ramanujacharya from Jainism to Vaishnavism and in commemoration of this event, he built in 1117 A. D. the lovely Kesava temple at Belur which was his capital at the time. During the reign of this king numerous Hindu and Jain temples were built and the earliest of them is perhaps the Lakshmidēvi temple at Doddagaddavalli in 1113 A. D. The Jain temple Parsanath Basti at Halebid was built about the close of his reign in 1133 A. D.

The magnificent structure of the Hoysaleswara temple at Halebid was, however, started by his son Narasimha I in 1141. Tradition has it that the completion of this structure took about seventy years. Whether the temple was completed at the time or not, the Hoysaleswara temple today after a lapse of centuries of ravages of both men and nature, appears as though left incomplete.





Perforated screen on the outer wall of the Chennakesava temple, Belur



The Hoysala crest in front of the Chennakesava temple, Belur



One of the lovely bracket figures in the central hall of the Chennakesava Temple, Belur

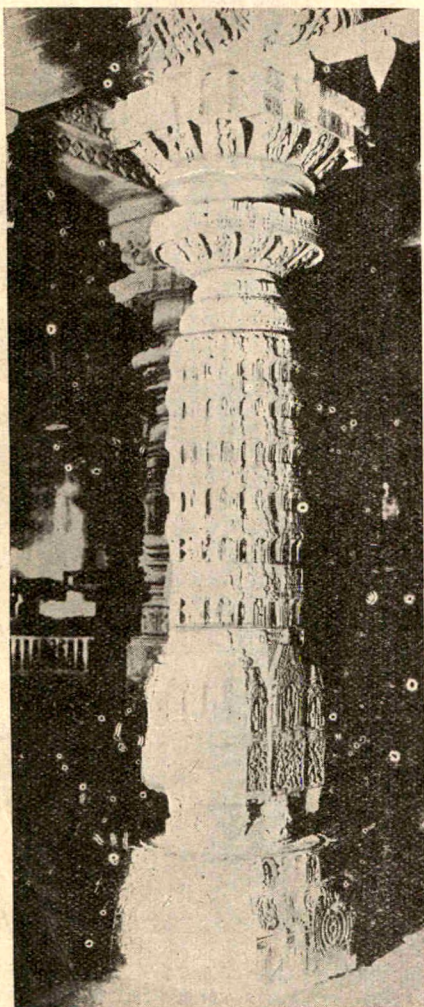
The greatest and the most powerful of the line was Hoysala Veeraballala or Ballala II who next ruled over this territory. He proved himself more powerful than his grandfather Vishnuvardhana and shook off the Chalukyan yoke and conquered a large territory and extended his kingdom up to Lakkundi where he established his northern capital. Perhaps the largest number of

temples of this school were built during the reign of this king all over the country ruled by him. He built yet another lovely little temple of Kedareshwara in Halebid. The ornate Kesava temple at Somanathapur was built during the time of Narasimha III in 1268 A. D. by one of his officers, Somanatha.

With the raid of the Muhammadan army over this territory in 1310 A. D. during the



time of Ballala III the temple building activities of this great line of rulers came to an abrupt close.



The ornate Narasingha Pillar in the central hall Chennakesava temple, Belur

on Indian Architecture, describes two of the most ornate Hoysala structures at Halebid and Belur. The temples of this style are especially noted for their artistic design and lovely sculptures and for their exuberance of detail. The figures, the floral decorations



One of the lovely figures in the central hall of the Chennakesava temple, Belur

### III

"There are many buildings in India which are unsurpassed in delicacy of detail by any in the world but the temples at Belur and Halebid surpass even this freedom of handling and richness of fancy. The artistic combination of the horizontal with the vertical lines and the play of outline and of light and shade far surpasses anything in Gothic art. The effect is just what mediæval architects were often aiming at but which they never attained so perfectly as done at Halebid."

In these words, Fergusson, the authority

and other very delicate carvings that cover all and every side of these temples are among the most lovely that the skilful hand of man could produce even in the most pliable of materials.

The temples are built of pot-stone or soap-stone which is bluish gray in colour and which is soft when quarried and gets hardened on exposure to weather. Like marble this stone takes polish to a very high degree.



The temples of this style are generally star-shaped structures, built on a raised terrace which follows the contour of the former. The outer walls of these structures, the doorways, ceilings and pillars are loaded with a superabundance of carvings.

The temples of this school could broadly be grouped into four different types, the single, the double, triple or quadruple according as there are one, two, three or four cells in the principal structure of the temple. Each of these cells consists of one adytum and a vestibule. The Chennakesava temple at Belur, the Hoysaleswara temple at Halebid, the Kesava temple at Somanathapur and the Lakshmidēvi temple at Doddagaddavalli are the best examples of single, double, triple or quadruple celled temples of this school. A very large number of temples of this style are triple-celled, a few are double-celled ones. The single and the quadruple celled structures are rather rare.

"The amount of labour which each facet of this porch displays is such as I believe was never bestowed on any surface of equal extent in any

building in the world. It may probably be considered as one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East."

These remarks of Fergusson about the work of the Hoysala artists on the walls of the Halebid and Belur temples, are equally true of most of the ornate constructions of this great school.

Another unique feature of this school is that the artists who wrought these lovely groups of constructions and sculptures were in the habit of inscribing their names below the sculptures wrought by them. Thus one comes across the names of many of these artists in the numerous temples of the Hoysala school scattered all over Mysore.

Before concluding, it must, however, be said in fairness to the present administration in Mysore that efforts are being made to preserve these lovely groups of architectural possessions in good repair so that the present and the future generations could yet drink in the beauty of these charming artistic treasures.

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

DR. MISS SHANTA SAPTARSHI passed with distinction the III M. B., B. S. from Bombay University. She topped the list of the successful candidates and was awarded a gold medal.



Dr. Miss Shanta Saptarshi





—This way is safer than that.



Sir S. Hoare—Why worry, the burden is made of papers only.



Don't cry, my Dear, here is a present for you.

Cartoons—By Saila Narayan Chakravarty



# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

## ENGLISH

**RISE AND FULFILMENT OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA :** *By Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt. Macmillan and Company, London, Pp. X+1690.*

Every now and then patriotic Englishmen bring out books on India to bewail the threatened end of English rule in that peninsula and the consequent disaster to mankind. To them the Indian nationalists are a menace to the world, devils incarnate. English propagandists, being full of fumes and suspicion, cannot believe that it is good for India to be free.

To show how wicked, sinful and ungodly are the Indian nationalists, Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt have written a history of England in India from the sixteenth century to the present. The pair seem to indicate by the very title of their book that the British pledge to India of self-government has already been fulfilled. Some may, however, think this assertion to be a brazen, a brass-plated assumption. Honestly, isn't it a bit premature to intimate that the altruistic and democratic aims of the British rule in India have already been realized and that India is a free nation in the British "commonwealth of nations"?

Long ago an English ship was captured by a Spanish pirate. When the pirate boarded, his victim, the English captain, said bitterly : "We English fight for honor. You seem to fight only for plunder." And the pirate grinned and said : "Sure ! We both fight for what we haven't got !" Stripped of flowery pronouncements and glib generalities, the fact is that neither the British empire is a commonwealth of nations nor is India its free member. Even when the new India bill is passed by the London Parliament, the Viceroy will be able to rule India more autocratically than Mussolini, Hitler or Stalin rules Italy, Germany or Russia.

The book recites the story of the East India Company, the administration of the various governor-generals, the endless wars and conquests, and finally the encounter of imperialism with nationalism. It

contains little that is new or original, except some irrelevant side-remarks. The authors have let loose the same old balderdash that we have heard a million times. They are Canutes striving to sweep back the Atlantic with brooms. It is a sort of naivete which would cause even a Hottentot to laugh uproariously.

What really seems to upset Messrs. Thompson and Garratt is the current attempts of the Indian people to work out their own problems in their own way. According to these two political padres the venerable V. J. Patel, the speaker of the Legislative Assembly, was full of "innumerable tricks" and "geminerie" (monkey-shine) ; Mahatma Gandhi is a "mixture of subtlety and irresponsibility" ; Viceroy Reading was a super-statesman who actually "saved" Mahatmaji from an "anomalous position" by throwing him into a jail ; and Viceroy Irwin was above all a "keen practising Christian." Only those oily and weak-kneed Indians who played the English game have received fulsome blandishments for their alleged "political wisdom." How the gods must have laughed !

India is accused of being unappreciative of the glamorous position it now occupies in the family of nations. "Indian representatives," it is pointed out, signed the Versailles treaty, and the "Indian delegates" are permitted to enter the sacred precincts of the holy League of Nations. What more can a nation ask ? The idea of a subject country trying to be free is absolutely in bad taste, irreligious, a crime against the Holy Ghost.

The book has been written with half an eye for the United States. Americans should learn from it that it is for the "superior" races to rule, exploit and lay the "inferior" races low. Americans are all wrong in planning to give the Filipinos their freedom in the next ten or twelve years. But I fear the shrewd Yankees will not take this trans-Atlantic tip. It is all wasted on them.

The authors of the volume like to think of themselves as liberals. They won't, however, let go their pet prejudices, fears and vanities. At times it seems to me that they wear their prejudices pompadour. They are special-pleaders pumping up



excuses. Their tone is lengthy, prejudiced, well-written, and unimportant. For all its merits, it is not one that will delight an unprejudiced observer of the Indian scene. Thompson and Garratt, with all their appearance of liberalism, are shown to be zealous patriots and hot imperialists. They even said in the Preface: "Our first duty is to our own country." Unhappily, patriotism and loyalty to truth do not always mix together very well and in this instance, they certainly have not.

SUDHINDRA BOSE

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, NO. 48: EXPLORATIONS IN SINDH: By N. G. Majumdar, M. A., Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India: Royal Soc., pp. 172, with 46 plates; Delhi: Manager of Government Publications. Price Rs. 17-2as (27s 6d).

After the discovery of Mohen-jo-Daro by the late Rakhal Das Banerji some twelve years ago (in 1922) and the subsequent explorations conducted there by Sir John Marshall and others, the attention of Indologists was directed to the importance of studying the pre-historic archaeology in India as a necessary foundation of our researches into ancient Indian history and civilization. Sir John Marshall announced to the world a little over ten years ago the epoch-making character of the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa finds; and along the first studies on the nature and importance of these was an article by the present reviewer published about that time in the pages of *The Modern Review* (Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilization, December 1924). Following Sir John Marshall it is now admitted on all hands that the place of Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa, and of other prehistoric culture-sites and in and about Sindh in the history of Indian culture is similar to that of Tiryns, and Mycenae, Troy and Knossos in the history of Greek culture. Hitherto, it was believed that Indian history and civilization began with the advent of the Aryans into India during the 3rd or 2nd millennium B. C.; and when we began to study the question from a comparative standpoint, we began to concede that a new epoch in Indian history and civilization started with the Aryan invasion; or in other words, Indian civilization had a history before the coming of the Aryans, but that history ended, and a new period started *de novo* with the Aryans, with a break in its continuity. Sir John Marshall's great report on Mohen-jo-Daro made it clear that there has been no serious break in Indian culture, despite the introduction of the Aryan speech and Aryan institutions: that characteristically Indian things of Indian culture are just continuations of the Mohen-jo-Daro civilization *e. g.* Worship of Siva, Yoga practices, and probably also the Indian system of writing. There is now a tacit acceptance of the position that the main streams of pre-Aryan culture and tradition, religion and social civilization were slightly modified through Aryan contact and were continued without much alteration in their Aryanized Hindu forms. Some even think it quite reasonable to assume that the bases of Hindu civilization are pre-Aryan, and are to be re-discovered in the prehistoric sites.

All this means a conscious extension of the scope of Archaeology from history to prehistory. Historical research instead of confining itself to the appraisalment of known or dated documents, will have to busy

itself in finding links between history and prehistory. Prehistory *i. e.*, excavations into prehistoric sites and discussion of prehistoric finds, had perforce to remain isolated, and hence it was to some extent neglected—at least in India. Prehistory in the different countries seemed to stand apart without much connection with the local known history. But now the position is changed—even in India. We are rather behind the times, as we have to take our ideas second-hand. Thus as a noteworthy anomaly in our Indological studies we may note that there is as yet no correlation between our classical literature and our classical archaeology. An erudite Sanskrit scholar even with a modern education would not think it his business to have some notion of the art and antiquities of Hindu India: a student of Bharata or Kalidasa may not have the faintest ideas of Kushana or Gupta art, epigraphy and archaeology. Sanskrit literature is not sought to be explained by the mediæval sculpture of India and by the Ajanta frescoes. The interpretation of the Vedas and Brahmanas, we now realize, should be attempted with reference to pre-Mauryan archaeology and antiquities. In order to make the knowledge of our past not merely scriptural, not merely 'historical' *i. e.* having reference only to a late and documented period, there is to be a greater dissemination of the study of antiquities as a complement to classical studies and of prehistoric archaeology as the basis of our history.

The Archaeological Survey of India has realized this, and prehistoric archaeology is now coming to its own in the Survey. The principle is admitted in practice, and as a result of this we have the present volume, which forms a fitting continuation of the work of Sir John Marshall and his colleagues and successors at Mohen-jo-Daro. Mr. N. G. Majumdar is one of the brilliant younger members of the Survey, and he had his training in excavation of prehistoric sites in Sindh under Sir John Marshall, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni and Dr. E. J. H. Mackay. Sir John Marshall felt the importance of making a survey of the prehistoric sites in Sindh and in tracts close to Sindh and in 1925-26 at his suggestion Mr. Hargreaves of the Department conducted excavations at Nal in the Kalat State of Baluchistan, and explored a few other sites in its neighbourhood, and Sir Aurel Stein carried out a survey of northern and southern Baluchistan in 1926-27 and 1927-28. These operations yielded splendid results which were published in some of the 'Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India' (Nos. 35, 37 and 43). The late Mr. R. D. Banerji had supplied a list of prehistoric sites in Sindh to the Archaeological Department shortly after his preliminary work at Mohen-jo-Daro. In 1925 Mr. K. N. Dikshit, then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, while carrying on excavation work at Mohen-jo-Daro, examined two other old sites, namely Lohum-jo-Daro in Larkana District and Limo Junjo in the Upper Sindh Frontier District. But as Mr. Dikshit was transferred from the Western Circle, he could not do any further work.

In 1928, Mr. Hargreaves became the Director General of Archaeology in India and during his *regime* Mr. N. G. Majumdar was entrusted with the work of exploring the prehistoric sites of Sindh beginning from the Deltaic region. In the course of two archaeological surveys conducted by him during 1929-31, he made an examination of a large number of sites, and his work in this connection and its results



are narrated in the present volume. Unfortunately owing both to financial stringency and the transfer of Mr. Majumdar to Bengal, the whole of the projected survey could not be carried out and a large number of sites still have to remain unexamined.

In the volume under review, Mr. Majumdar has described some 30 prehistoric sites, mostly situated to the west of the Laki range in Central Sindh. The excavation work undertaken at each site is described in detail and inventories of finds at each place given. The value of the work lies also largely in its fine series of photographic plates. These give pictures of the sites before and in the course of excavation, and of ground-plans of the sites, and they illustrate also many of the objects found, both historic and prehistoric. Terracotta jars and other utensils, seals, beads, shell and other bangles, copper implements, chert implements, and fragments of painted pottery are the main kinds of objects recovered. The painted pottery fragments are interesting, as forming important links in a cultural nexus, and there are several plates in which the designs have been drawn in black and white. The civilization illustrated by these objects is practically the same found at Mohen-jo-Daro. In his *General Observations* (Chapter IX, pp. 145-154), Mr. Majumdar has summarized the conclusion that can be drawn from the remains unearthed by him. Most of the sites excavated are situated far away from the Indus; they are along a tract which got its water supply from natural torrents and springs along the eastern slopes of the Khirthar Range. There was greater natural protection than in the case of sites on the alluvial plains like Mohen-jo-Daro. At present these sites are all deserted, and this is the result of continued de-iccation of the Indus Valley. The houses were built, not with burnt bricks as at Mohen-jo-Daro but with stone base and rubble walls. The thatching was probably of reeds covered with mud. Remains of some communities of lake-dwellers have also been found. Mr. Majumdar has fully discussed the character, distribution and significance of the pottery and pottery-designs found in these sites, comparing these with those from other sites. Affinities between the ceramics of Sindh and those from Baluchistan and Anau in Russian Turkistan, near North-Eastern Persia are easily discernible. Mr. Majumdar is inclined on the whole to favour a western origin of the Mohen-jo-Daro and other Sindh Valley sites; a people who at first knew the ibex, but did not know the humped Indian bull. But the Indus valley people appear to have been in the country for a period long enough to develop certain individual, Indian character in their civilization. The question of ancient routes from India (Sindh) to Iran through Baluchistan is also discussed. The sequence or chronology of the cultures as at various sites, so far as it could be found out from the pottery styles, is also attempted. The whole account is written in a clear and lucid manner which does great credit to the author's power of exposition and observation.

On the whole, the work is a document of first rate importance for studying the prehistoric culture of the Indus Valley. The Archaeological Survey of India can be congratulated on the publication of a volume like this. But it is sad to contemplate that with so much to do, the survey should be so severely handicapped economically as to curtail all excavation work. Nay more, it has stopped the training of young scholars who are to take their place as excavators in the Survey when Majumdar and Dikshit and other capable workers are no longer in service. The Depart-

ment appointed some years ago four young Indian scholars for field-work in excavation, but Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni retrenched them at the end of a year. Will not the present head of the Archaeological Survey see that the publication of works like the present one by Indian members of the service properly trained be assured for the future? We once more extend our felicitations to the Survey and to Mr. Majumdar for the production of this fine work, and reiterate our hope that the present work is but the promise of future work in the same line by the scholars of the Department; and we trust that the conscientious and discriminating labours of Mr. Majumdar will be deservedly appreciated by the world of archaeological scholarship at home in India and abroad.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

**JOURNALISTS' COMPANION:** By Akhil Chandra Bhattacharjee, (Sub-Editor, "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Calcutta and late of "Nagpur Mail," Nagpur, C.P.) 1p. 70. Price Re. 1.

The contents of the book do not justify its title. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1929 Edition) says the correct spelling of "sympathize" is with a "z"; but the author says it is an error. (P. 42).

J. M. DATTA

**YOUNG INDIA 1927-1928:** By Mahatma Gandhi. S. Ganesan, Publisher, Triplicane Madras, S. E. 1935. Pp. xv+1104.

Messrs. S. Ganesan must be congratulated on bringing out the third volume of their reprint of *Young India*. There has been a departure in the method of arrangement. Instead of classifying the articles, the editors have wisely followed the chronological plan. This is surely an improvement; as the order of events in Indian politics can be closely followed in the present book, while the index at the end will be found enough for purposes of reference.

The period covered by the volume under review falls within Mahatma Gandhi's constructive period prior to the campaign of 1930. It therefore contains some of his important utterances on Untouchability, Khadi, Satyagraha, Bolshevism, Capital and Labour etc. The question of cow-killing also arose about this time, and Mahatmaji drew his famous distinction between Ahimsa and non-killing clearly in that connection. With regard to Bolshevism, it becomes clear from Gandhi's statement that the real difference between him and the Bolsheviks does not lie in the character of the ultimate ideal, which is the same state of Anarchism and non-exploitation for both, but in the character of the means of attainment of that ideal. For Gandhi the only means is non-violence, while it is not so for the Communists.

These and many other statements, like his appreciations of Lala Lajpat Rai or Swami Shradhdhananda, are among the contents of the book. We hope that Messrs. Ganesan's present publication will enjoy the popularity which it thoroughly deserves.

**ARCHAEOLOGY IN GWALIOR:** By M. B. Garde, B.A. Second Edition, Atijah Darbar Press, Gwalior 1934. Crown 8vo, Pp. 151, 34 plates and one map. Price Re. 1-8-0.

**A GUIDE TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM AT GWALIOR:** By M. B. Garde,



*B.A., Gwalior 1928. Crown 8vo. Pp. 52 and 18 plates. Price As. 12.*

The first is a summary of the Gwalior archaeological department which is carrying on useful work in various directions under the able superintendence of Mr. Garde. It contains, among other things, a list of archaeologically important places within the State, together with many details which are useful for travellers. The second is a guide to the museum at Gwalior. Both these booklets will prove very helpful to archaeologists. One noticeable feature is the excellent printing of the plates, which is unusual for this type of work.

The Gwalior Darbar must be congratulated for its work in connection with archaeology; we shall await eagerly the publication of the *Directory of Archaeological Monuments of Gwalior State* promised in the summary.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**SELECT MODERN CONSTITUTIONS :** By N. R. Suba Ayyar, M. A. *The Sri Krishna Publishing House, Kumbakonam. Price Rs. 3.*

The book under review describes briefly a number of unitary and federal constitutions—eleven in all, with three general chapters, in 245 small pages not at all closely printed. As a matter of fact the type chosen is bold and the printing, paper and the get-up are good. The language used is simple, clear, correct and idiomatic. But that is almost all that can be said in favour of the book.

It appears that the author has mainly the limited needs of his own students in view who are perhaps required to know the frame-work of governments in the eleven countries chosen and the constitution of the League of Nations, which is curiously given as the only appendix to the book—although an attempt is made in the Preface to justify the selection of constitutions and the omissions of the Italian and Indian Constitutions on other grounds.

The treatment of the English, French and U. S. A. Constitutions is more comprehensive than of those of the other countries, but even in their case it is far from adequate. To give one or two instances: In describing the position and powers of the English House of Commons no mention is made of the decline that has taken place in recent years in its position and influence. There is no reference to any of the attempts made to reform the English House of Lords or the reasons of their failure. Indeed the descriptions of the various constitutions are too brief to give any adequate idea of their working. For instance, to parties in the Irish Free State a small paragraph is devoted and to the Communist Party in Russia only a passing reference is made and no attempt is made to explain how it controls the working of the Soviet State.

The author says in the Preface that the book is written from lecture notes and the descriptions given appear more like the summaries that are sometimes dictated by some of the old-fashioned professors at the close of their lectures. And it is only to those students who have already attended lectures on the constitutions selected that the book can be helpful in remembering the broad facts, though it must be mentioned that the book is far superior to the usual notes published by some professors. Otherwise the book is not of value, especially when there are excellent books by recognized authorities easily avail-

able—though not so clearly as this and not containing all the constitutions dealt with in one book.

GURMUKH N. SINGH

**ECONOMY AND SAFETY OF ELECTRIC INSTALLATIONS IN INDIA :** By Bhim Chandra Chatterjee, B.A., B.L., B.Sc., M.I.E.E., M.I.E. (India). Patiala Professor, and Head of the Department of Electrical Engineering, Benares Hindu University, published by Shiva Narayan Chatterjee B.Sc., 1 Laksha Road, Benares City. Pp. 47, price Re. 1.

In this pamphlet the author shows by facts and figures that nowhere except in India, wherever alternating current is used, the voltage is more than 110. He also points out that the private rate of charge in India is arbitrary and does not bear any relation to the cost of production and that the bulk supply rate is also much higher than those of other countries. In conclusion, he recommends:

(a) As the high voltage alternating currents is dangerous to life, the distribution in residential quarters should preferably be by continuous current at not more than 220 volts, or, where unavoidable, by alternating current at not more than 110 volts; and in bathrooms and garages the voltage should be further reduced from 110 to 24 to 42 by use of special transformers.

(b) The rate of charge should bear a definite ratio to the cost of production i. e. such as twice, or three times the cost of production.

(c) In all power stations economy should be effected in every way and it is desirable that Indian Engineers should be appointed at a much lower remuneration than what is paid now.

(d) Public and bulk supply charge should be slightly lower than the private charge.

To remedy the defects, the Legislatures should be moved to adopt these suggestions and pass necessary acts thereon. Failing this, the author advocates the boycott of Electric Supply Companies and adoption of our old method of illumination. I commend this booklet to the general public for perusal.

ANANGA MOHAN SAHA

**TUNGKHEUMGIA BURANJI** (a history of Assam, 1681-1826): By Prof. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Gauhati College: published by Oxford University Press, pp. 262; Rs. 10.

This is a history of the decline and fall of Ahom kingdom of Assam as told by its own historians. The major portion of the present book, says Prof. Bhuyan, represents the work of Srinath Barua who held high offices, civil and military, under the Ahom government from 1800 to 1817. He compiled this history from the State archives of the Ahom government, and as such it may take its rank among official histories of Medieval India. Of its value as an Assamese historical classic we hold the same view as the learned translator. "The chronicle presents a complete picture of the Ahom court, of the machinery of the Ahom government in relation to both in its internal and external affairs, the working of different branches of administration, the methods of warfare and the engagements of peaceful times."

The Ahom State was a clanish oligarchy with hereditary kingship in the family of the leader of the invading horde. Its social structure was also



semi-feudal, a *khel* being the political, military as well as social unit. Mr. Bhuyan's book sets clearly the main currents of social, political and religious movements in Assam during the period under survey (1681-1826). Tantricism was the state religion against which Vaishnavism was slowly gaining ground in spite of fierce persecution of some of the Ahom kings. The social aspect of the history of this period offers an interesting study of the Hinduization of these Mongoloid races of Assam in the 18th century. Though the Ahoms settled in Assam early in the 13th century, first royal marriage in orthodox Hindu rites took place in *saka* 1707 (1785 A. D.). The custom of burying the dead in the royal family prevailed down to the death of Swargadeo Rajeswar Singh, whose body was first to be cremated, and *sraddha* performed according to Brahmanical rites in 1769 A. D.

China was the heaven of Ahoms, and their king bore the title of Swargadeo, as the title of Daiva-putra Shohi was borne by the Kushan kings of Kabul. A study of the history of the Ahoms perhaps enables us to visualize the political and social structure of Northern India under Saka and Huna rule, about which our direct source of information is so meagre. From this point of view the history of the Ahoms stands unique among histories of provincial kingdoms of India. We hope this book will receive wide publicity and generous appreciation.

K. R. QANUNGO

#### THE SAIVA SCHOOL OF HINDUISM :

*By S. Shivapadasundaram, B.A. With a Preface by J. S. Mackenzie, Litt. D., LL.D. 188 pp. London, 1934, Allen & Unwin Ltd. 6s.*

In "The Saiva School of Hinduism" S. Shivapadasundaram gives us a popular account of one of the chief sects of the encyclopædic Indian religion, known to the modern world under the name of Hinduism. He begins with a treatment of the conventional nature, failure, value and reform of religions, and proceeds then to discuss the characteristics and functions of Real Religion and its relation to conventional religions. In Chapter III, the author deals with the postulates of religion, and outlines the doctrines of Saivism. The world is something real and not an illusion. God is the source of all knowledge. The only quality of His which is comprehensible and of real value to us is His lovingness. The Soul is the essence of all living beings. It has the ability to know, to desire and to do, but not the energy necessary for its activities. This is supplied by *Maya*. The knowledge of the embodied soul is a limited one. This is due to *Anava*, which constricts the abilities of the soul and hinders the full play of the energy of *Maya*. *Anava* is the root-cause of the soul's blunders and consequent misery. The ultimate goal of the soul is to become one with God by means of exercises which facilitate its journey through the *three sections of the path* which leads to the All-loving Being. Shivapadasundaram sets forth in detail in the following chapters the conception and attributes of God, the nature of *Anava*, *Maya* and the Soul, and the means of achievement of the ultimate goal which signifies liberation from *Anava*, *Maya* and Action, and merging in the Love of God.

All students of Hinduism will read the chapters on the Law of Karma and the Four Stages of Spiritual Perfection with deep interest. No previous knowledge of Hinduism is necessary to understand

Shivapadasundaram's short introduction to "The Saiva School of Hinduism".

P. TARACHAND RÓY (BERLIN)

#### SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

THE CATUS-SUTRI BHASYA OF SRI MADHVACARYA (*Including the Iksatyadhikarano*) with the commentaries *Tattvapradīpa*, *Sattarkadīpavali* and *Tattvaparakasika*, critically edited with an English introduction, notes and indices by B. N. Krishnamurti, M.A., lecturer in Sanskrit, Annamalai University, as well as a foreword by Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Price Rs. 2-8.

The doctrine of Bheda, as enunciated by Madhva and defended by his followers with highly subtle logic, assailed the supremacy of the Advaita Vedanta for a long time. But from the scanty references made to the Acharya in books on the History of Hindu Philosophy it is clear that he has not received from scholars the amount of attention that he deserves. The book under review is therefore doubly welcome—for affording ordinary readers a means of getting acquainted with Madhva's philosophy within a short compass and enabling critical readers, by the help of the three commentaries, to make a comparative study of the systems of Samkara and Madhva.

In the introduction the editor has brought out the special features of the Bhasya and defended the standpoint of the Acharya. But his defence, if brilliant, is not always convincing and is sometimes even prejudicial to his own interests. Particularly is this so in the discussion on the scope of the sutras. If, however, the unanimous opinion of "most of the commentators" "the vedantic puritans," "limiting the scope of the sutras to the ten or twelve upanishads alone" conveys no assurance that this was the opinion of the Sutrakara also, how can the solitary opinion of Madhva, that the Sutrakara include the whole range of Hindu Scriptures, down to such later scriptures, as the Puranas and Samhitas, find any favour with unbiassed readers?

Nor can any intelligent reader agree with the Editor that though "Ramanuja has one (untraced text) अप्रसिद्धश्रुति Samkara has four and Madhva, more, (how many not mentioned), they sail in the same boat."

However, it is his notes that show the editor at his best; these are proof of his great scholarship and by giving information on all knotty points of the Bhasya and elucidating all difficult passages, these have made the book under review indispensable to readers of Madhva.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

#### GREEK—ENGLISH

A MAN'S DEATH: *By Kostas Palamas. Translated from the original Greek into English by A. E. Phoutrides. Published by Hestia Press, Athens. (1934.)*

Kostas Palamas is not only the greatest living writer of modern Greece but one of the most versatile and impressive poets of Europe. Born in Patras in 1859 he ever takes pride in the fact of being a



native of Messolonghi where Byron died while championing the cause of Greek independence. His earliest compositions were "Songs of my Fatherland" (1886) inspired by the glory of the Roumeliot folk-songs. In his "The Eyes of my Soul" (1892) the poet definitely broke away from the decayed versifications of stereotyped classicism and declared himself unreservedly in favour of *popular dialects* both in his prose and poetic compositions, with no concession to the official idiom and diction. Here he strongly resembles Rabindranath Tagore and, like Tagore, Palamas came to be ridiculed as the leader of the "Hairy Ones" (malliaroi) the nick-name given to the devotees of the Greek vernacular. In 1920 Palamas collected in a volume a number of his Short Stories which aspires, as he says, "to lead the popular tongue from the huts of folklore to the palaces of Art." *A Man's Death* is one of his characteristic stories published in 1901 when he was gaining international repute through his great poems like "The Grave" (1898) and "Life Immovable" (1904). A beautiful young man, adored by the whole village folk, sustains a broken leg and through wrong treatment is faced with the tragic alternative of death or amputation. He prefers death, as an uncompromising advocate of Beauty and slowly passes away listening to the dirge sung by his friends and relatives, amidst a scene of poignant beauty. His last words were: "Sweet Life... Don't hide the Sun from me... Give it up!" Mr. Hesseling, a Dutch critic and admirer, has very aptly called the piece an improvisation on the "short-lived sleep of the Eternal God or the eternal sleep of the short-lived man." Art, says Palamas, is not photography but the genius "to make felt all that is hidden under the appearance of things." For over half a century Palamas has served the cause of Art and Idealism, and he deserves the Nobel Prize for Literature.

KALIDAS NAG

## FRENCH

BULLETIN DE L'ECOLE FRANCAISE D'EXTREME ORIENT: Tome XXXIII : Hanoi, (1934).

The volume under review offers us a rich collection of articles and studies on Indian and Indonesian subjects: Dr. Callenfels of the Dutch Archaeological Service (Java) has contributed a highly interesting paper on the *Swayamvara of Draupadi*, inviting a comparative study of the Javanese, Malay, Cambodian and Siamese recensions of the original Indian story migrating to Indonesia. Prof. R. C. Majumdar of the Dacca University and a member of the Greater India Society of Calcutta has communicated a challenging paper on the *Sailendra Kings of Sumatradwipa*. When Mon. G. Coedes, the renowned French antiquarian and the present Director of the French School of Hanoi,

discovered the forgotten Indo-Javanese Empire of *Sri-vijaya*, he provisionally accepted Sumatra to be the seat of the Empire under the Sailendra dynasty. Then Mon. Ferrand wrote an exhaustive monograph on the Sumatran Empire of Sri-vijaya, and with the exception of the Dutch scholar Dr. Stutterheim most of the scholars accepted the hypothesis of the Sumatran base. Now Prof. R. C. Majumdar in this learned paper argues very ably for a different line of expansion of the Sailendra Empire. From Kalinga as their original home, the Sailendras (probably related to the Ganga, the Sailodbhava or Saila Dynasties of India) conquered lower Burma or *Talaing*, a Burmese version of *Tri-kalinga*. From Burma the Sailendras may have conquered Malaya Peninsula, as attested by the inscription of Ligor and by the names like Kataha or Kadara and Savaka or Zabag of Arabic texts. The Chola, the Pandya and even the Ceylonese kings were in amicable or inimical relations with the Sailendras who, according to Prof. Majumdar, reached the pinnacle of glory when conquering Java and erecting the great temple of Borobudur. In 9th-10th centuries A. D. their seat of suzerainty was probably transferred from Java to Malaya Peninsula.

Among the other important papers we notice a fresh discussion on 'Angkor Vat—a temple or a tomb' from Mon. G. Coedes and another on the "Indian and indigenous cults of Champa," communicated by Mon. P. Mus.

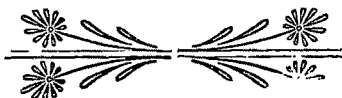
KALIDAS NAG

## GUJARATI

SARAL ARABIAN NIGHTS: Published by Jibanlal Amarshi Mehta, Bombay (2) and Ahmedabad: Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press: Ahmedabad: Cloth bound: Pp. 371: Price Rs. 4. (1934.)

Babu Ramananda Chatterjee has published, years ago, his *Arabian Nights* in Bengali, written in a style so homely that it would attract readers from a class not very highly educated. It has also the merit of having been rendered devoid of coarseness and other undesirable features. Although translations of these tales already exist in Gujarati, the present publisher has ventured on this translation from Shriyut Ramananda Chatterjee's Bengali version because of its simple, homely and popular style. It is a well got-up volume with ten coloured and seventy-seven ordinary pictures and an attractive illustrated jacket. We trust it will prove useful in reviving interest in a book which furnishes perennial, innocuous and delightful reading. It contains a fine photograph of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee.

K. M. J.





## LONDON LETTER

FROM MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

### INDIA IN PARLIAMENT

THE Government of India Bill is dragging its weary course through the House of Commons. There is usually a scanty attendance and little interest. This is scarcely to be wondered at because although dozens of pages of amendments have been put down and some debated, everyone is fully conscious of the fact that the Government has made up its mind to pass the Bill practically as it stands—so that arguments in favour of amendments, however good they may be, and however little reply there may be from the Government benches, are merely beating the air.

The Labour point of view was well put by Mr. George Lansbury, the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons last week in these words :

"If we had our way and had the power, we should throw out the Bill and consult British India in the same manner as the Government are consulting the Princes...We think that any constitution imposed upon the people of India is bound to fail."

(HANSARD, Vol. 298, No. 46 Col. 1040,  
26th February 1935.)

### GOVERNMENT FAILURES— MUDDLE MUDDLE MUDDLE

Future ages will have a difficult task in trying to unravel the tangle of these post-war years. But however many strands there may be in the European pattern, in England we always come back to the same one. The peoples of Europe have been caught in the fatal sequence of the Peace Treaties, nationalism, dictatorships. In England one factor above all others distracts and colours the situation and that factor is, of course, unemployment.

At the moment of writing unemployment is once again uppermost in the minds of everybody. For some months its shadow has been deepening although as usual the politicians in power have been the last persons to be aware of the fact.

First of all came the tragic revelations of the Depressed Areas Report. Then Mr. Lloyd George launched his "New Deal" campaign. The Government, notably its key-man the Chancellor of the Exchequer, assumed towards it an attitude of polite disappointment. At first he said they would "carefully examine" Mr. Lloyd George's proposals, but later in the House of Commons he poured cold water on any hope of any unemployment programme which involved public spending. The Government's policy, he said, would

remain unchanged. "Our unemployment policy is to continue as we have been doing."

They were all contriving to make it look like a damp squib when suddenly a real squib went off! The Government's new Unemployment Assistance Regulations had come into operation and the hardships which they inflicted aroused opposition from one end of the country to the other. Hastily the Government beat its retreat : the new regulations were suspended and the *status quo ante* restored. But nemesis was at work : simultaneously the figures of unemployment began to rise. And another rise is said to be imminent.

### LLOYD GEORGE AND HIS NEW DEAL

Rising unemployment figures have compelled the Government to change its tune towards Mr. Lloyd George and his New Deal. For a second time they appear to be beating a retreat and the Prime Minister has now sent a letter to Mr. Lloyd George asking him to submit to the Cabinet in detail his plans for a New Deal. In face of this turn of affairs it is amusing to read the speech which Mr. Lloyd George made a week ago at Manchester. Only a week ago, a little week as Hamlet would say ! In that speech he complained that the Government, though they had promised to examine his proposals, had turned them down without even seeing them. Referring to the debate in the House of Commons he added :

"And not merely my particular plan, but any and every scheme which would involve capital expenditure on national development beyond the narrow limits laid down in the existing Government programme, a programme which even if it is carried out down to the last detail cannot possibly make any appreciable impression on the problem."

In his letter to Mr. Lloyd George the Prime Minister tries to overlook the debate in the House of Commons and to hark back instead to the Chancellor's original promise that they would examine the proposals of the New Deal. But of course the Government cannot really ride off on that and be believed when they say that they were merely waiting until Mr. Lloyd George had elaborated his plans in a few more speeches. Mr. Lloyd George was panting to produce his plans to them ! His whole complaint at Manchester was that they had dismissed him without giving him a hearing.

"They never invited me to explain anything ; they never asked me for any details or for estimate of costs, all of which I had prepared. I was



awaiting the day of my examination, and the first thing I heard was that I had been ploughed without having been called in!"

One distinguished political commentator has said of the Government's retreat over the unemployment assistance regulations that it has left in the public mind the memory of a Caporetto which will not be erased. But what about this new retreat? The Government is proclaiming to the world that they are barren and bereft of ideas as to what to do about the unemployment figures and the only thing they can do is to call in the assistance of their sternest critic. What a climax to four years of governing with the largest majority on record. At the time of the General Election in 1931, when most of the Liberals went in two by two into the National Ark, Mr. Lloyd George preferred to remain outside. His few remains of followers were dismissed as "the Lloyd George rump." Well, he laughs best who laughs last.

But what, one wonders, is the National Government going to do about him? Mr. Lloyd George has his views about the present members of the Cabinet and they are not flattering. He cannot stomach Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister. He has attributed the defection of Japan and Germany from the League of Nations to Sir John Simon's handling of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Walter Runciman, of course, is the Liberal President of the Board of Trade who has betrayed the Free Trade pass. And last but not least there is Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer who stands in the way of every faintest expansionist programme (though not of the giving of subsidies). It doesn't look as if he could enter such a Cabinet, but can they do without him if they want to pick his brains? Surely sooner or later they would have to co-opt him in some fashion. Incidentally Mr. Lloyd George in his speeches refers to the assistance which he has had from Lord Snowden and more than suggests that he would like to have him as Chancellor. But here the political scene becomes fantastic.

#### SPENDING TO SAVE

The present Chancellor of the Exchequer may be opposed to any scheme which is inspired by the idea that we can spend our way back to prosperity, but there seems to be a growing opinion against him. Even the most cautious of financial circles suggests this. In a leading article the other day the *Financial Times*, for instance, called attention to the beneficial effects which would follow on the Government's spending more money on developing the railways. Sir Robert Horne, Chairman of the Great Western Railway, had been speaking at its Annual Meeting. In his speech he had instanced, as one factor in returning prosperity, the Government's new housing scheme. Perhaps Sir Robert Horne is unduly optimistic about this scheme but

certainly, if housing development really got a move-on, it would, as he said, "spread work over a multiplicity of other industries." Then he referred more particularly to developments on his own railway which had been undertaken by the company with a Government grant of interest. This included 40 schemes of new works at the South Wales docks. Commenting on this the *Financial Times* continues:

"Many other works would be put in hand if Government assistance were still available. Their direct effect on the employment situation, the complete absence of waste owing to the efficiency with which they are controlled, the great saving of unemployment benefit or public assistance and the assured emergence of valuable and productive capital assets which for the present cannot otherwise be acquired, make this a case for careful reconsideration by the authorities."

The great saving of unemployment benefit or public assistance! The emergence of valuable capital assets...When will we wake up to the fact that getting our people back to work will mean the emergence of valuable *human* assets.

#### DEPRESSED AREAS

This Government which hands out subsidies so liberally to the farmers (in the past year at the rate of once in every six weeks, if Sir Herbert Samuel is to be believed) seems bent on preventing any money going where it is most needed. After the publication of the Report on the Depressed Areas Mr. Chamberlain announced in the House of Commons that the Government had decided, in face of such a state of affairs as there revealed, "to cut through the ordinary methods" and to appoint Commissioners who "would bring to their task the qualities of imagination, of courage, and of sympathy." But instead of appointing Commissioners to act on the spot, as was recommended in the Report, he set up a National Commission with offices in London.

They turned down a £30,000 scheme for providing useful employment in a depressed area. The uneconomic sugar beet industry is costing the taxpayer £20,000 a day.

#### MILLIONS FOR ARMAMENTS. LEAGUE THROWN OVER

The Estimates for the Army, the Navy, and the Air Forces have just been issued. The Air Estimates have risen by over three million pounds. The Fighting Services as a whole are up by no less than £10,500,000. The Army increase is about four million pound and the Navy over three and a half millions. And this comes at a time when the Government is taking great credit to itself for its co-operation in various supposed Security Pacts: in the Rome Agreement regarding Central Europe; in "a general settlement between Germany and the other Powers, including pacts of mutual assistance



in Eastern Europe"; in, above all, the specially-heralded-at-the-microphone-on-Sunday Air Pact. This Pact is a pact against sudden aggression and is to include France, Britain, Germany, Italy and Belgium.

Not only are these Pacts under consideration. The Foreign Secretary is about to visit Berlin and may follow on with a visit to Moscow. Surely the time is ripe, then, for a reduction in armaments and not such an enormous increase? Apparently the argument does not go that way, if we are to listen to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. These new Pacts, though designed to bring us all more security, will not enable us to dispense with any of our arms. On the contrary, we will have to be in a position to make a better splash. The countries on the Continent have vast air forces: it isn't for them to cut down on these, it is for us to build up to match! Listen to him:

"If we are to have the assistance of one or several of the great Continental Air forces in case we are attacked, we must be in a position to give comparable assistance to them in case they are attacked. . . It follows, therefore, that this country must have an adequate air force. It must have more. It must have adequate land and sea forces to make its air force truly effective; and so, if it is found that our expenditure upon our defences is mounting up during the next two years, I ask you not to forget that the money we are spending is not money to enable us to go to war. It is money to prevent war being made on us."

And now a White Paper has been issued, signed by the Prime Minister, which shows more clearly than anything else has done hitherto, how completely Mr. Romsay MacDonald has thrown over everything that he has stood for in the past and is bound hand and foot to the Tory chariot wheel. As the *Manchester Guardian* says, "It would be difficult to imagine a more profoundly pessimistic document." He practically throws over the League of Nations and asks for more and more armaments because in his view and that of the Government the existing international machinery cannot be relied on. When Mr. Arthur Henderson was Foreign Secretary he could be relied on to work all the time for international peace. Since Mr. Henderson was replaced by Sir John Simon this country has followed afar off instead of leading in the cause of peace.

#### MACDONALD MUDDLE-HEADEDNESS

Mr. MacDonald even mentioned the Locarno Treaty as a reason for increasing our armaments. The muddle-headedness of this kind of reasoning is realized when we remember that the Locarno Treaty was entered into for the specific purpose of promoting disarmament. All the signatories to the Locarno Treaty declared that they signed it in order to "hasten on effectively the disarmament provided for in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations." But apparently Lord

Beaverbrook, with his Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone) propaganda is making the running and although we are prepared to economize in the giving of a decent standard of life to the unemployed, and by turning children of 14 on to the streets or into the unemployment market instead of raising the school-leaving age, one industry at least should have no unemployed—the Armament Industry—because we are planning a programme not for the coming year alone but for a series of years.

The truth is that the present Government does not want to reduce our armaments or anyone else's. Their Foreign Secretary may be prophesying with his lips and setting out for European capitals, but their heart is far from peace. Armaments will never be reduced until the adoption of a system of regular local armaments inspection has been generally agreed upon. Nothing short of this will remove the legitimate fears of certain nations and make it possible for them to agree to disarm. Such a scheme is now under discussion at Geneva on the initiative of the United States of America. And the Representative of the British Government is engaged in securing the rejection of this scheme. He maintains that all that is needed is a system of licences to export armaments. Yet year after year the League of Nations draws attention to the fact that there is an extraordinary gap between the figures for the export and import of armaments! Far more armaments are exported than are ever imported. . . . The explanation being that gun-running is being carried on under various guises.

#### GOVERNMENT PLEDGES DISREGARDED

No Government in memory has been so cynical in the disregard of its pledges. It was formed to save the pound. The pound has gone lower and lower until today, instead of being worth 20, it is only worth about 11-6d on the Continent. One of the first things the Government did was to go off gold and, greatly to their surprise, they found we were much better off in consequence and it gave a fillip to export trade.

Ministers promised that tariffs would not be introduced without an enquiry and tariffs were put on without any enquiry and increased with even less enquiry.

The new Unemployment Board was formed with the promise that the unemployed would be much better off and nothing has been so humiliating and perilous for the Government as their being compelled to withdraw their Regulations. As the *Observer* points out this week, "Ministers by their own confession stand a muddle up to their necks."

#### DOMINIONS SECRETARY PROPHECY

Mr. J. H. Thomas, Secretary of State for the Dominions, last week said there would not be



a General Election for some years. The limit of the life of this Parliament will be reached next year and nothing short of a war could justify the Government in continuing its statutory life. It is true that Mr. Thomas has since explained that he was merely making a joke. That may be. But with all this terrific expenditure on armaments, and the haste with which it is all being put through, one wonders if there might not be something behind that prophecy of the Dominions Secretary. Meanwhile, Government stocks are falling seriously on the London Stock Exchange and armament shares alone are a "bright spot." And all caused by MacDonald, the sometime leader of the Pacifists!

Yet little more than a year ago this same MacDonald declared :

"Arms have never yet saved a nation from war, nor have they given security to either strong or weak nations against attack. History has placed that on the throne of unassailable truth."

#### WHITHER ENGLAND ?

Whatever can be said in criticism of the last Labour Government this at least cannot be denied—that in its Foreign Policy, under Mr. Arthur Henderson, England was strong and led the way in the councils of the nations towards peace and the reduction and limitation of armaments. So clearly was this recognized by other nations, who welcomed a strong lead, that it was England's Foreign Minister, Mr. Arthur Henderson, who was chosen to preside over and guide the destinies of the Disarmament Conference. And now ?

Since Mr. Henderson was succeeded as Foreign Secretary by Sir John Simon England, instead of leading, has followed afar off—and usually at the heels of France. Since 1931 our Foreign Policy, like that of France, has been shaped not by principles but by fear. Faith in the positive power of a strong peace policy has been absolutely lacking. We are now, in less than four years, back in the bad old pre-1914 days of a competitive race in armaments. Every nation for itself and Devil take the weakest. Our present Ministers tell us that we must be so strong that no nation would dare to attack us. Our arms, they say, are merely for defence. But that is exactly word for word what other nations say. Their arms also are merely to prevent others attacking them.

In defending the notorious White Paper in the recent debate in the House of Commons Mr. Baldwin said that "a nation which fails to take the most elementary measures for its own security will never have any power in this world either moral or material." And it is interesting

to note that these are the words quoted by the German leaders as a justification for their throwing over the Treaty of Versailles and rearming "exclusively for defence and thus for the preservation of peace." (Hitler.)

And that White Paper was issued over the initials of all people—of the former pacifist leader, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who accepts responsibility for it and justifies it as telling the truth to the democracy. The initialling of that White Paper is part of the price Mr. MacDonald has to pay for his nominal leadership of the Tory Government. He knows as well as anyone that such a policy never yet ended in anything but war.

In a recent speech Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Secretary of State for the Dominions, said that there would be no early General Election and indeed that it would not come for a few years. The statutory end of this Parliament is not later than the autumn of 1936. Mr. Thomas is not in the habit of dropping meaningless political hints. What lay behind this ? The only justification for continuing a Parliament after its normal course has run is a war in which we are engaged. Mr. Thomas later said he was making a joke. It looks as if it may be a very grim joke.

As things look at present we are heading straight for war before some of us have even recovered from—much less forgotten—the mud and blood of the last war—the war to end war. Then we were told how those who went out would be looked after if and when they returned. We erected cenotaphs and war memorials to those who died. Only too often those who returned were left to beg their bread.

Must this happen again ? It will, if this Government goes on. What we want is a Peace Government, not a war Government. This Government has a war mentality. It began with an economic war with tariffs and yet more tariffs and went on with quotas, restrictions and every one of those economic measures that are the root cause of every war. The only hope for us is in a speedy routing of the present Government and a return to sanity and peace. In the last war we received an immense amount of help from India and Ireland. Does anyone think that after three and a half years of the present Government we can count on that again ? If so, they are living in a fool's paradise. South Africa too has told us she cannot be counted on in another war. Then let us build up a real League of Nations and work as strenuously for peace as we seem to be at present preparing for war.

18th March, 1935.



## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### The Future in India

A brief criticism of the proposed Indian Constitution by Mr. H. N. Brailsford appears in *The New Republic*, extracts of which are quoted below :

Five years ago, on the eve of Christmas, 1929, through Lord Irwin as its spokesman, the British government reaffirmed the promise that India should evolve towards the goal of dominion status; as the instrument of this development it offered a Round Table Conference. The name implied equality between the two sides in the discussion, and that word was repeatedly used, though it was always understood that the formal and final responsibility, in passing the act that would give a new constitution to India, remained with the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

What Mr. Macdonald and Lord Irwin really intended when they held out this prospect of equality in negotiation is of interest rather to the biographer than to the historian. On a realistic view there is and can be no equality in power between these two; behind the courtesies of the Round Table the involuntary debtor still confronted the creditor, and debtor was disarmed, while the creditor dominated the Peninsula that is his field of investment with a supreme navy, an adequate army and a sufficiency of bombing airplanes. The Indian delegates were, moreover, politically in a position of extreme weakness. They were all of them the nominees of the British government and not of their own people, and after Mr. Gandhi had been transferred from the Round Table to the prison of Poona, only the Moslem minority had behind it any solid body of organized opinion. The British delegates were on their side plenipotentiaries, who could speak for organized parties and an omnipotent ministry in full control of an elected Parliament.

Indeed, to speak of a road is misleading. For this is a static Constitution. It includes no machinery for its amendment or development. Not even in minor details have Indians the power to change it.

It buries hope out of sight.

The word "provincial" is misleading. Gauged by their population, some of these "provinces" would rank in Europe as Great Powers.

It enfranchises only 14 per cent of the male population and a negligible fraction of the women. The poorer masses of tenants, the smaller peasants and the laborers will be voteless.

The safeguards are so exaggerated that they leave nothing of responsibility save an irritating figment. If you are policed by a foreign army which you must pay but cannot control; if the Viceroy may send native Indian troops to fight the battles of the Empire outside the Peninsula without the consent of his Indian Ministers; if the Finance Minister and the Assembly can control only 20 per cent of the expenditure of the Federation, it is a bad joke to talk of responsible self-government. The Viceroy's powers to veto are much too wide, and they are manifestly designed in the main to protect

British economic interests. He has a veto on tariffs which in his view discriminate unfairly against British trade. He may interfere if the Finance Minister should do anything likely in his view to "prejudice India's credit in the money-markets of the world". Since India borrows only in the City of London, this is to make the views of British investors the test of Indian policy.

The main reason, however, for thinking this Constitution a false start is that it entrenches property in a position from which nothing short of a social revolution could dislodge it. One-third of the Assembly will consist of nominated representatives of the Princes. With three or four shining exceptions they are old-world autocrats: they are subject to pressure by the viceregal apparatus: but so far as they count as an independent force, they are the leaders of the landlord class and stand for property in its most oppressive and least creative form. When one adds that the Mahomedans, also in the main a conservative force under the leadership of a wealthy and obscurantist group, constitute another third, it is obvious that the representatives of the Hindu masses could exert little influence even if they were chosen by a popular vote. But they themselves will be indirectly elected, and as if this were not enough, two Chambers are provided to neutralize each other.

This Assembly, in so far as it can make itself felt, will govern India in the interests of property. From it no creative force can emerge to sweep away the obstacles that keep the Indian village ignorant, half-starved and incapable of raising its pitiable standard of life. This Constitution holds no promise of any planned reconstruction of the social and economic basis of this Peninsula. It will remain, what it is today, a vast rural slum, to which science offers its aid in vain.

### Has Gandhi Failed?

Mr. W. S. Deming writes in *The Christian Century* :

Has Mr. Gandhi failed? In a superficial sense the answer might be yes. The political organization which he has done, so much to develop no longer believes in many of his life principles. To numerous followers non-violence has been a policy; to him it has been a fundamental creed. To many congressmen the untouchability campaign has been an irritating distraction; to him it is a deeply religious and moral issue. When Mr. Gandhi made his recent severe indictment of the congress, he frankly admitted that handspinning by the congress intelligentsia had all but disappeared. The influx of socialists found Mr. Gandhi out of sympathy with their aims and ideas. All in all he felt that he had no alternative but to withdraw from a leadership that had ceased to command the inner loyalty of his followers.

In a deeper sense, however, we can assert with confidence that Mr. Gandhi has not failed. For he belongs to the prophets and history records that the fruits of prophetic labors are often delayed. There is



a unique timelessness about Mr. Gandhi. He seems impervious to temporary setbacks or disappointments.

Nor are there signs wanting that, although Mr. Gandhi's spiritual vision penetrates to the eternal, his feet are firmly placed upon the temporal. Granted that some of his ideas may be in error, particularly his economic views. That is a matter of opinion. Yet Mr. Gandhi seems to know what he is about. His parting message to the congress was, "I am going to win *swaraj* from the British government through village reorganization." Is it not probable that his emphasis upon village reconstruction and upon the removal of untouchability is a recognition that there are great social and economic barriers that must be removed before the country as a whole is able to realize its political ambitions? Rightly or wrongly, Mr. Gandhi seems to have come to that conclusion. It is to that task that he now dedicates himself.

No, he has not failed. His heaven is at work, in spite of obstacles. It is quite clear that his program has been handicapped, for example, by the lack of discipline in the non-co-operation campaign in India, as compared with the earlier movement in South Africa. Today a warlike world is in urgent need of Mr. Gandhi's emphasis upon non-violence. His efforts for the untouchables are a rebuke to the world's cynical acceptance of widespread exploitation. Such work must go on because it is rooted in the eternal verities. Its ultimate triumph is assured. It is because of his faith in such a triumph that Mr. Gandhi is able to maintain his inner peace and poise in the face of so much opposition and misunderstanding.

### Mystery of Door-labelling in Shanghai

The pernicious system of door-labelling in massive office as well as public buildings in Shanghai by foreigners have aroused an wide-evoked comment by the Chinese people which is the subject of a powerful editorial by *The People's Tribune*. The implication of the labelling is that there is a distinction with a very great difference.

Many months ago reference was made in this journal to the fact that in one of the massive buildings along the Bund in Shanghai there were two interesting—and at times inviting—doors. One was labelled "Gentlemen" and the other "Chinese"—the implication being that here was a distinction with a very great difference. As a result of the publicity given to the gratuitous affront offered to those who, while of Chinese nationality, considered themselves to be at the same time gentlemen, the distinguishing signs were changed to read "Gentlemen" and "Staff." This seems to us a still more subtle differentiation, for it is possible to imagine a Chinese who was at the same time a "gentleman" and also a humble recipient of a modest salary as a worker standing hesitant before the two doors, wondering which he was (1) entitled and (2) expected to enter. However, inasmuch as the offending declaration of racial discrimination was no longer blazoned on the portals, we must be content to leave the new problem to be solved by those confronted with it in accordance with the circumstances of such situation as may arise. It seems necessary, however, once again to protest against what appears to be the accepted system of differentiation in the marking of doors in Shanghai office-buildings. While the distinction of "Staff" and "Gentlemen" now applies in Sassoon House, we notice that in Hamilton House

owned by the same concern—which also owns the Cathay and the Metropole Hotel buildings and has majority interests in other enterprises whose prosperity depends upon the patronage of the Chinese people—there is a further complication, owing to the use of the word "native" in the act and mystery of door-labelling. There are portals marked "Gentlemen," "Ladies," "Chinese," and "Native," but no indication of the particular qualification which are required to warrant one passing through the doors. Some of the qualifications, of course, are quite obvious, but others are extremely obscure. A Chinese gentleman who is also a native of China—which one of three eligible doors should he boldly push open? Such a person, if visiting London, would not hesitate a moment, but pass quickly and quietly through the door marked "Gentlemen," but here in Shanghai—in his own country—he might be different about daring to so classify himself, and waste precious time pondering whether he should enter the "Chinese" or the "Native" door.

### Eastern Eyes View Crusades

This is a study in Oriental-Occidental relations by John W. Kitching in *The World Unity Magazine*. Our author powerfully portrays the inhuman atrocities committed by the Crusaders before the siege of Antioch, when the banquet consisted of dead Saracens :

The siege of Antioch dragged on. Where were provisions to be got in these wasted or desert countries? Some atrocious scenes are described with a singular vigour by Richard the Pilgrim and by Graindor of Douia.

"*La Chanson D'Antioche*" and *King Tafur : Chant Cinquieme. Horrible Festin Conseille Par Pierre L'Hermite. (Richard Le Pelerin).*

Peter the Hermit  
sat before his tent,  
To him came King Tafur,  
and many of his people.  
"Sir, counsel me,  
for holy charity,  
"For see we die of hunger  
and wretchedness."

And Peter replied  
"It is because of your cowardice.  
Go take these Turks  
who lie there dead.  
They will be good to eat  
If they are cooked and salted."  
And says King Tafur :  
"It is truth you say."

From the tent he turns away  
to his ribalds calling :  
The Turks they flayed  
And their entrail removed,  
And by boiling and roasting  
They cooked their flesh.  
Thus they ate  
but tasted not bread.

By this were the Pagans  
much affrighted.  
For the scent of the flesh  
reached the ramparts.



Twenty thousand Pagans  
watched the ribalds.  
There was no single Turk  
who did not weep.

Then said they one to another  
"This is better than bacon  
or ham in oil."

The Lords of the army came to have a look at  
this terrible banquet. Robert Short Hose and Bohemond,  
Tancred and Godfrey de Bouillon.

Before King Tafur  
Then each one stopped  
Laughing they asked him :  
"How do you feel?"

"By my faith," said the King  
"I am much restored."  
"If only I had wherewith to drink,  
I have eaten enough."

Said the Duke of Bouillon  
"Sir King, you shall have it."  
Of his good wine  
he gave him a bottle.

Such was the horrible counsel of Peter the Hermit  
and thus did King Tafur and his band of ribalds carry  
it out.

When they did not find any more dead Saracens in  
the fields they went and dug for them in the cemetery.  
These they flayed and dried in the sun.

### The Munitions Industry

The Special Committee of the United States  
Senate investigating the munitions industry  
inquired into the many factors relating to war  
and peace. In the face of the fact that Europe  
and the Far East lie under the shadow of war,  
the findings of the Committee will prove interest-  
ing. Mr. William T. Stone writes in the *Foreign  
Policy Reports* :

On the basis of the evidence placed before it, the  
Senate Committee disclosed the following conditions :

1. The national policy, as expressed in arms embargoes or international treaties, has been defied or circumvented by private armament interests operating for profit.
2. Bribery is generally accepted as a necessary element in the promotion of armament sales.
3. Selling arms simultaneously to both sides in time of war and arming revolutionary and government factions in civil wars are common practices among armament firms.
4. Armament races between friendly countries have been stimulated by armament firms working in competition or in association with other companies at home and abroad.
5. Lobbies organized by armament firms have supported military and naval appropriations and opposed embargoes and other restrictions on arms.
6. British, German and American arms companies are linked together under patent and sales agreements which provide for exchange of secret processes, division of profits and division of sales territories.

7. National defense policies and foreign policies of governments are influenced, if not hampered, by secret agreements between private arms interests in different countries.
8. Agencies of the United States government encourage the promotion of foreign armament sales. The United States War and Navy Departments release military designs to private armament firms and serve as sales promotion agents in foreign markets.
9. Under existing laws and regulations the United States government is powerless to control the shipment of arms to warring nations in violation of embargoes, or to prevent mislabeling of shipments to foreign countries.

### Psychology of Colour

Man has been likened to an æolian lyre over which series of impressions, both external and internal, are driven. But unlike the latter, the former produces melody mingled with harmony, which is excited by the colour impressions. Mr. Robert F. Wilson in his address before the Royal Society of Arts says :

Colour is a means of communicating a definite message, and it is capable of doing so as truthfully as a mirror reflects the image before it.

It is undeniable that colour have characteristics and attributes—that green has a message which neither blue nor red can give, and yellow cannot affect the emotions in the same way as violet.

Briefly the characteristics of the primary colours are as follows: red characterises heat; yellow luminosity; and blue coldness.

Red, being the colour of fire and blood, is naturally associated with life, action, passion and anger. It is the colour attributed to the planet Mars, and so is health and prevent disease. All through the ages red is an exciting colour and is used by healers as a powerful tonic and stimulant. Probably this is why nearly all red stones are said to have properties which give health and prevent disease. All through the ages red has preserved its message, until today we still find it conveying emotions perhaps not so violent, but of a similar strain. Today in its application to fire-extinguishers, fire-alarms, and red "stop" of the traffic signal, it is still used as a colour demanding immediate attention—an aggressive colour.

Blue has an intellectual appeal, as against the emotional appeal of red. Symbolically it is the colour of truth, and as such was worn by the Egyptian judges. There are references, too, in the Bible which indicate that here again blue had the meaning of steadfastness and justice; while the Buddhists say that the sapphire produces peace of mind and equanimity. "Its opens barred doors to the spirit, but he who would wear it must lead a pure and holy life."

Yellow is the most luminous of all colours. It is, of course, closely connected with the symbolism of the sun, and as such it was regarded as a Royal colour in China and in Ireland, too, where saffron robes were used as a sign of nobility. Yellow, like red, has been used by healers as a tonic, especially as a mental tonic, and it is therefore not surprising to find that arber has been used as an antidote to insanity. It bears a sense also of unity: unity with the spiritual powers of the universe or in the sense of unity in affection. In this way it has become in India the marriage colour. Yellow



in its degraded sense typifies the opposite of these things. It denotes poorness of life, lack of health, and in some cases a definite sign of sickness—e.g., yellow fever, the yellow Jack, etc.

Orange, a mixture of red and yellow, is seldom referred to until recent times. Combining the strength of red with the luminosity of yellow, it denotes energy, activity, cheerfulness and other positive virtues.

Green, in Nature the commonest of all colours, had a deep significance for the people of the East. It had a sense of immortality, and as such was closely associated with sacred things. In some countries it was believed to impart the gift of knowledge and of memory. It was the colour given to Hermes, messenger of the gods, and so again suggests immortality and celestial wisdom. Green has the direct opposite meaning of red, in that it suggests calm deliberation as opposed to the urgency of immediate action. Green also denotes peace, and, as the colour of Nature, Spring, resurrection, youth and vitality.

Purple combines the virtues of red and blue and becomes symbolical of wisdom. Purple is also the colour of mourning.

In ancient times purple was very costly to produce, and so the phrase "born into the purple" has a definite meaning.

There is a softness and gentleness about brown which soothes a troubled mind, which when rested and calm is more fitted to solve the abstruse problem of life and daily toil. To be in a "brown study" is symbolic of the season of Autumn, which represents a period of peaceful quietness before a further effort is made in the Spring.

### A Glimpse of Russia

*The New History* has :

Dr. John Howland Lathrop who has recently returned from Russia, presented to us so briefly a wide range of impressions received in the Soviet Republic. His account of the religious situation was especially interesting for he made it clear that religion is not forbidden in Russia, but that the State simply does not support the churches as it did in bygone times. It allows them to function when maintained by the people, and this naturally causes them to be few and far between.

Dr. Lathrop gave an impressive account of the Anti-Religious Museum in Moscow. He described a painting hanging on its walls which depicts the historic march of the peasants to the royal palace. There they were endless numbers of them, coming empty-handed to the "Little Father," asking for bread; and there was the Czar, in uniform, standing beside the Supreme Head of the Orthodox Greek Church in his pontifical robes, ordering the imperial regimantes to open fire on the starving suppliants. The Crown and the Church were one in this instance even as they have been throughout the tragedy of Czarism.

Another exhibit is the vesture of the one-time Bishop of a small town, which vesture is completely covered with embroidered pearls and rubies, all of great size. Below is shown a petition addressed by the poor of the district to the owner of this magnificence. It states that they, the peasants, are used to suffering and do not speak for themselves, but in view of the fact that their children are dying for lack of food, they ask that one pearl from the ceremonial robe be exchanged for bread so that they may eat. Then the answer written by the Bishop : "The possessions of God cannot be sold."

And these things were in honor of Him who said,

"Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water, verily I say unto you, he shall in nowise lose his reward."

The Russia of today, in spite of her many mistakes, is searching for spiritual truth and I believe that when she has found it, she will openly and definitely place her ardent temperament at the service of Religion with Honor, Religion with Compassion—Universal Religion.

### Handicrafts in Turkey

The following extracts from an article on the above subject by Mr. Mukdim Osman are reproduced below from the *International Labour Review* :

*Recent studies have made it evident that even in the most highly industrialized countries handicrafts continue to exist side by side with factory industry, and that the progress of the later does not necessarily suppress handicraft production, but may even tend to promote its development in new conditions.*

*The technical progress made in recent years, which is perhaps on the way to overthrowing the conceptions of industry and the industrial tendencies current in the nineteenth century, seem, indeed, to be opening up new horizons to handicraft activity in countries where the process of industrialization is less advanced, but which nevertheless are of the very greatest social and economic importance.*

*Turkey, where a movement towards methodical industrialization has just begun under the aegis of the State, offers a typical example of these countries, which will be able to profit by the experience of other lands, and thus, while creating their basic industries, to assure the maintenance and development in new forms of those small undertakings and producing units which can easily adapt themselves to the circumstances of time and place, thus constituting sound and permanent factors in production, capable of giving new life and energy to the rural centres of population, and forming an essential element in the development of the social and economic forces of the country.*

As regards the textile industries, handicraftsmen still produce, even at the present day, in cotton weaving nearly three times as much as all the factories of the country, and provide about 20 per cent. of the quantity needed for home consumption.

Two-thirds of the olive oil produced is handicrafts work.

It is estimated that 28 per cent. of the total production of the skin-dressing industry is the work of handicraftsmen.

Shoemaking is almost entirely a handicraft; 90 per cent. of the needs of consumption is met by home production, of which the major part is contributed by handicraftsmen.

Carpet manufacture, a national industry of prime importance, is exclusively a handicraft. This industry not only fully covers the needs of home consumption but is one of the leading export industries.

In the silk industry, the contribution of handicraft (10 per cent. for spinning and more than 30 per cent. for weaving) must not be under-rated.

The hosiery industry is progressively developing in Turkey. Step by step handicrafts follow the growth of the factories. The home production, which already can meet the greater part of the demands of the market is to a considerable extent handicraft work. The handicraftsman is again called in to do the finishing work before the factory product is ready for consumption.



The demand for knitting articles is satisfied largely by handicraft industry.

The production of the carpentering and furniture trades is in the main the work of craftsmen.

Jewellery is exclusively a handicraft.

In soap manufacture the larger part of the production consisting of laundry soap, comes from handicraft workshops. Turkey no longer imports soap of this kind.

These examples, taken from among many others which it would take too long to enumerate here, lead to the definite conclusion that at the present moment handicraft production is of greater importance to Turkish national economy than that of the ordinary factory.

### England Sings

'The common folk of the British Isles have from time immemorial been a singing people,' says Carl Holliday in *The Catholic World*. While reviewing the history of Nineteenth Century England the author continues:

It remained for Tennyson and Kipling to make nineteenth century England notable for its genuinely singable songs. "Sweet and Low," appearing in Tennyson's *Princess* in 1847, with its melody by Barnby, "Blow, Bugle, Blow;" "Crossing the Bar," with its perfect music by the same Barnby—these and many other lyrics by the poet-laureate vied with the songs of Longfellow for the affection of the English-speaking race. Sixteen hundred dollars was the price paid by the old *Century Magazine* for that master-piece, "Crossing the Bar"—one hundred dollars per line, more than ten dollars per syllable; but it has been worth millions to the afflicted and sorrowing who have heard it since its creation in 1889. Tennyson knew its intrinsic worth, and shortly before his death demanded emphatically, "Mind you put 'Crossing the Bar' at the end of all editions of my poems." It seems destined to become the ultimate, the final declaration in poetic form of unwavering faith in a God and in a Hereafter.

"For tho' from out our bourne of Time and Place

The flood may bear me far,  
I hope to see my Pilot face to face  
When I have crost the bar."

Kipling's "On the Road to Mandalay" and "Recessional" has a tone equal to the best of the Biblical psalms. Lofty, dignified, sincere, devout, it burst upon the nations with the solemn warning: "Lest we forget; God still reigns!" Set to virile music by De Koven, it was first sung by five hundred voices at the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's reign (1897), and at the close of the truly magnificent occasion was published in the London *Times*. The vast navies of the world were there; the kings and monarchs of this earth; all the glory and the majesty of the nations; but the shouting and the tumult died away as that mighty voice of prophetic admonition rang out in the words of Kipling:

"God of our fathers, known of old—  
Lord of our far-flung battle-line—  
Beneath whose awful hand we hold  
Dominion over palm and pine—  
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
Lest we forget—lest we forget!"

### Stalin 'Liquidates' His Last Opposition

*The Christian Century* writes editorially:

The outcome of the trials of Zinoviev, Kamenev and their co-defendants clears up the last question as

to what has recently been happening in Russia. Although these trials, like the others held since the assassination of Kirov, were secret, with the accused denied either counsel or the right of appeal, the soviet authorities began by broadcasting to all Russia abject confessions in which the doomed men pleaded guilty to the charge of conspiracy against the Stalin government. Assuming that these confessions were genuine—and assumption is required in the absence of all confirmatory evidence—what did Russians who had witnessed the ruthless execution of 117 other persons have a right to expect? Certainly nothing less than the death penalty, for no public evidence whatever had been adduced of conspiratorial activities on the part of many of those already killed. Yet no such penalty was imposed. On the contrary, those confessed plotters were merely given terms of exile, ranging from the ten years meted out to Zinoviev to four and five years for most of the rest. What this means is that the first savage reprisals for Kirov's death have sufficed to consolidate Stalin's power, while the later trials have been used as a means of sweeping Russia clear of his last opposition within the communist ranks. Zinoviev, former head of the third international, and Kamenev, former head of the Moscow soviet, remained potentially dangerous to Stalin's absolute personal dictatorship, even though they had been disciplined at the time of the expulsion of Trotsky. But now that they have been exiled the last whisper of dissent within the party has been silenced. The resulting picture, however, is scarcely attractive to any to whom the word "liberty" has an appealing sound.

### Indian and East Iranian Pottery

The discovery of the Indus Valley civilization ranks as the most revolutionary contribution to the history of human culture in modern years. Prof. V. Gordon Childe in a discourse on the above subject tries to establish some similarity between certain aspects of ancient Indian ceramics and those of Sumerian or Egyptian civilization of the Pyramid Age in the *Ancient Egypt and the East*. The author observes:

The discovery of the Indus civilization may eventually rank as the most dramatic and revolutionary contribution to the history of human culture made in the current century. In the IIIrd millennium B.C. the Indus valley was the seat of a complete urban civilization, fully the peer of those of Sumer or of Egypt in the Pyramid Age. The newly discovered centre of city life was already in contact with Mesopotamia, and thus directly contributing to the formation of the cultural tradition which we inherit. Moreover, its civilization was based upon the same fundamental discoveries as the Sumerian and Egyptian, but these were elaborated in a thoroughly individual and, indeed, already Indian way. In the following notes on certain aspects of early Indian ceramics I hope to illustrate the last two points—to emphasize the thoroughly individual and specialized character of the newly discovered civilization and to define the problems raised by its underlying kinship with the more familiar cultures of the Near East.

To prove in the first place the underlying unity in ceramic technique between India and Mesopotamia it suffices to refer to an illuminating study by Dr. Mackay. He has pointed out that several technical processes employed today by the village potters of Sindh and the Punjab can be traced already among the prehistoric potters of Mohenjo-daro.



## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Mr. C. F. Andrews on the Race question

Part of a letter from Mr. C. F. Andrews to a friend of his, published in *Visva-Bharati News*, is quoted below :

The 'race question' I feel certain, is the most pressing of our own age. In a few generations we may get to a rigid caste system not for one country only but for the whole world. On the other hand it may be broken down at the outset before it has gained full possession. I have had two experiences with regard to it. The past was my missionary experience. But there has been profound disappointment. The sense of patronage, of possession, of dominance, is so strong in the societies which send out men and women to preach the Gospel of the lowly Christ that race pride grows and battens on missionary ardour and is not checked by it, except here and there, among the few. The second has been my practical experience—the direct attack, the controversial method, the hammering at the very doors of the citadel such as intermarriage, equal political rights etc., etc. I have done a great deal of such hammering since I came out to India and I have been hammered in turn. Now again, here in South Africa, I am seeing the result of what may be called the 'direct attack'. They are noble, they are magnificent, but they are not final.

Then there has come to me a new experience a new vision—and this has come through you—you told me in a letter from America that you felt with me that this was the greatest issue of our own generation, and I began to think over your own relation to the problem and I saw that you proceeded from within outward, not, as I had previously done, from without inward. I saw how the publication of your books, written not directly on this question but giving instead your heart in its simplicity to your fellow men in the west, without a word of controversy or blame, with love and simplicity alone—I saw how your books began to break down barriers manifold. I was struck by the fact that by far the most interesting letters I had about you came from Australia and Canada, places where you yourself in the body would have difficulty even in landing. Then you told me on my leaving for South Africa 'I wish I could come with you' and then to my delight I have been finding that you had already come. I told you how the very first book I saw in South Africa on an Englishman's table was 'Gitanjali.' That was in Durban. Here in Pretoria it is the same.

And so I have got this new experience. I cannot be a missionary again of the old type. That has gone by for ever and you have delivered me from that bondage. I feel now after all this bitter experience that it is only by *religious* changes in mankind, realized by the young and taught to the new age, that these old hatreds are to be overcome; and I see that those religious changes must come, not through party or sect or dogma, not through the old conventional Christianity I once professed, but through something deeper and fuller of the love of God, something wider than my old ideas and more pervasive and penetrating than my old path of action.

### Malnutrition—the cause of diseases in India

The following is taken from *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

Col. Robert McCarrison, I.M.S., in a paper read before the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine concisely stated his conclusions regarding the major cause of disease in India, also called attention to the prime essential for recovery. It is of more than passing interest to note how in the experience of this trained observer both cause and remedy are associated with food.

Col. McCarrison states, "Obsessed by the idea of the microbe, the protozoa, or the invisible virus as all-important excitants of disease, subservient to laboratory methods of diagnosis, and hide bound by our system of nomenclature, we often forget the *most fundamental of all rules for the physician, that the right kind of food is the most important single factor in the promotion of health, and the wrong kind of food the most important single factor in the promotion of disease.*"

Before the same gathering Col. McCarrison enumerated a considerable list of diseases prevailing in India, which have been demonstrated to rest upon a malnutritional basis. He says: "This list of infectious diseases, to which animals and man are rendered highly susceptible by faulty food, is comprehensive enough including, as it does, respiratory disease, gastrointestinal disease, heart disease, throat disease, kidney disease, skin disease, and infections by such diverse organisms as protozoa, bacilli and invisible viruses. There is good reason, therefore, for the assumption that such death-dealing diseases as tuberculosis, leprosy, cholera, dysentery, plague and malaria have often in this country a malnutritional element in their genesis and course. Yet in attempting to combat them, or to ascertain the conditions favourable to their spread how often do we remember *the prime rule of medicine that the wrong kind of food is the most important single factor in the promotion of disease?*"

Before the India Medical Association at its recent meeting in Delhi, Dr. B. C. Guha of Calcutta, related observations from the study of certain Bengali diets. Food procured from kitchens in Calcutta where it is regularly prepared for Bengali college students, was fed to groups of young rats under control observation. The rats failed to develop, became ill and died. On such a diet, beri-beri-like conditions became manifest. The nervous, circulatory, digestive and respiratory systems failed to be nourished, and subsequently developed various diseases.

In all lands, but particularly in India, multiple thousands are in the same state of malnutritional disease as Dr. Guha's rats. They need the right kind of food before they can be well and live out their normal span of life. Drugs or proprietary food preparations will never substitute for the missing food factors.

### The Government of India Bill

Dr. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer writes in part in *The Indian Review* :



Let us see what each of the three parties to the federation stand to gain or lose by its materialization. The people of British India obtain a shadow of responsibility in the central government and may indulge in the hope that at some distant date in the course of a few generations the shadow may be transformed into a substance. Federation or no federation, they cannot expect any transfer of control in respect of the reserved subjects of defence and external affairs. The Indian Princes will obtain a voice in the management of the central revenues, in the central legislature and the central government and will be guaranteed in the exercise of autocracy under their claim to the protection of their sovereign rights by the British Crown by virtue of their treaties. The British Government will continue to exercise their powers of control from behind the screen of a responsible federation. One cannot help feeling that one dominant motive behind the new scheme of reforms is how to make the future Government of India safe for British interests, commercial and otherwise, and for the Indian Princes. Far be it from the minds of the people of British India to injure either British interests or the interests of the Indian States. But the aim of every patriotic Indian will be how to make the people of India as a whole united and prosperous and enable a united India to attain full Dominion Status.

So far as tariffs and fiscal policy are concerned, the instrument of instructions allows the Governor-General to interfere in tariff policy only when the main intention of the policy is to injure the interests of the United Kingdom rather than to further the economic interests of India. But at the end of paragraph 14 of the instructions, the Governor-General is required to bear in mind the partnership between India and the United Kingdom and the mutual obligations arising from it. This clause is vague and obscure and it is more than likely that it contains a lurking pledge of imperial preference. The question of preferential tariffs for goods of British origin must be allowed to be decided upon the merits of each case, instead of being treated as a matter of course and general obligation. Import tariffs are only a negative method of fostering the industry and trade of a country. The use of the positive method of encouragement by bounties or subsidies has been severely restricted by the provision forbidding discrimination against British companies, shipping and industrial, who are the most formidable competitors in the field. The provisions of the bill for reciprocity afford absolutely no protection for the development of Indian industries and manufactures.

### Art and Bombay

Mr. Bal S. Mardhekar writes in part in *The Twentieth Century* :

With reverent reluctance and in no iconoclastic spirit at all, I would lay most of the blame for the general mediocrity of artistic achievement in Bombay at the door of the J. J. School of Art. What I mean by 'artistic achievement' will become clear presently; at the moment I can only say that out of the scores of so-called works of art produced by the Bombay or Maharashtra artists only a few really merit that name. This could only be because they are the outcome of a method of teaching which attempts to engraft an English tradition on indigenous talent, which is not quite hospitable to it, and thus defeats the main purpose of art teaching. I have advisedly said 'an English tradition' and not 'the Western tradition' because this English tradition differs radically from the truly great Western one. Anyone who

desires to realize the precise nature of this difference has only to look at the advertisements in English newspapers and those in the Continental, say German or Italian.

### The Consumers' Co-operative Movement

*The Indian Co-operative Review* writes editorially :

There is an impression in India that the Consumers' Movement has not much scope for development in agricultural countries and that the rural economy of India does not lend itself to the development of the Consumers' Movement. We are of opinion that this is not a sound view to take. The Consumers' Movement is closely associated with the life of the peasants and workers and can be used for improving their economic position; as an organization to promote self-help and as a defence against exploitation by capitalists and employers, it has marvellous potentialities. Moreover, the Consumers' Movement is developing rapidly even in agricultural countries in the West after the Great War and making great strides in the spheres of production and marketing. The whole question should therefore be carefully re-examined by co-operators in India and every attempt should be made to develop the Consumers' Movement, no doubt on lines peculiarly suited to Indian conditions.

### Conflict of Codes and Cultures

Prof. S. V. Puntambekar writes in *The Benares Hindu University Magazine* :

Manu is not materialist even in the Marxian sense. The worldly man is not his idol. The world-man is his ideal. He does not sacrifice or ignore the individual even for the needs of collective or common good. He leaves always a spiritual safety valve for an individual to liberate himself from the mechanism and monotony, morality and tyranny of worldly social forms and institutions in his pursuit of spiritual truths. But at the same time the need of social forms and class system he recognizes for the common worldly good of all, though ultimately they have all to be discarded for the liberation or freedom of human spirit. He pays more attention to the psychological needs of individuals. They are not restricted to particular forms and institutions but are led to the development of particular types of personalities according to their qualities and actions. He lays emphasis on human will and freedom and not on a divine plan regulating beforehand biographies, histories and civilizations of mankind. The new ideas of today which are disturbing most of the values of Manu are (1) that there is possible a change of personal status of individuals within this life, (2) that there is no need of class system amongst a people of homogeneous culture and outlook, and for preserving their economic, political or cultural life, (3) that forces, conditions and relations of production have changed and are changing economic, social and political relations and forms, (4) that there is inherent worth and dignity in a worker, woman or child and therefore there should be equality of rights and opportunity to all, and (5) that there should be no invidious social or political differences based on racial, religious, cultural or economic considerations.

Under the influence of these new forces and ideas to perpetuate the old systems of class organizations and orders as they exist would lead to national anarchy and civil war in India. Some sort of a new common national organization is necessary to transcend our traditional



divisions and prejudices and to create a feeling of unity, a bond of fellowship and a desire for common welfare.

### Five-fold foes of Rural Prosperity

Mr. M. S. Ramachandra Rao, B.A., B.L., writes in *The Journal of the Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union* :

Inaccessibility, Insanitation, Ignorance, Inertia and Indebtedness are the five-fold foes of rural prosperity. Of these, indebtedness of poverty, although placed last is, perhaps, the most formidable. For, according to the economic survey of some villages in Mysore which have been carried out under the writer's personal supervision, it is found:

- (i) That more than 80 per cent of the rural population is indebted.
- (ii) That the average debt per family which is the unit of economic existence, works out to about Rs. 200, and
- (iii) That the rate of interest charged is rarely less than 12 per cent.

### How to Teach Geography ?

Mr. P. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.T., writes in *Educational India* :

The training student learns regional geography according to the logical plan. A study of position, boundaries, area, relief, climate, productions, occupations, etc., is arranged according to the logical plan. This order is not intelligible to little children. In teaching the subject to little children, elementary school teachers should take into consideration not the logical requirements of the subject but the mental requirements of boys and girls, their capacity for mental digestion. They should adopt a psychological plan which consists not in working from causes to consequences by beginning with mathematical and physical geography and ending with the economic and political geography, but which follows a reverse order in working back-wards from consequences to causes, from human responses to physical controls. The unit selected for study by children may be a regional one, but, human perspective should receive emphasis as the interests of children have a human centre. They are essentially hero-worshippers. In this way "the perspective will present man in the foreground with the physical features as a setting"—(Holtz). The adoption of a psychological plan creates in children a liking for the subject. Geography ceases to be a sick man of the elementary school curriculum, and it becomes possible to teach the same without tears.

Regional geography can be taught to children unconsciously in the form of stories. Geographical matter or facts should be kept wholly in the back-ground.

The geography of the tundra region can be grouped round explorers like Shackleton, etc. Such stories afford good opportunities for the teacher to introduce in the back-ground many geographical facts without boys and girls being made aware of the same.

Next to children's interests in human beings is their interest in things which they eat. In case they are told where they are to be found and how they can go and get them they take much interest in such stories of travel by land, water, and air.

### The Farmer's Family Budget

The following extracts are taken from *The Young Builder* :

It is extremely difficult for one to estimate the agricultural costs as well as to form an idea of the family budgets of the tenants, because they keep no accounts of what they spend either on cultivation or on themselves. The figures obtained, therefore, are not very accurate but are useful only in so far that they indicate in a general way whether the tenant-cultivator is able to make both ends meet.

The tenant grows often only one main crop, namely, rice, but he measures the yield very roughly. In most cases family labour is used, which complicates the estimates of the cost of production. Generally the tenant has his own bulls but in case he hires bulls from some one else he has to pay straight off half of his share as his hire. In all the cases it is practically impossible to estimate the cost of maintenance of the bulls as they are fed on straw. The animal dung is used more as fuel than as manure.

Similar difficulties are encountered in making family budgets as the farmers never keep any accounts of what they spend on food, clothes, etc. When the tenants are asked what they spend on different items of household requirements, at first they think that such an enquiry is besides the point, but when the figures reveal to them the fact that they spend more than what they actually produce, they sit up and begin to think about it. In certain cases one could see a little unwillingness on their part to give the true facts and figures, and some even expressed resentment in sarcastic remarks, at this prying into private affairs. All the same it made them think!

### The Main Issues of Village Reorganization

Prof. K. T. Shah writes in *The B. & O. Co-operative Journal* :

In planning for the reconstruction of village life, the revival of village industries and the reorganization of the entire national economy on this basis, the reformer must pay attention to at least five points of cardinal importance in this main problem:—

I. Characteristics of villages, including the population of each village, and its several classes, if any;

II. Resources of the villages, in respect both of Agriculture and Industry, including also the question whether the main village produce is the raw material of industries, or food-stuffs for the village's own requirements or both;

III. Existing village institutions, such as—

- (a) schools;
- (b) markets;
- (c) co-operative societies, if any;
- (d) Government institutions, e.g., post office, the railway or police station, if any, and the means of their development.

IV. Difficulties of handicaps of the village population such as—

- (a) ignorance;
- (b) debt;
- (c) deterrent social customs or habits, e.g., drink;
- (d) methods of exactions by public officials and their remedies;

V. The new organization now proposed for reorganization, the whole village life, with due co-ordination between its several parts and classes, as also with the general life, social and political, of the whole country.



## Social Equality and National Progress

Mr. A. J. M. Canjemanadan writes in *Young Ceylon* :

Snobbery must go if a country is to advance. Snobbery retards growth, retards both intellectual and material progress. Snobbery is the mark of weak, vain-glorious men—men of no stamina, who but for their possession of a disproportionate quantity of this world's goods would be no better than the meanest road sweeper. A sturdy independence must take the place of snobbery—a proper sense of values. A high integrity and high ideals are needed together with a determination to see their realization. Courage must be shown in tackling the ills of our social system and no efforts spared to eradicate them. No country has progressed with the canker of an atrocious social system eating into its very vitals. After all, the government of a country is meant for the welfare of all its inhabitants, and this ideal cannot be realized when the majority are without the necessities of life, namely, food for the body and food for the mind. The pursuit of happiness is the inherent right of every individual, and it is the business of the state to see that no individual is deprived of that right. The highest function of a government is that—to secure the physical, intellectual and moral well-being of its citizens. But the greatest obstacle to the proper performance of this function is the existence of a social system which recognizes distinctions of caste, class and creed—in other words, the existence of a social system which tolerates snobbishness in all its forms.

## Bengal's Smaller Industries

The following occurs in *The Insurance and Finance Review* :

Some confusion attaches to the expression "smaller industries" presumably because there does not appear to be any very clear line of demarcation between these and what are termed cottage industries. Mr. B. C. Ghosh, however, in a paper recently read before the Indian Institute of Economics, defined smaller industries as those which with machine-equipment can run their industries on small capital outlay, e.g., soap works, celluloid works, small drugs manufactory, perfumeries etc. So that smaller industries would be found to deal, mostly, with articles of comparative luxury and the sad plight of these industries as presented to us by Mr. Ghosh, appears to be very extreme.

Mr. Ghosh's presentation of the case has been clear and categorical. The problems of these industries as presented by Mr. Ghosh appear to be (i) unhealthy internal competition reducing enterprises to a basis of working on loss, (ii) inadequately capitalized flotations, (iii) want of co-ordination in matters affecting the common interests of each industry and (iv) indifference of government and other public bodies to their problems.

Of these four-fold disadvantages, the first appears to us to have the most destructive potency. Unhealthy competition has reduced many industries in this country to the brink of collapse. Yet the quality of individual avarice is such that rationalization will never be considered by them even while it may be obvious that this is the only expedient which may save them from utter destruction. Mr. Ghosh has assured us that all his personal efforts for securing some amount of rationalization in the soap industry have been entirely abortive, yet that seems to us to be the only expedient which may save the industry from utter break-down.

## The Aim of Education

*The Educaninal Review* writes editorially :

"Education which makes people discontented can hardly be called education at all," said His Excellency. "I know that as time goes on and as learning becomes more spread, there may arise in this country, as indeed it has arisen in Europe a certain type of education which merely makes for discontent. But that is not the aim and object of education and learning. If you go back and consult any of the old philosophers, for instance, the Greeks, you will find that they knew the real meaning of education and they realized that education was meant to make men happy and not discontented." Apparently His Excellency meant to suggest that the aim of education was to increase man's happiness, but if educated people did not feel discontented with the world realizing its limitation, and foreseeing its great possibilities, education would have lost all its usefulness. Browning was quite right when he suggested in his *Rabbi Ben Ezra* that this discontent it was that actually allied us to the gods :

"Poor vaunt of life indeed,  
Were man but formed to feed  
On joy, to solely seek and find and feast :  
Such feasting ended, then  
As sure an end to men;  
Irks care the crop-full bird? Frets  
doubt maw-crammed beast?  
Rejoice we are allied  
To that which doth provide  
And not partake, effect and not receive!  
A spark disturbs our cold;  
Nearer we hold of gold  
Who gives, than of His tribes that take, I must believe."

## Provincial Autonomy under the New Constitution

The concluding portion of the above article by Prof. Sir Ram Sharma in *The Hindustan Review* deserves mention :

The provincial autonomy that is going to be established under the scheme laid down in the Report would be a peculiar brand of autonomy. It would be difficult to determine who would be autonomous under this scheme. The provincial legislature? Certainly not, it would not have the final say in any matter in which the governor differed from its verdict and stood by his own opinion. The constitution is based on the assumption that whenever the governor and the legislature would differ, the legislature would be at fault. The governor then? Again no, as for the discharge of all his special responsibilities, special powers, and discretionary power, he would be answerable to the governor-general and through him to the Secretary of State. The governor-general? Not even he, for he would have to take his orders from the Secretary of State in all matters wherein he took special action. The Secretary of State and the British Cabinet remain, but as they have long been autonomous as the representative of Parliament, the Report shows them no favour.

Lest this be considered an exaggeration, let us consider two concrete questions. Indian opinion has long been demanding the separation of the judiciary from the executive. Suppose a ministry took it into its head to translate popular wishes into fact and found support in the legislature. It would not be able to carry out its decision without concurrence of the governor. The



question would impugn upon two of his special responsibilities, law and order, and public services. He would not be bound to accept the decision of the ministers, and would have the power of stopping discussion of the question at any stage he liked. Take another example. Indian opinion has long resented the shadowing of even responsible and harmless politicians by the C. I. D. Suppose a minister tried to terminate this evil (?) He would at once be confronted with the governor's Special Power. The Inspector-General of Police could under the new constitution refuse even to divulge the information received in reports of these shadows without the governor's special consent. It would be of no use to the minister that the legislature supported him. That may prove not only his graveyard but that of the unfortunate legislature as well if it persisted in its demand in defiance of the governor's opinion to the country.

### India's Demand for Health Insurance

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar writes in *The Mayurbhanj Gazette* :

Sickness must not be treated as a private misfortune. It is not to be regarded as a calamity against which the individual should protect itself as much as it can. It is not even to be counted as a misfortune in which the family alone is interested and therefore which the family alone should attempt to combat or prevent. Rather, it is time to look upon sickness as a national misfortune. We should take it as a calamity for the entire community and therefore one to be prevented or cured by the community, i.e., the State.

Remarkable in its social and moral bearings are the advantages conferred on the community by compulsory sickness insurance legislation. On the one hand the medical practitioner is relieved of the burden of honorary service. On the other hand, the patient is spared the ignominy of depending on the medical practitioner's benevolence or some philanthropic institutions of charity.

The financial burden of sickness cannot be borne by the individual. It must be widely distributed throughout the country. Premium is therefore to be paid by three parties, first, the wage-earner or salaried person, secondly the employer, and thirdly, the State.

Since the premium is paid by a large number of persons, the higher-waged as well as the lower-waged, the healthy as well as the sick, the risk is well distributed and the rates per individual can become very small. Besides the social good derived from such a system is extensive. As soon as the State and the community become financially responsible for the health insurance

of the individual the prevention of disease is rendered almost on a *fait accompli*.

In every scheme of sanitation and public health compulsory health insurance on a wide basis should be regarded as a great prophylactic.

### Social Hygiene re the Health of our Pupils

Mrs. J. H. Lawson, B.A., has contributed an important paper on "Social Hygiene" to *The National Christian Council Review*. Teaching of social hygiene, like every other thing, should begin from boyhood. She writes in part :

Every school, especially of high school standard, should have a definite constructive programme in building up the health of its pupils. We believe that every student in our schools has the right to leave the school stronger physically, mentally and morally than he was when he entered. Alas, too often the reverse is true, even in our best schools. Very tardy has been the recognition in all teaching circles of the importance of instruction in the fundamental principles of health.

In the complete life the physical, mental and moral are so interdependent and bound together that they cannot be separated. But it seems to me that the physical is the foundation for the other two. A boy cannot have vigorous mental life unless he has pure blood coursing in well-nourished brain tissue. He cannot have a sane, moral outlook unless his mental life is balanced and vigorous. Moreover, a physical handicap is always a liability to one's fullest possibilities. Though many people transcend such handicaps, yet it is probable that their lives never reach the utmost attainment of a body possessing full physical vigour. To consider even a relatively minor physical disability, a boy struggling in the miseries of it will find it very difficult to become a brilliant student. Teaching and training in one line, moreover, has a direct and distinct effect on others—and on one's general habits and attitudes. Using the physical as the foundation, a boy who is taught to love a clean game of basketball will probably not be the boy who cheats in your classes. A boy who co-operates in a game of hockey, playing with his team-mates and not for himself, is likely to become the man who is willing to serve his society-group. And, any boy who is taught something of God's beautiful purpose in making the sex interest so central in human nature, who is taught the care of, and dangers of abuse to, his sexual organs, will probably not be the man to spread contagion and loose morals about the community.

### CORRECTION

P. 400, 1st para. of the article on "Cost of the Troops in Bengal." The name of the Member of the Legislative Assembly who put the question about the cost of the troops in Bengal should be *Sardar Sant Singh* and not *Pandit Govinda Ballabh Pant*.



## UDAY SHANKAR BALLET

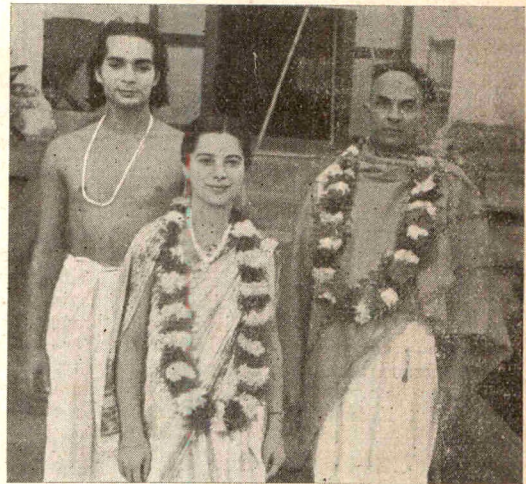
The Third Season of Udayshankar Dances is just over. The first year Shankar presented a series of short sketches—almost all solo performances—that were his version of the more artistic folk dances of India. There was only one attempt at a dance with a definite theme—the Siva *Tandava*—and that was necessarily curtailed to the scope of a solus performance. Depiction of emotion was not attempted at any of these dances, excepting perhaps in the *Tandava*, which contained just as much as could be expressed in the rhythm of the body aided by the variations in the background of music. The sketches were vivid with motion and pose, and it was apparent to the connoisseurs that here was a real attempt at revival, of which the first steps are necessarily those of realistic sketches from the past and the present.

The Second Season showed a distinct advance, as the usual chain of little cameos was varied with a few dances with themes, the *Abhinaya* portion being expressed through both the language of the Dance as well as by gesture and spacing of body components. The technique of foot and hand and face was also brought into play to a much larger extent, specially in the *Gajasura Badha* dance. It was evident that the artist was now attempting at creation with what technique he had at his command.

This season definitely shows that he has arrived. By "arrived," we do not mean that perfection has been achieved. It only means that Shankar has now entered the realm of creative Art. And it is also plain to the discerning eye that this attempt is no longer that of an amateur who improvises as he goes along, combining a few heterogeneous bits of classicism with a lot of incoherent personal expression.

There is now a bold attempt at composition complete with rhythm, tempo, spacing and expression. The representation of Emotion through *Abhinaya* now occupies the foreground definitely. In classical compositions Shankar has brought in the use of South Indian Mudra together with the play of facial expression—specially the *re*—to a certain extent, in combination with the more universal language of the pose and the body-rhythm. In this his *acharya* Nambudree's mastery of the classic art has been of great help. There are other pieces in which the abstract has been translated without the aid of classical technique to any appreciable extent. The glamour of dress, ornament, pose and music is present throughout both the varieties.

Of the classical pieces, the finest, the *Dvanda* of Siva and Parvati, although magnificent in its entity, is not yet quite coherent throughout. Modern stage-practice does not admit the length of time requisite for the complete presentation of all the Rasas as separate entities—and the time-factor is supreme from the classical point of view, in certain Rasas—which we believe is the reason why the composition appears too hurried and lacking in emphasis in certain parts as compared with the vigour and bold prominence of expression in others. In the last act, where all the



Uday Shankar, Miss Simki and Prof. Nambudree of Kathakali

emotion is brought up to a crescendo, the artiste as yet seems to feel a restraint, the tremendous peak of the first season's *Tandava* is somehow shortened and subdued. We wonder if it be due to the musical accompaniment being unable to keep pace and provide the suitable background.

Amongst the other varieties, "Nirasha" (despondency), an exquisite fantasia, is superb. We have not the space in these columns to give a full detailed critique of all the dances, most of which deserve it, but this brilliant piece has to be mentioned. Shankar is to be felicitated on it, and it can be taken as a criterion of the high standard of finished execution which he can reach with ease in such compositions.

In our opinion Uday Shankar's attempt at the presentation of classic themes in their proper setting has been a great success and his interpretation of *acharya* Nambudree's classic art has been superb.

K. N. C.



# NOTES

## *The Commander-in-Chief's Criticism of British Officers*

H. E. the Commander-in-Chief in India permitted himself some severe criticism of the officers of the Army in India in an address given at the Staff College, Quetta. Among other things, he is reported to have said:

"I am not happy about the present officers, either in the British service or in the Indian Army. I do not think that, as a class, they have improved in general education, or military instinct and leadership, since the war. One might well imagine that those, at any rate, who had been through the tremendous experiences of the Great War would have emerged with an increased military instinct.

"I may be wrong, but I do not think I am, when I say that, if anything, the contrary is the case."

And again:

"I am horrified, as I travel up and down India, at the number of officers I find who have allowed themselves to sink into a state of complete brain slackness. Their narrow interests are bounded by the morning parade, the game they happen to play, and purely local and unimportant matters. I have found men all over India who evidently scarcely read the papers, and are quite unaware of the larger aspects of what is going on in India around them and still less of the stupendous events outside this country that are now in process of forming an entirely new world.

"Many officers today cannot even express themselves clearly in the simplest language, let alone with any style or distinction."

These remarks have naturally excited a good deal of comment both in England and India. Some papers have tried to extenuate the professional incompetence referred to by Sir Philip Chetwode by pleading circumstances, while others have shown disinclination to take his criticism too seriously. It is not possible for us to give an opinion on the merits of the controversy, but we should like to point out that the expression of misgivings about the professional competence of the British officer is not exactly new. There has

been outspoken criticism of the British officer in the past just as there is in the present. As far back as 1902, Lord Kitchener said:

"One of the great faults in British officers is that they do not look upon their work sufficiently seriously at all times. They are in many cases, spasmodic, and do not realize the serious nature of their responsibilities, and if they do so at one time they easily forget them. . . . In my opinion strict punishment is very necessary to impress on the officers their very serious duties, but at the same time it does no good to act without the fullest enquiry, and strictly on legal lines."

About the same time, giving evidence before the committee of enquiry on the Boer War, Lord Roberts said that he had been compelled to remove five Generals of Division, six Brigadiers of Cavalry, one Brigadier of Infantry, five Commanders of Cavalry regiments, and four Commanders of infantry battalions for incompetence, which he observed, was a very large number of troops employed. He further added:

"Whether it is inherent in the British character, or whether it is owing to something faulty in the training of our officers, I cannot say, but the fact remains that surprisingly few of them are capable of acting on their own initiative. . . . Many of them do very well if you can tell them exactly what to do and how to do it, but left to themselves they fail." *Result of military training.*

The Akers-Douglas Committee, which was appointed after the Boer War to report on the training of British officers, also reported as follows:

The witnesses are unanimous in stating that the junior officers are lamentably wanting in Military knowledge, and what is perhaps even worse, in the desire to acquire knowledge and in zeal for the Military art. The committee have been informed by a very high authority that the majority of young officers will not work unless compelled; that "keenness is out of fashion"; that "it is not the correct form;" the spirit and fashion is "rather not to show keenness"; and that "the idea is, to put it in a few words, to do as little as they possibly can.



By no part of the evidence laid before them have the Committee been more impressed than by that which shows in the clearest manner the prevalence among the junior commissioned ranks of a lack of technical knowledge and skill, and of any wish to study the science and master the art of their profession.

It is possible to quote similar opinions about the training and capacities of British officers for later periods also, of which only one must suffice here. General Moncrief Grierson, who was regarded as one of the most competent soldiers of the British Army and died just before taking up the command for which he was designated in the Great War, wrote : • • •

"Until the body of British officers becomes convinced that the days of playing at soldiers are over and that *work*, and work in the fullest sense of the word, must now be the watchword, we despair of any attempt at reorganisation. By work, we do not mean the daily duty. . . . but study, hard study, which must be encouraged and fostered in every way by the authorities."

We do not cite these opinions with any desire of gloating upon the shortcomings of British officers, however serious or trivial they may be. What is more significant and interesting from our point of view is the different result that such criticism produces when it is aimed at Indians. Any criticism of the British officer is at first put down as the exaggeration of a too keen professional. Then it is sought to be explained away. And when at last it cannot be answered, it is used as a stimulus for reform and progress. But it can be asserted without any fear of contradiction that if a soldier of Sir Philip Chetwode's position and reputation had said anything half so damning as his criticism of the British officer about Indians, that would have brought about the mass condemnation and exclusion of any class, however meritorious and faithful its past record.

#### *An Indian Example from the Madras Army*

We should like to give just one example to prove that we are not indulging in imaginary rebodings. The criticism of British officers by Lord Kitchener and Lord Roberts after the Great War was pretty strong. But it did not lead to their elimination from the army in favour of more capable men of other nationalities. In India, however, far less well-founded criticism by these two eminent soldiers

produced exactly this result in the case of an Indian fighting class. Both Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener believed that the fighting spirit had died out in the Tamils and Telugus of Madras who formed the bulk of the Madras Army, and they wanted to reduce the number of these men. It was immediately pointed out by other officers of experience that the inferiority of the Madras 'sepoy' referred to by Lord Roberts, was not due to any inherent defect but to the inefficient leadership of the British officers and lack of field service. General Sir Neville Chamberlain said :

"I admit that some Madras Infantry regiments do not come up to the proper standard; but this is not because of any inherent deficiency or defect in the material available. It has been, because of the regiments being badly commanded, partly arising from a rigid adherence to the claims of seniority, partly to the British officers having been constantly changed, and partly to a loss of feeling of *esprit de corps*, . . . and partly because the army has not had its fair chance of field service."

The same opinion was expressed by General Sir Frederic Haines, at that time the Commander-in-Chief in India :

"It has been customary," he said, "to declare that the Madras Army is composed of men physically inferior to those of the Bengal Army; and if stature alone be taken into consideration, this is true. It is also said, by the force of circumstances the martial feeling and the characteristics necessary to the real soldier are no longer to be found in its ranks. I feel bound to reject the above assertions and others which ascribe comparative inefficiency to Madras troops. It is true that in recent years they have seen but little service; for, with the exception of the Sappers, they have been specially excluded from all participation in work in the field. I cannot admit for one moment that anything has occurred to disclose the fact that the Madras sepoy is inferior as a fighting man. The facts of history warrant us in assuming the contrary. In drill, training and discipline the Madras sepoy is inferior to none; while in point of health as exhibited by returns, he compares favourably with his neighbours. This has been manifested by the Sappers and their followers in the Khyber; and the Sappers are of the same race as the sepoys."

In spite of these cogent arguments the Madras sepoys were largely eliminated both by Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, till, today, there is not a single infantry battalion of Madras men in the Army, the regimental allotted to them (the 3rd) being kept blank in the Army List. This is indeed a typical case of giving a dog a bad name and then hanging it, considered to be so unsportsmanlike by the English gentleman.



### Irrigation in India

The official report *India in 1932-33*, published in January this year, informs the reader that

"50 years ago the extent of land irrigated by Government works was already 10½ million acres. By 1900 this area had been almost doubled and at the present time has been nearly trebled. During the year 1931-32, the latest period for which detailed statistics are available, the total acreage irrigated by Government works was 29.6 millions, representing 12 per cent. of the total area sown . . . . During the year under review the total length of the main branch canals and distributaries in use in India amounted to some 75,000 miles and the estimated value of the crops supplied with water from Government works was Rs. 86 crores. The Province with the largest irrigated area was the Punjab where the total acreage amounted to 10,961,000; moreover, a further 1,393,000 acres were irrigated from channels which, although drawing their supplies from British canals, lie wholly in Indian States. In this Province more than one-third of the total area sown was irrigated by Government canals. Next came the Madras Presidency with an irrigated area of 7,437,000 acres out of a total of 38,345,000 acres; Sind with 3,495,000 acres out of a total of 3,729,000; and the United Provinces with 3,486,000 acres out of a total of 43,105,000. The total capital outlay on irrigation and navigation works, including works under construction, amounted at the end of the year 1931-32 to Rs. 142.6 crores. The gross revenue was Rs. 11.54 crores and the working expenses Rs. 4.45 crores, the net return on capital being therefore 5 per cent." Pp. 90-91.

In the paragraph quoted above there is no mention of Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Bengal, Bombay, the Central Provinces, etc. The Eleventh Issue of the *Statistical Abstract for British India*, which is the latest, contains some information on this subject. The tabular statements relating to irrigation works given below are taken from that official publication. Let us first take *Productive Irrigation Works*. The length of main canals, branches and distributaries is given in miles, the area irrigated in acres and the total direct and indirect capital outlay up to the end of 1931-32 in rupees.

Province.	Main Canals and Branches.		Distributaries.	Area.	Capital outlay.
Madras	3554	9500		2299541	134270700
Bombay	5083	158		2200353	229644410
Bengal	11	7		4033	8787395
U. P.	2371	11628		3223821	222731518
Panjab	3252	16632		11633035	331770723
N.-W. F. Pr.	86	174		203621	7416221

No statistics are given for other Provinces of India proper. That would show that there

were no productive irrigation works there up to the end of 1931-32.

As regards productive Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works, the statistics for India proper give figures only for Bengal, showing that such works do not (or did not up to 1931-32) exist elsewhere. The figures for Bengal are extraordinarily remarkable! They are shown against the Grand Trunk Canal, and are: Mileage in operation (Main Canals, Branches and Distributaries), *nil*; Area of land irrigated, *nil*; Total capital outlay, Rs. 14,44,848; Gross Receipts, *nil*; Working Expenses, *nil*; Net Revenue, *nil*; Interest on Mean Capital Outlay Rs. 80,732. Why then should the Grand Trunk Canal be mentioned under *Productive Works*?

Let us pass on to Unproductive Works, taking irrigation works first.

Province.	Main Canals and Branches.		Distributaries.	Area.	Capital outlay.
Madras	911	828		233043	43650110
Bombay	2904	1813		1000246	129557958
Bengal	65	0		38967	8492053
U. P.	428	1741		243893	33550216
Panjab	1050	962		713674	5961283
B. & O.	710	2733		875273	62753534
C. P.	362	3026		372123	67500630
N.-W. F.	183	414		190531	22030030

As regards Unproductive Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works, the statistics are:

Madras	297	0	0	9365310
Bengal	1272	254	0	32010776

### Development in Bengal through Irrigation and Drainage

The statistics printed above show that in Bengal the capital outlay on productive irrigation works has been very meagre. If the capital outlay on unproductive irrigation works were added, still the amount would be comparatively very small. This may lead those who do not know the relevant facts relating to Bengal to assume that this Province does not stand in need of irrigation. That, however, is not a fact. This has been brought out in the note on *The Development of Decadent Areas in Bengal*, written by Mr. H. P. V. Townend, Rural Development Commissioner, Bengal, in which he "attempts to give a sketch of schemes which would appear possible for the development of decadent areas



in Bengal, through irrigation and drainage if the Bengal Development Bill becomes law." In that Note he quotes the following sentences from the Report of Irrigation Department Committee, page 9:

"In the past it seems to have been assumed that because Bengal is in general a country of fairly copious rainfall irrigation is of little value. But this assumption ignores the fact that the rainfall in question while undoubtedly high is liable to serious seasonal fluctuations. Rice is the most important foodstuff in Bengal and to rice beyond all other crops a deficiency of water at the critical periods of its growth spells failure . . . . Unless the rain is received exactly when required damage will result which cannot be made good by additional supplies. . . . The loss to Western Bengal owing to considerable fluctuations in the rainfall must be enormous."

Nor is Western Bengal the only part of the Province where irrigation works and the like are necessary. For other areas also they are required, as the following other extracts, for example, made by Mr. Townend from the Report of Irrigation Department Committee, show:

"The most serious problem is that presented by the dead and dying rivers of Central Bengal, especially in the Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore and Khulna districts. . . . We are inclined to think that the only solution will be found to lie in flushing these dead rivers and, so far as may be possible, the country on their banks with silt-laden water from the Ganges and its effluents during the monsoon." Page 11.

As regards Northern Bengal Mr. Townend quotes the following passages from the above-mentioned Report:

"A problem arises in parts of the Malda and Rajshahi districts where the floods are so heavy as to prevent cultivation during the monsoon but recede so quickly that no water is left available for cold weather irrigation." Page 9.

"In some parts at least, including certain of the districts of Northern Bengal, water now runs to waste which could be beneficially used either directly or by works designed to store it at times of flood for utilization during periods of scarcity. The districts of Malda, Dinajpur, and Rajshahi are cases in point: the country in question is difficult but the difficulties in question do not appear to be insurmountable." Page 10.

So it is an indisputable fact that Bengal stands in need of irrigation works and the like, and it is also a fact that they were not constructed to an adequate extent not because they were not required but for some other reasons. What were those reasons? Is it or was it because less revenue is or ever was collected in Bengal than in any of the provinces

for which there has been far greater capital outlay on productive and unproductive irrigation works, etc.? Such an assumption would be entirely groundless. Bengal has always yielded far greater revenue than has ever been spent in and for Bengal. Even at present Bengal has to part with a larger proportion of the revenue collected in it than any other Province. According to Sir N. N. Sircar, Law Member, Government of India,

"The percentages of total Provincial Revenues which are retained the Provinces are:

Bengal	..	..	30.3
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	..	..	78.4
Madras	..	..	69.5
Bihar and Orissa	..	..	92.8
Punjab	..	..	85.9
Bombay	..	..	40.7
Central Provinces	..	..	90.1
Assam	..	..	85.4"

It is clear then that Bengal has not been provided with irrigation works on an adequate scale neither because Bengal does not require irrigation, nor because Bengal could not pay for such works. The fact is, *Bengal has been neglected by the Government of India and the Government of Bengal.* The result is, there are more extensive decadent areas in Bengal than in any other Province.

### *Cost of Bengal Irrigation Works, Etc.*

Lest it be supposed that Government have been trying in recent years to be just to Bengal as regards capital outlay on irrigation works and the like, we append below a question asked and the answer to it officially given in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 13th March last.

At question time in the Bengal Legislative Council on Wednesday in reply to a question to Babu Kishori Mohan Choudhury as to the expenditures of the Government, year to year, since 1921 in opening out irrigation canals and resuscitating dead rivers in Bengal the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin made the following statement:

	Opening out Irrigation canals. Rs.	Resuscitating dead rivers. Rs.
1920-21	..	..
1921-22	..	1,27,545
1922-23	..	4,37,001
1923-24	..	7,56,794
1924-25	..	1,10,242
1925-26	..	* (—) 30,286

\* Represents refund of the unspent balance held at credit by the Land Acquisition Officer and adjusted during the year to the credit of the project.



	Opening out Irrigation canals. Rs.	Resuscitating dead rivers. Rs.
1926-27 ..	3,60,111	92,645
1927-28 ..	4,51,611	2,27,244
1928-29 ..	15,66,145	1,13,679
1929-30 ..	20,36,501	17,010
1930-31 ..	22,24,928	....
1931-32 ..	20,19,627	14,050
1932-33 ..	13,29,401	5,000
1933-34 ..	9,03,003	3,000

The capital outlay on irrigation works in different Provinces including Bengal shown in a previous Note included expenditure up to the end of 1931-32. Let subsequent expenditure in Bengal be added to her previous total. Even then it will be seen that Bengal stands far far below the other major Provinces in capital outlay on irrigation works and the like.

#### *Expiation and Compensation or Commercialism in Bengal Development*

That the Government of Bengal have been talking of "The Development of Decadent Areas in Bengal" and have introduced the Bengal Development Bill in the Legislative Council is a matter for satisfaction. It would be a matter for still greater satisfaction if the talk and the Bill led to beneficent action on an adequate scale without delay. In our opinion, Government ought to make amends for their past neglect, to the inhabitants of the decadent areas in Bengal by constructing irrigation works, works for the resuscitation of dead and dying rivers, etc., in a non-commercial spirit. But some clauses in the Bengal Development Bill and the prefatory quotation of sections 30 and 34 of the Bengal Tenancy Act in Mr. Townend's Note show that, if Government's efforts result in net increase in the produce of the land, they will demand and realize one-half of the value of the net increase. This would be justified if the areas had never been previously very productive. The increase, however, if any, would be increase over the *present* yield. But there is historical proof available to show that the decadent areas were formerly prosperous and became decadent owing to what Government did or omitted to do, or permitted to be done. Therefore, Government would not morally be entitled to recover any share of the

cost of restoring the areas to their former prosperity, as that would really be an act of expiation. But even if Government acted in a commercial spirit, the development of the decadent areas of Bengal would not be a bad bargain for their inhabitants who would have to pay in future for such development.

#### *Causes of Decadence in Bengal*

That the areas in Bengal which are at present decadent were formerly prosperous admits of historical proof. We shall here indicate only the lines of historical evidence.

The Burdwan division, particularly the Burdwan district, is a typically decadent area. That this area was at one time very flourishing is indirectly shown by the high land revenue demanded from it. Its area is 13,971 square miles and the revenue demanded is Rs. 86,08,801. The area of the Dacca division is 15479 square miles, but the revenue demanded from it is Rs. 52,45,282. As the authorities who originally settled the land revenue permanently had no reason to penalize Burdwan and favour Dacca, these figures show that Burdwan division had a very fertile and extensive cultivated area justifying its high land revenue. The former prosperity of Burdwan *district* can be brought out by comparison of its land revenue with that of Mymensingh district.

District.	Area	Land revenue demand.
Burdwan ..	3266 sq. ms.	Rs. 30,43,615
Mymensingh ..	6303 " "	" 9,26,010

Of course, the total area of a district or region may not always give a correct idea of its cultivable area and fertility. But in the cases of the Burdwan and Dacca divisions and the Burdwan and Mymensingh districts, it is a fact that the Burdwan division and district do not possess a higher percentage of cultivable land and greater fertility than the Dacca division and the Mymensingh district respectively.

The high land revenue of Burdwan fixed more than a century ago is not the only proof of its former prosperity. There are other proofs. In a paper on "Need for a Hydraulic Research Laboratory in Bengal," contributed to the *Acharya Ray Commemoration Volume*, Professor M. N. Saha, D. Sc., F.R.S., writes :

Central Bengal which enjoyed a salubrious climate during the whole of the Moghul age and early part



of the British rule is now fast becoming a wilderness owing to the blocking of the headwaters of her river systems (the Bhagirathi, Jelanghee, etc.), by sand deposits, and blocking of the inland waterways by railway bunds and bridges. West Bengal, which was as healthy and prosperous as Central Bengal up to 1850, has been converted into a malaria-stricken wilderness by the construction of railway bunds, and blocking of the headwaters of the Damodar and her tributaries.

It was the duty of the Government to prevent and remove sand deposits and to prevent the blocking of the inland waterways by railway bunds and bridges. "The construction of railway bunds" in West Bengal did not take place without the knowledge and permission of the Government.

Regarding the former prosperity of West Bengal Dr. Saha writes :

The problems of West Bengal stand by themselves. As Sir William Wilcocks and Dr. Bentley have very convincingly showed, the decline of this part in health and prosperity is due to the blocking of the Damodar and her branches by the bunds and canal, erected to safeguard the E. I. Ry. Wilcocks finds a surprising parallel between the fanshape alignment of the old Damodar branches and the alignment of the Cauvery system in the Tanjore district of Southern India. . . . At any rate, both Burdwan and Tanjore formed the richest districts of India in 1815, and, comparing the two, Hamilton wrote in 1815, "In productive agriculture Burdwan stands first and Tanjore second."

Referring to the history of the next hundred years, Dr. Saha writes :

What has happened within the last hundred years is well known. In 1831, when the Cauvery works began to give way to ravages of time, Sir A. Cotton, engineer, courageously undertook to restore the old anicut across the Cauvery erected by the old Hindu kings, and distribute the waters evenly in the delta . . . he was able to head up the waters for a considerable length upstream, and cause the waters to distribute evenly in the delta. The prosperity of the delta remained unimpaired and it is now not only more prosperous than Burdwan, but entirely free from malaria.

The Madras Presidency in general and Tanjore in particular were fortunate in having a practically sympathetic Government and a practically sympathetic, courageous and competent engineer like Sir A. Cotton. Not so Bengal and Burdwan.

The opposite process was undertaken by engineers in Burdwan. This was due to their dread of the Damodar. The devastating flood of the Damodar which occurred at intervals of 30 or 40 years was a thing of which everybody was afraid. But apart from the havoc which such catastrophic floods caused after great lengths of time, moderate floods as took place regularly were nothing but beneficial. They fertilised the soil, and washed away malarial larvae. But

when about 1850, the Government wanted to open the E. I. Ry., they determined to tame the Damodar, in order that the railway might be safe. They shut up the river within watertight compartments, closed the headwaters of the various branches, and *made breaches by men in the embankments, which were needed for irrigating their fields, a criminal act.*

The opening of the E. I. Railway enormously increased the trade of Calcutta, which was and is mostly in the hands of outsiders, and enabled people from outside Bengal to come in large numbers to the Province to make money ; but

it was done at a terrible cost to the people of the Burdwan Division. Two years after the opening of the railway in 1859, a terrible malarial epidemic broke out, and in Hugli alone half the population, *viz.*, one million out of two died within ten years. The density of population fell from 750 per square mile to 500, and according to Bentley, and other competent authorities who ascribed the outbreak of these terrible epidemics to the faulty system of railway embankments, the country has never been free from malaria up to the present time. The fertility of the soil fell by about 50 per cent, as the land was deprived of the riverborne silt.

In the opinion of the distinguished scientist,

If there be anything like justice in the world, the people of Burdwan are entitled to compensation from the parties concerned for all these terrible inflictions on them. It may be given to them by imposing a terminal or thoroughfare tax on the railway passengers and utilising the sum so collected for resuscitation of the old prosperity of the country by undertaking new constructive works according to well-laid-out and well-studied plans.

He adds :

Let nobody think that when I am proposing that the people of Burdwan are entitled to compensation, I am at all joking. Such a claim is supported by many engineers; Sir John Benton (in the course of the discussion on the Sara Bridge) says about a proposal to build railway bunds in North Bengal for the safety of the Sara Bridge :

"Any blocking of flood waters by these proposed new railway lines would increase the damage to crops, and in the light of experience of similar works elsewhere, this would lead to demand on the part of cultivators for compensation, or for increased waterway to pass the flood waters. The best efforts of the Railway Department would be devoted to show that the flood spills were not held up, and if these efforts failed, the railway authorities would have to provide increased waterway."

As in the opinion of Dr. Saha, with whom we agree, the people of Burdwan (and, we may add, of other decadent areas in Bengal) are entitled to compensation for their ancestors' and their sufferings and losses, we do not see any point in Mr. Townend's quoting the following sections of the Bengal Tenancy Act, as in the present case the "Landlord-Govern-



ment" was responsible for the deterioration of the land and is, therefore, morally bound to make all efforts for its improvement:

"The landlord of a holding held at a money-rent by an occupancy-riyat may . . . institute a suit to enhance the rent on one or more of the following grounds (namely): . . .

(c) that the productive powers of the land held by the riyat have been increased by an improvement effected by, or wholly or partly at the expense of, the landlord during the currency of the present rent; . . . [Bengal Tenancy Act, section 30.]

"(b) the Court may enhance the rent to such an amount as it may deem fair and equitable, but not so as to give the landlord more than one-half of the value of the net increase in the produce of the land." [Bengal Tenancy Act, section 34.]

### *Resuscitation of Dead and Dying Rivers in Bengal*

One of the means to be adopted for the development of decadent areas in Bengal is the resuscitation of her dead and dying rivers. That is a difficult problem, though its solution is not at all impossible. But it ought not to be attempted in an haphazard manner. All the methods and means should be scientifically studied. For such study it is essentially necessary to have a Hydraulic Research Laboratory in Bengal, as many countries in Europe and America have, and as has been pointed out in Dr. M. N. Saha's paper on the "Need for a Hydraulic Research Laboratory in Bengal" in the *Acharya Ray Commemoration Volume*. Either the Development Commissioner or the Minister of Agriculture, Bengal, would do well to put himself in communication with Dr. Saha at Allahabad and discuss with him how such a laboratory can be started.

There have been great changes in the river systems of Bengal. These changes have to be studied in order that similar changes in times to come may be anticipated and, if possible, prevented by river training and other means.

To illustrate the change in our river systems we give our readers as a supplement to the present issue a map of Bengal in the seventeenth century by Mattheus van den Broucke, who was the head of the Dutch Merchants in this Province from 1658 to 1664. The first edition of this map is not available. Our map is prepared from a photograph of the subsequent edition of the map to be found

in Valentyn's *East India*, Vol. V, which Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda, the distinguished archaeologist, has brought from the British Museum. We are grateful for the use of this photograph and thank him cordially for the loan. This map should be of use to all who may study the geography and topography of Bengal in the 17th and 18th centuries—for any purpose whatsoever.

### *Education in the U. S. S. R.*

Mr. George S. Counts, professor of Education at Teachers' College, Columbia University, since 1927 and author of "The Social Foundation of Education" and other works, has contributed an article on education in Soviet Russia to *The New Republic*. In it he writes:

Illiteracy, which probably amounted to almost 70 per cent in 1917, has been all but wiped out; the number of youngsters served by pre-school institutions, which scarcely existed at the time of the Revolution, reached almost nine millions in 1933; the enrolment in primary and secondary schools has increased from less than eight millions in 1915 to more than twenty-five millions in 1933; and the attendance at higher technical schools and universities has grown during this same period from about fifty thousand to five hundred thousand. Also in 1933 there were approximately eight hundred thousand students in the lower technical schools of the Union. The growth of scientific-research institutes has been even more remarkable. Between 1929 and 1933 the number of such institutes grew from 441 to 1,243 and the number of persons working in them from 22,600 to 53,000.

The expansion of various non-scholastic educational and cultural agencies has been equally impressive.

From 1913 to 1933 the number of titles of books printed increased from 28,132 to 49,880 and the number of copies from 113,400,000 to 518,319,000. At the same time the number of newspapers advanced from 859 to 6,674 and total circulation from 2,729,000 to 35,500,000. Figures of similar import might be given for magazines, libraries, theatres, moving pictures, radio, telephone, telegraph, post and travel.

By way of caution and of interpretation of facts he observes:

These statistics, of course, may be subject to considerable discount. There may be some actual padding of figures; many of the teachers and scientific workers must be poorly trained; much of the instruction is consequently of a relatively inferior grade; and the entire cultural apparatus has undoubtedly been pervaded by a shallow form of propaganda of the moment. Yet when all the necessary qualifications have been made, the fact remains that at least on the quantitative side the development of education in the Soviet Union during



the past seventeen years is without parallel in history. A psychological ferment has been started that already has profoundly disturbed and transformed the mentality of a population of one hundred and sixty millions. People have been taught to read; men and women have been told to hope; ideas have been disseminated on an unprecedented scale. Forces have been released that can never be controlled.

#### The Professor adds :

The student of Soviet education, however, would make a mistake if he should assume that this extraordinary development can be understood in purely quantitative terms. Superficially it may appear that this development has merely involved the introduction into a culturally backward country of institutions already existing in the other part of the world. Such, however, is not the case. While the experience of other people has been generously and systematically drawn upon, the result is a unique system of educational institutions—a system that is still in its early stages and that may be expected to change greatly during the next twenty-five years.

The underlying principle of the Soviet conception of polytechnical education is that "the program of the school should be organized about the productive forces of society."

But there are many branches of production. Which are to be regarded as most fundamental and therefore appropriate to form the focal point of educational endeavor? The Soviet leaders have selected the following four: the production of electrical energy, machine production and its electrification, chemical production and its electrification, and agricultural production. All Soviet children are made acquainted with these branches of production through a more or less systematic introduction to the principal tools and appliances employed, the qualities of the more important materials used, the primary processes of manual and mechanized labor and the foundations of the scientific management and planning of production. Theoretical instruction is related to practical reality by actual work on the part of children in the shops and land plots of the school and in associated factories, mills, shops, collective farms and motor-tractor stations. All of this is designed, of course, to give understanding and to mold social outlook rather than to develop vocational proficiency. As a consequence the program of the lower schools is quite as closely related to life as that of the institutions of higher education.

#### Education in India

The progress of education in India may be compared with that in Soviet Russia. The population of British India was 271,526,933, according to the census of 1931. The population of Soviet Russia was 165,768,400 on January 1, 1933. The variety of statistical information relating to Russia compiled in the previous Note from the American professor's article cannot be had relating to India. So

only the number of pupils in all classes of institutions in India and their increase during a certain period may be considered.

In British India the total number of male and female pupils in recognized and unrecognized institutions of all kinds and grades, from the primary to the university stages, was 7,851,946 in 1917 and 12,853,532 in 1933.

In addition to the information given in the American professor's article, the following figures are quoted from Joseph Stalin's *The State of the Soviet Union*, page 56

In the sphere of the cultural development of the country in the period under review we have the following :

(a) The introduction throughout the U. S. S. R. of universal compulsory elementary education and an increase of literacy among the population from 67 per cent at the end of 1930 to 90 per cent at the end of 1933.

(b) An increase in the number attending schools of all grades from 14,358,000 in 1929 to 26,419,000 in 1933. Of these, the number receiving *elementary* education increased from 11,697,000 to 19,163,000; *middle school* education increased from 2,453,000 to 6,674,000, and *higher* education increased from 207,000 to 491,000.

(c) An increase in the number of children receiving pre-school education from 838,000 in 1929 to 5,917,000 in 1933.

(d) An increase in the number of higher educational establishments, general and special, from 91 units in 1914 to 600 units in 1933.

(e) An increase in the number of scientific research institutes from 400 units in 1929 to 840 units in 1933.

(f) An increase in the number of club institutes from 32,000 in 1929 to 54,000 in 1933.

(g) An increase in the number of cinema theatres, cinema installations in clubs, and travelling cinemas, from 9,800 units in 1929 to 29,200 units in 1933.

(h) An increase in the circulation of newspapers from 12,500,000 in 1929 to 36,500,000 in 1933.

#### India and World Peace

The bearing of India's political status on world peace is indicated in Mr. Horace G. Alexander's article on "India and World Peace" in the March number of *No More War*. He says that it may be noted that

the rank and file (or should I say rather, the elite?) of those who expound international politics in this country give very little attention to India. . . . India is, by international law, part of the British Empire; so what happens there is not an "international" event. If 50,000 Indians are put in jail, the Foreign Ministers of Europe and America are not called from their beds at midnight to answer telephone calls; they do not catch the next plane to Geneva. They can afford to ignore it.

But as the No More War Movement is concerned with fundamentals, its protagonists and adherents look at such matters from a different angle.



We know (or ought to know) that the political world is still engaged, for a great part of its time, in a struggle for power. We were told in 1919 that that chapter was ended. Co-operation was to replace conflict for power. But it did not happen. The Austrian, German, Russian and Turkish Empires crashed or were despoiled. But the British, French, Italian, American, Dutch, Belgian, Portuguese and Spanish Empires remained, and still remain. And now we see the sequel. The Japanese have said—quite openly on occasion—"If you British are going to keep India for the good of the Indians, we don't see why we shouldn't conquer a good part of China and rule it for the Chinese." The Germans are saying, "If power is to be the final argument, we don't see why France, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Russia and the rest should be able to use that argument while we cannot use it." In fact, it is the failure of the old Empires, notably Britain, to part with power, that has brought the world to its present unhappy state of fear and suspicion. And for Britain the supreme test is India. Shall we hold on to India at all costs, as Mr. Churchill and his friends frankly demand, for the glory of the Empire; or shall we recognize that the Indian people alone have the right to decide what is to happen to their country? They may like to keep some special partnerships with this country or they may not; but at least it is certain that they will use the opportunity (as soon as we let them) to cut down British dividends, the British army, and highly-paid officials—in fact, to shake us off their backs. That is the great demand that all who care for the lot of the Indian masses make. And the rest of the world is watching. We in England may think this is an internal problem for the British Empire. Germans and Russians, Frenchmen and Americans, know better than that. They know that if Britain really gave up her power in India voluntarily, it would affect every other power-policy in the world. It would be the best proof that Britain was really willing to renounce power in favour of partnership. I believe it would have more effect than a sudden decision to scrap all our battleships, submarines and tanks.

### "Statolatry"

"Statolatry" today is a great problem. According to *The Commonweal* of New York it means,

The worship of the State, the introduction of mysticism, of fanaticism, which raises the State above its people, which tends "to monopolize completely the young, from their tenderest years up to manhood and womanhood, for the exclusive advantage of a party and of a regime based on an ideology which clearly resolves itself into a true, a real pagan worship of the State"—this movement began in Russia in 1917 and has overwhelmed Mohammedan as well as Christian nations. . . .

The ideas of dictatorship, Fascism, state-worship, nationalism, militarism, are triumphing in continental Europe and gaining in England.

### Importance of Mahatma Gandhi's Aim

In the same article Mr. Horace G. Alexander observes :

The decisive importance of Gandhi's movement in India lies just in this: at a time in the world's history when the only known way of destroying power has been by creating a greater power, he has tried to discover a method of destroying power without resort to the weapons of power. He has tried to set soul force against brute force. There is room for discussion as to how far his non-co-operation methods have in fact relied wholly on soul force, but his aim is surely of decisive importance in the world today.

So long as brute force is the final argument, all our peace-making efforts are liable to be overwhelmed. Once we have discovered an effective moral equivalent for war and for force—once we have cast out the lust of power and the greed of gain from our hearts and our politics—we can begin to build a Co-operative Commonwealth on solid foundations. India, under Gandhi's influence is helping to lay those foundations. Here are some of the reasons why the course of the Indian struggle needs to be carefully watched by all who are working for peace in the world.

It may be noted incidentally that it is stated in *World Events* that

Urged by many friends to establish at Geneva an international center of propaganda for non-violence as a technique for social change, Mahatma Gandhi has asserted that for the present his activities must be confined to India.

### Peace and Mutual Justice and Charity Among Nations

We read in the March number of *The Month*, London :

Peace among the nations must rest on a basis of justice and charity. Justice and charity mean a ready recognition of all rights, international and domestic. The nation which forcibly suppresses individual rights—the rights of each human personality to serve and worship God according to conscience, to form family or commercial or political connexions, to order his life as he pleases within the limits dictated by social well-being—in the interests of a spurious "nationalism," will not readily, as we find, recognize the rights of other nations. The whole idea, still too prevalent amongst the great Powers—those nations on whose will depend the issues of peace and war—of attaining security by armed predominance, is essentially selfish and unjust. None of these States has a right, in pursuit of its own interests, to aim at making the others less secure because less powerful than itself. In this crowded interdependent world, security can be rightly sought only by combination in support of peace—the might of all in the defence of each. This collective security necessarily entails a certain moderation of national egotism in view of the wider interests of mankind. An impossible ideal, we may be told, but why should national egotism be less controllable than individual? Moreover, the use of an ideal is that, if not immediately attainable, yet it can serve to direct policy aright and to detect the evil of measures and projects which run counter to it. The abolition of duelling remained an ideal for long before religion and common sense combined to abolish it. The union of law and liberty exhibited in every well ordered State



was once an ideal towards which men had to struggle out of the tyranny of licence and force. The whole progress of mankind is due to the idealists who never lost faith in human perfectibility, and the gradual controlling of man's natural selfishness in the service of higher and wider good. Every policy, therefore, that opposes peace secured by a common purpose, peace inspired by a common regard for justice, peace maintained by process of law, is of its own nature suspect. . . .

While the select few give expression to views like these, Japan goes on with her ambitious plans, there is the prospect of a war between Italy and Abyssinia, and Germany is arming. The only recent event which encourages idealists to hope and strengthens their faith is America's implementing of her promise to free the Filipinos.

### *Japan Undertaking a "Veiled Annexation" of All China*

The Marquess of Lothian has recently warned the British people in a newspaper article that Japan is now undertaking a "veiled annexation" of all China, and "that unless the other signatories of the Nine Power Pact make immediate and vigorous protest, it may soon be too late." Thereupon an influential American weekly observes :

The Marquess is more correct in his diagnosis than in his remedy; the Great Powers have repeatedly demonstrated that they have no interest in the welfare of China as such, but only in protecting their own interests in that part of the world. In the capitals of Western Europe it is easy to see a growing belief that it might be just as convenient to do business with the Japanese in China as with the Chinese themselves—an argument that is plausible now, however erroneous in the long run. Meanwhile, Japan goes ahead, quietly, implacably and apparently in accordance with a timetable written years ago. The next province to fall before her will undoubtedly be Chahar, where all the usual formalities of "border incidents," "internal anarchy," etc., are being punctiliously carried out. There is a popular impression in the West that Chahar is a wild, desert country that no nation in its senses could want to conquer. This impression, however, overlooks the rich iron reserves in this area, which constitute about 40 per cent of the existing supply of Chinese ore. China already exports one-half her iron, and of these exports, 99 per cent go to Japan. Japan's present policy of aggression is built on iron, and the entire Far East has only a scanty supply of this metal. The Japanese are now proposing to the Chinese to build new railways that would isolate Chahar from China proper and make it an integral part of Manchukuo.

British imperialists may feel as if they are between the devil and the deep sea. If the Chinese people had been able or allowed to establish a well-ordered and strong

government in their country and develop all its resources, China would have been looked upon as a menace to Britain's empire in the East. But now that Japan bids fair to establish a sort of protectorate over China or to dismember her and annex and exploit the provinces severed from the other parts, the Land of the Rising Sun cannot but be looked upon as a still greater menace.

If Britain required to make defensive preparations in India, perhaps recruitment would have to go on all over India—not merely in a few areas. But we are not a "war-worn" and "war-wise" people—we have not heard the whining of the bullet in the battle-field. Hence, in the opinion of Sir Philip Chetwode, and others like him, we are not fit even to make indirect suggestions.

### *Activities of Indian Legislators*

During recent weeks adjournment motions have been carried in the Indian and Provincial Legislatures, cuts have been made in many of the supplies asked for or the demands refused, the J. P. C. Report has been condemned wholly or in great part, the constitutional "reforms" "rejected" in advance, and so on and so forth. So far as practical results are concerned, such activities on the part of our legislators are futile, because Government will not give effect to these expressions of public opinion. Nevertheless, they have a moral value as showing that the country is being governed without the consent of the people. If it be said that the elected M.L.A.'s and M. L. C.'s do not represent the people, then the unrepresentative character of the Government would be still more patent. For the rulers do not obviously represent the people and the members of the legislative bodies also have no representative capacity ! When the Central and Provincial Governments in India are defeated in the Council Chambers, British imperialists generally assert that the oppositionists indulge in reckless opposition because they are irresponsible ! *Why not then make them sober by making them responsible ?—of course in reality.*

### *Old-Age-Pensions Abroad*

Not to speak of the unnumbered old men and women in India who are without any



income and are unprovided for by the State or by any non-official organization, there are innumerable young men and women who are unemployed. Hence, questions like unemployment insurance, old-age-pensions for workers, which are sometimes raised in the Central Legislature by friends of Labour, may appear to be outside the range of practical politics

at present. Nevertheless, it is good to know what other countries have done for old workers. Two tabular statements compiled by Mr. Abraham Epstein are printed below. He is the author of "Insecurity: A Challenge to America," and other books on social insurance, and is executive secretary of the American Association for Social Security, Inc.

### CONTRIBUTORY OLD-AGE-PENSION PLANS

<i>Country and Year of Original Law.</i>	<i>Classes Covered</i>	<i>Pensionable Age</i>	<i>Contributors.*</i>
Austria	1926 Salaried employees	Men, 65—Women, 60	W. E.
	1927 Wage earners	65	W. E. S.
	1928 Agricultural workers	65	W. E. S.
Belgium	1924 Wage earners	Men, 65—Women, 60	W. E. S.
	1925 Salaried employees	Men, 65—Women, 60	W. E.
Brazil	1923 Public-utility workers	No age specified	W. E.
Bulgaria	1924 All workers	60	W. E. S.
Chile	1925 Salaried employees	50	W. E.
	1925 Wage earners	55	W. E. S.
Cuba	1921 Transportation workers	No age specified	W. E.
Czechoslovakia	1924 Wage earners	65	W. E. S.
	1929 Salaried employees	Men, 65—Women, 60	W. E.
France	1928 All workers	60	W. E. S.
Germany	1889 Wage earners	65	W. E. S.
	1911 Salaried employees	65	W. E.
Great Britain	1925 All workers	65	W. E. S.
Greece	1923 All workers	Men, 65—Women, 60	W. E.
Hungary	1928 All workers	65	W. E. S.
Iceland	1909 All workers	60	W. S.
Italy	1919 All workers	65	W. E. S.
Lithuania	1922 All workers in Memel	No age specified	W. E.
Luxemburg	1911 All workers	65	W. E. S.
Netherlands	1913 All workers	65	E. S.
Northern Ireland	1925 All workers	65	W. E. S.
Poland	1911 All workers in former German territory	No age specified	W. E. S.
	1927 Salaried employees	65	W. E.
Portugal	1919 All workers	70	W. E. S.
Rumania	1912 All workers	65	W. E. S.
Soviet Union	1921 All workers	Men, 60—Women, 55	E.
Spain	1919 All workers	60	E. S.
Sweden	1913 All citizens over 16 years of age	67	W. S.
Switzerland (3 cantons)	All persons between stated ages	65	W. S.
Uruguay	1919 All workers	60	E. S.

### NON-CONTRIBUTORY OLD-AGE-PENSION PLANS

(Functioning at government expense)

<i>Country and Year of Original Law.</i>	<i>Pensionable Age.</i>	<i>Maximum Income Allowed for Pension Eligibility.</i>	<i>Maximum Pension per Year.</i>
Australia	1908 Men, 65—Women, 60	\$390†	\$227.50†
Canada, except Quebec and New Brunswick	1927 70	\$365	\$240
Denmark	1891 65	Varies according to need	Varies
Great Britain	1908 70	\$250	\$130
Greenland	1926 55	No limits set	No maximum
Guernsey, Isle of	1926 70	(Paid only to Eskimos—whites excluded)	\$104
Irish Free State	1908 70	\$200	\$130
Newfoundland	1911 75	\$196.25	\$130
New Zealand	1898 Men, 65—Women, 60	No limits set	\$50
Northern Ireland	1908 70	\$400	\$205
South Africa, Union of	1928 65	\$250	\$130
		\$270	\$150

\* W.—Workers, E.—Employers, S.—State.

†These figures have been translated into United States currency, using \$5 as the exchange rate of pound sterling; on December 22, 1934, the pound was quoted at \$4.94½.



### *What Separated Burma May Expect*

Whether India gets Swaraj or not, it is fondly *assumed* by many pro-separationist Burmans that Burma will get at least the same measure of self-government as India besides the supposed advantages of separation. It is said on the other hand that separation of Burma is advocated by British imperialists as it will be easier for them to control a *separated* Burma than Burma united to India. An earnest of what separated Burma may expect to get is indicated in the Government of India Bill now being rushed through the British Parliament. At present a Burman may be elected to the Council of State or to the Legislative Assembly if he is over 25. In the proposed Bill in case of the provinces of India, the qualifying age is prescribed as 25 for the lower Chamber and 30 for the upper one [see 5th Schedule sec. 1 (b)]; but in the case of the Burma Legislature, the respective ages are 25 and 35 years. According to the authors of the Bill, sanity and sense of responsibility for the elders dawn 5 years later in Burma. The real reason is to make the choice of the electorate restricted to men who are expected to be more impervious to popular will, and more amenable to the influence of the imperialists.

J. M. D.

### *The Karachi Shootings*

A Muhammadan named Abdul Qayum murdered in open court a Hindu named Nathuram who was being tried on the charge of having written a book in which he was alleged to have indulged in scurrilities against the prophet of Islam. Abdul Qayum was sentenced to death and hanged in due course within the Karachi Central Jail. His dead body was made over to his relatives on the distinct understanding that it will not be carried in procession. The relatives appear to have acted according to this condition and buried the corpse. But meanwhile a vast crowd of Muhammadan men, women and children had assembled. Some among the crowd exhumed the dead body and carried it in procession. The authorities concerned ordered the crowd not to do so and ordered them to disperse. This order not having been carried out, they were fired upon, with the

result that 35 persons were killed and some 100 wounded. In consequence, there was an adjournment motion carried in the Legislative Assembly.

The death of these 35 men and the wounding of so many more are deeply to be deplored. It is difficult to fairly apportion the blame for the incidents leading up to the shootings and the shootings themselves. Considering that whenever any one is alleged to have defamed or abused the prophet of Islam or done anything sacrilegious in the eyes of the Muhammadans, there is great excitement among them, which has sometimes led to the murder of the alleged offender, Government ought to have taken sufficient precautions to prevent any attempt on the life of Nathuram during his trial in court. The neglect to take such precautionary steps cannot but be condemned. In the next place, Government ought not to have made over Abdul Qayum's dead body to his relatives on any conditions whatsoever, as though they could control themselves they could not possibly control other Muhammadans, not having any power or influence over them. Finally, Government ought to have drafted so large a number of troops to the scene of occurrence as would have sufficed to prevent the assemblage of a vast number of persons or to have prevented any unruliness on their part, by simply overawing them without having recourse to shooting.

It would not be right to say that, because Government had not taken any of these steps, which acts of omission deserve to be strongly condemned, therefore the crowd should have been allowed to have their way. We are not in a position to say whether, if the crowd had not been dispersed by being fired upon, there would have been any public disturbance resulting in loss of life and property, or whether the crowd could not have been dispersed without firing. On these points, the opinion of official, official and non-official, or non-official committees of enquiry, if any, must be awaited.

As regards Muhammadan leaders of their community, we are constrained to say that they have not hitherto adequately exercised their influence to curb fanaticism and prevent the murder of non-Muhammadans on grounds of



alleged sacrilegious scurrility. So far as we remember, it is only Syed Abdullah Brelvi, editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*, who has publicly and in unequivocal language condemned such murders as wrong and un-Islamic. In addition to the paucity of such condemnation of these murders by Muhammadan leaders, there is the fact that Abdul Qayum was spoken of by his counsel as a martyr, without being contradicted by any Muhammadan leader, and in the cases of murders of Hindus by Muhammadans on alleged sacrilegious grounds, deputations of Muhammadan leaders generally wait upon the proper authority praying for mercy. It would not be a matter for surprise, though it is one for great regret, if all these facts tended to produce an impression on the Muhammadan public that such murders of Hindus were at least pardonable, if not also meritorious in addition.

We are not against mercy being shown to murderers. In fact, we should welcome the abolition of capital punishment altogether, and the adoption of reformatory punishments plus social security measures instead. But, so long as capital punishment remains on the statute book, we do not see any reason why the murders of Hindus by Muhammadans on alleged "religious" grounds should be considered less heinous than other murders.

### *India's So-called Dominion Status*

The following letter appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of 16th February, 1935:

#### **India and Dominion Status : Objections to the Preamble**

*To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.*

Sir,—The Government of India Bill has now passed its second reading, and the Secretary of State and Mr. Baldwin have assured the House of Commons and India that the Government accepts Lord Irwin's interpretations of the Preamble of the 1919 Act that it was "implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion status." There is no Preamble to the present bill. In its fifteenth schedule it proposes to repeal the whole of the Government of India Act of 1919. The Secretary of State now says that he will except the Preamble. But that Preamble also laid it down that Parliament alone was to be the judge of India's fitness for any extension of responsible Government, and Mr. Baldwin said at the conclusion of the debate on Monday that the House of Commons is the judge of the pace of progress or whether it should be retrogression or progression. It is that

part of the Preamble that has been so severely criticised in India as a blow at her amour propre, and to leave it standing is to perpetuate her quite understandable grievance. Lord Birkenhead, when he was Secretary of State for India, said that, that Preamble was "permanent and static." To retain it, even with the interpretation now put on one part of it by the present Government, is still to keep in being the very words that Indians most keenly object to.

One of the most serious points against this present bill was made by Colonel Wedgwood in the House of Commons yesterday. Before the Federation can come into being it is necessary to have the accession of the rulers representing not less than half the aggregate population of the Indian States. This accession is signified by these rulers by the execution of an instrument of accession which is really a treaty between the Crown and these Princes. The Indian Princes can nominate 33 per cent to the Lower House and 40 per cent to the Upper House—a very conservative and reactionary element that will effectively prevent a free democracy ever functioning in India until this Act is repealed and an entirely new Constitution framed.

Dominion status under this Constitution would be Dominion status for the Princes, landowners, and vested interests—the negation of all our promises to the masses of India.—

February 12.

Yours, etc.,

D. GRAHAM POLE,

Vice-Chairman and Hon. Secretary  
British Committee on India and Burman Affairs.

### *India Never To Have Self-determination*

Clauses 108 and 110 of the Government of India Bill were adopted in the British House of Commons after some discussions which showed that the so-called Dominion Status promised to India was of a different brand from that enjoyed by real Dominions like Canada, Australia, etc., and that the sponsors of the Bill intended that India should never have self-determination but should always be treated as a baby and a minor. To understand the discussion, it is necessary to quote the two Clauses. Clause 108 runs as follows, in part:

108.—(1) Unless the Governor-General in his discretion thinks fit to give his previous sanction, there shall not be introduced into, or moved in, either Chamber of the Federal Legislature, any Bill or amendment which—

(a) repeals, amends or is repugnant to any provisions of any Act of Parliament extending to British India; or

(b) repeals, amends or is repugnant to any Governor-General's or Governor's Act, or any ordinance promulgated in his discretion by the Governor-General or a Governor; or

(c) affects matters reserved to the discretion of the Governor-General in relation to defence, external affairs, ecclesiastical affairs, the tribal areas or British Baluchistan; or



(d) repeals, amends or affects any Act relating to any police force; or

(e) affects the procedure for criminal proceedings in which European British subjects are concerned.

Sub-section (2) of Clause 108 makes provisions relating to a Chamber of a Provincial Legislature similar to those in Sub-section (1) in relation to a Chamber of the Federal Legislature.

Clause 110 runs as follows :

110.—Nothing in this Act shall be taken—

(a) to affect the power of Parliament to legislate for British India, or any part thereof; or

(b) to empower the Federal Legislature, or any Provincial Legislature—

(i) to make any law affecting the Sovereign or the Royal Family, or the sovereignty, dominion or suzerainty of the Crown in any part of India, or the law of British nationality, or the Army Act, the Air Force Act, or the Naval Discipline Act, or the law of Prize or Prize courts; or

(ii) except in so far as is expressly permitted by this Act, to make any law amending any provision of this Act or any order in council made thereunder, or any rules made under this Act by the Secretary of State, or by the Governor-General or a Governor in his discretion, or in the exercise of his individual judgment.

The reader will now be able easily to follow the discussion in relation to these Clauses as cabled by Reuter.

Mr. C. E. G. G. Emmott moved omission of sub-paragraph (a) sub-section (1) of clause 108. Mr. Emmott said that while it was true that the sub-paragraph was subject to certain exception in clause 110, the sub-paragraph as it stood meant that the Federal legislature with the sanction of the Governor-General could amend the present Bill.

Mr. T. R. Lennox-Boyd supporting suggested that it was desirable to lay down that the consent of Imperial Parliament was necessary.

Sir Thomas Inskip said that it was desirable to appreciate what was being done in clauses 108 and 110. The Government had taken the middle course between retaining the existing position and giving the Federal Legislature unrestricted powers such as was conferred on the Dominions. *Certain subjects had been ruled out of the competence of the Indian legislature.*

Sir Thomas reminded in this connection that *the instruments of instruction directed the Governor-General and the Governors not to assent to a bill repealing or repugnant to an act of Parliament.*

Contesting Mr. T. R. Lennox-Boyd's assertion that India was receiving powers exceeding those of Dominions Sir Thomas Inskip reminded that *it had long been unconstitutional for Parliament to legislate for Dominion without its consent, whereas under the Bill, not only would it be legally and constitutionally possible for Parliament to legislate for India, but power was expressly preserved and the position of Indian Legislature would be nothing like so free as that of Dominion.*

Lord Wolmer suggested that with the Socialist Government and a Socialist Viceroy it might be possible to comply with Indian demand for repeal of some safeguards contained in the Bill.

Sir Thomas Inskip replied that *this was impossible, as clause 110 provided absolute prohibition.*

Duchess of Atholl argued that British-Indian delegates in their memorandum to the Select Committee and also at discussions at Round Table Conferences showed that Indians desired power to

Sir Thomas Inskip stated that Government was amend the Constitution Act.

prepared to insert provision making it clear that words "expressly permitted" in clause 110 did not refer to clause 108. (*Italics ours. Ed.—M. R.*).

Mr. Emmott eventually withdrew the amendment and clauses 108 and 109 were adopted.

Sub-paragraph (d), sub-section (1), clause 108 prohibits the introduction of any Bill or amendment which "repeals, amends or affects any Act relating to any police force, without the Governor-General's previous sanction". Major Attlee wanted to remove this prohibition.

Moving the omission of sub-paragraph (d) in sub-section 1, Major Attlee inquired why it was necessary.

Sir Samuel Hoare said that rash meddling with police rules or legislation might soon destroy the morale of the Government. It was therefore decided that previous assent was necessary for such legislation.

The Amendment was negatived.

Sir Samuel Hoare's explanation shows to what a great extent police autonomy was intended to be synonymous with the morale of the Government.

Sub-paragraph (e) prohibits the introduction of any Bill or amendment which "affects the procedure for criminal proceedings in which European British subjects are concerned," without the previous sanction of the Governor-General. Major Attlee wanted the omission of this sub-paragraph also.

Major Attlee also moved omission of sub-paragraph (e).

Sir Samuel Hoare explained that the matter with which it dealt caused bitter controversy in the past but successful compromise had been reached after the 1919 Act. Indian delegates to the Select Committee and Round Table agreed that every advantage was to be gained by continuing the compromise.

The Amendment was withdrawn.

These so-called delegates to the Select Committee and the so-called Round Table Conference were mere nominees of the British Government, and hence, if they "agreed," their agreement cannot bind the people of India. The procedure for criminal proceedings in which European British subjects are concerned is a constant reminder of the Capitulations which Turkey, for example, did away with on becoming really self-ruling. No really self-



respecting nation can willingly agree to extra-territoriality of any sort for foreigners in its homeland.

### *Criminal Wastefulness of an Indian "Dignitary"*

The following paragraph appeared in *The Times* of London on February 25, 1935 :

An unusual inquiry has been received by a firm of brush manufacturers. It is in relation to the supply of a hairbrush with a backing of gold and gems costing £400, and is for an Indian dignitary. The same firm state that export business during the week showed a marked increase over the corresponding period of the Fair last year, particularly to the Dominions.

We do not know who this senseless "dignitary" is who can think of indulging in the criminal folly of spending £400 for a hair-brush when millions of his countrymen go without full meals and wear rags all their lives.

### *Separation of Burma by Breach of Faith with Burmans*

In a letter which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of February 23 last Major Graham Pole has shown that, though the Burmans have indicated by a majority of votes that they do not want to be separated from India, they are going to be separated in spite of the fact that the Prime Minister had declared that their decision would be the determining factor in the matter. The text of the letter is printed below.

At the conclusion of the Burma Round Table Conference, of which I had the honour to be a member, the Prime Minister said that he was authorised by the colleagues in his Majesty's Government to make a statement on the choice before Burma of separation from the Government of India or federation as a province under the new Constitution. The actual words of the Prime Minister were—

"The first step is to ascertain whether the people of Burma endorse the provisional decision that separation should take place. . . .

"The people of Burma will be in a position to decide whether or not they are in favour of separation from India. His Majesty's Government consider that the decision might best be taken after a general election at which the broad issue had been placed before the electorate. . . .

"That decision will determine whether, on the one hand, Burma should be independent of India with a Constitution on the lines set forth above, or, on the other hand, should remain a province of India with the prospects indicated in the proceedings of the two sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference—and in this connection it should be remembered that if an Indian Federation is established it cannot

be on the basis that members can leave it as and when they choose."

A general election, for the election of eighty members of the Burma Legislative Council, on this issue as fixed by the British Government was held in Burma in November, 1932. The first results were as follows:

For federation with India	..	42
For the separation of Burma from India	29	
Neutrals	..	9

The figures were given in the discussion between the Joint Committee and the delegates from Burma on December 6, 1933, as: anti-separationists, over 500,000; and separationists, 270,000. The voting was therefore nearly two to one in favour of continuing the association with India and against separation.

When the Burma Legislative Council met in December, 1932, although they adopted, after a protracted debate, a resolution in the first clause of which they opposed the separation of Burma from India on the basis of the Constitution outlined by the Prime Minister, they at the same time were opposed to the permanent federation of Burma with India. As the Secretary of State pointed out in the Burma White Paper which he laid before the Joint Select Committee, "such a resolution indicated no clear choice between the alternatives that had been placed before the Council." A further meeting of the Council was held in April and May, 1933, which, in the words of the Secretary of State, "proved entirely unfruitful."

The difficulty has been heretofore to get the clear issue put before the Burma Legislative Council and voted on without amendments. This, however, has now taken place in a special session of the Council that began on February 14. The vote was taken yesterday, when the proposal that Burma should remain as a province in the new Indian Federation was defeated by 47 votes to 37. It should be noted, however, that this vote did not fulfil the Prime Minister's conditions that "the people of Burma" would decide whether or not they are in favour of separation from India, because the Government officials in the Burma Legislative Council, who in all previous debates have, quite rightly, remained neutral, this time voted for separation. These Government officials number sixteen. The Burman elected representatives, however, by 37 votes to 31, voted to remain in the Indian Federation.

But the result of the vote is entirely misleading, as it is only obtained with the votes of officials nominated by the British Government. "The people of Burma" have given their decision by two votes to one in the general election and through their elected representatives by 37 votes to 31 in the Burma Legislative Council. It would look therefore as if Burma had voted for inclusion in the Indian Federation and against the separation that is being forced upon the majority against their will and with a Constitution that is condemned by all—whether separationists or federationists.

### *"Birth Control" in the Council of State*

Some members of the Council of State wanted that Government should provide clinics for instruction in contraceptive means and methods. The request was made to



combat alleged over-population, as if it has been proved to demonstration that that is a remedy. The request has not been complied with. The subject of birth control by the use of contraceptive methods, drugs and appliances cannot be dealt with within the compass of a brief note in a magazine meant for the "general reader." We merely note that in India books and pamphlets dealing with the above are freely advertised in many periodicals and newspapers, the drugs and appliances are similarly advertised and all these are sold in shops to anybody who pays for them and are also transmitted by post. This indiscriminate supply of these things has produced grave moral evils, if not physical injury also. We have been told that contraceptive literature and appliances have been found in some girls' hostels or hostel. In such an ultra-modern country as the United States of America there is no such license. The present Federal birth control laws there are printed below :

1. Section 211 of the U. S. Penal Code . . . . Prohibits sending or receiving by or from the U. S. mails information or supplies pertaining to the prevention of conception. *There are no exemptions.*

2. Section 245 of the U. S. Penal Code . . . . Also prohibits sending or receiving, by or from, an express company or other common carrier information or supplies pertaining to the prevention of conception. *There are no exemptions.*

3. Sections 311 and 312 affect the territories and districts of the U. S. and are even more rigid in their prohibition, as they forbid even the possession of any article intended for the prevention of conception. *There are no exemptions.*

Violations of these laws are subject to \$2,000 or \$5,000 fine or imprisonment for five years; or both.

Even such a leading champion of contraception as Mrs. Margaret Sanger and persons of the same way of thinking in America as herself do not want the kind of license that exists in India. They want the present Federal laws relating to contraceptives to be amended in the manner indicated in the Bill printed below.

#### A BILL

To amend sections 211, 245 and 312 of the Criminal Code, as amended.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That sections 211, 245, and 312 of the Criminal Code, as amended, are each amended by adding at the end thereof the following :

"The provisions of this section shall not be construed to apply to any book or information relating to the prevention of conception, or article, instrument, substance, drug, medicine, or thing designed, adapted, or intended for the prevention of conception

for use (1) by any physician legally licensed to practice medicine in any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, or by his direction or prescription; (2) by any druggist in filling any prescription is a licensed physician; (3) by any medical college legally chartered under the laws of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia; or (4) by any hospital or clinic licensed in any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, except in any State in which such use is prohibited by the law thereof."

The least that Government ought to do in India without any avoidable delay is to put a stop to the unrestricted advertisement and sale of contraceptive literature, drugs and appliances.

### *Education Among Hindus in Hyderabad*

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has appointed a committee for reorganizing the educational system in his state. The standing committee of his Hindu subjects have drawn the attention of His Exalted Highness to their educational backwardness in the course of a well-reasoned statement, which deserves serious attention on his part. The following table shows the state of literacy of the Hindus in the state :

Year.	Hindu Population	Literates.	Illiterates.	Proportion of literates per 1000.
1881	8893181	264507	8628674	29.8
1891	10315249	346475	9569774	33.7
1901	9870839	250257	9630572	25.4
1911	11626375	267041	11359334	23.0
1921	10656453	277056	10379397	26.0
1931	12176727	405614	11761113	33.3

During the same period the progress in literacy made by the Muhammadans in the State is as follows :

Year.	Muhammadan population.	Literates.	Illiterates.	Proportion of literates per 1000
1881	925929	45752	880177	49.4
1891	1138666	70147	1068519	61.6
1901	1155750	63110	1092640	54.6
1911	1380990	81260	1299730	59.0
1921	1298277	115522	1132755	89.0
1931	1534666	158859	1375807	103.5

These figures should be considered in the light of the fact that out of the total population of 14,436,148 in the State 12,176,727 are Hindus and 1,534,666 are Musalmans, that is to say, the number of Hindus is about 8 times that of the Muhammadans.

Various other tables have been given in the statement. One great obstacle in the way of the Hindus making progress in education is that Urdu has been made the medium of



instruction in the secondary, collegiate and university stages and even in some primary schools, though it is the mother tongue of a minority in the state consisting mostly of Muhammadans. Linguistically the population of the state has been divided into four main groups, namely, those speaking Telugu, Marathi, Canarese and Urdu, numbering 69,72,534; 37,86,838; 16,20,094; and 15,072,72; respectively. So only 10.4 per cent of the population speak Urdu.

### *Italy and Abyssinia*

*Reuter* has cabled from Rome on the 30th March that the Abyssinian Government have decided to break off direct negotiations with Italy and are demanding arbitration, to which the Italian Government may reluctantly agree only as a last resort. Another *Reuter's* telegram of the same place and date informs the public that in Italy "war material is being manufactured as quickly as possible", and "that no one could tell when war might break out"—"it might happen unexpectedly within a few days following a period of political tension." Sad news.

### *Prize-winners at Delhi Art Exhibition*

The judging committee for awarding prizes for works of merit at the fourth annual Art Exhibition of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, New Delhi, consisted of Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni (retired Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India), Mr. Imre Schwaiger and Mr. Sarada Ukil. The prize-winners were: Kshitindra Nath Majumdar, S. N. Bendre, Aswini K. Roy, Kalipada Ghosal, Ranada Ukil, Sudhansu Chaudhuri, P. R. Roy Indu Bhusan Gupta, Anil K. Roy Choudhuri Indu Bhusan Ghosh, S. B. Ray, S. V. S. Rama Rao, S. G. Phadke, Miss P. Choudhury, D. V. Joshi, and Miss Ambika Dhurandhar. The works of the Tagores, Sarada Ukil, and S. N. Gupta and those exhibited from the London collection were not for competition.

### *The Press Under the Control of Capitalists*

The evils complained of in the London *Inquirer's* leader on March 2 last and by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Lord Elton are not confined to England but have begun to invade India too. *The Inquirer* writes:

The *Daily Mail* presented its readers, during the days set apart for the India Bill debate, with reports of twelve speeches of Churchillian opponents of the Bill and only one speech in its favour, and the Associated-editor of that paper upheld his policy in a letter to *The Times*. Similarly, Mr. Churchill's broadcast speech on India occupied a column of *The Daily Mail*, but Mr. Baldwin's speech was not reported at all. . . . What happened with regard to the India Bill has happened before and will happen again; accuracy is sacrificed to a cause and truth may "go hang" if only the cause may be served. The million must read what one man dictates. But *The Daily Mail* stands not alone in thus subordinating truth to policy or worse still, to the whim of the moment. To a greater or less extent this is the practice of every popular newspaper. Thus the public has perforce to read, not a fair and accurate report or summary, however condensed, of a Parliamentary debate but a few selected speeches representing one particular angle on the debate or else a botched-up "story" which as often as not wholly misrepresents what was said or by clever insinuation and emphasis gives a false impression of what actually took place. As Lord Elton said the other day in a letter to *The Times* this pollution of political information at its source is "a threat to the very existence of democracy." Democracy demands not only a free but also an honest Press.

### *The British weekly adds:*

We suggest that the first duty of a newspaper is to provide news. But news ceases to be news, in any authentic sense, just as soon as it is doctored and twisted to suit a special purpose; it then becomes a "story" which the millions who make up the clientele of the popular press swallow, for the most part, with sickening facility. The public exists on twisted news.

### *It concludes:*

Let the newspaper be as bright as may be, so long as it deals in facts and sets out to present the truth. If it represents a point of view or a particular political trend let that point of view or that trend be amply even vigorously expressed in the proper place, but let news be separate from views and news be honestly given. That is the sort of newspaper democracy needs and the only newspaper that deserves our respect and our support.

The Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald said at a meeting of the Newspaper Society in 1934:

If, day after day, news is mixed up with views to such an extent that the views steadily encroach on the news, and the news is relegated to some obscure corner in the column, while the views are turned up into a two-column headline—in the end no democracy can survive. That sort of thing is weakening the fibre of our people's minds, is depriving them of an opportunity of coming to sound judgments, as the result of reflection upon the truth.

Lord Elton wrote in a letter to *The Times* (London); February 12, 1935:

Is not the drying up, or pollution, of its sources of political information a threat to the very existence of democracy? Again, is it either right or expedient that any individual, however personally capable or upright he may be, should be able by mere money-power to purchase a control over a great nation's



sources of information, a control which is so far-reaching and can be so arbitrarily employed?

### *Professor Ganesh Prasad*

Professor Ganesh Prasad, D. Sc., whose recent death has been a great loss to intellectual India, occupied the chair of the Hardinge Professor of Mathematics in the Calcutta University for a long term of years. He possessed mathematical genius of a high order and was the author of many original papers and of some text-books in higher mathematics. He was an enthusiast so far as the subject he professed was concerned, so much so that on one occasion in the course of conversation with us he casually remarked that it was not hard and dry but that there was much poetry in mathematics! The acquaintance of the editor of this *Review* with Dr. Ganesh Prasad dated from the nineties of the last century when the former was principal and the latter a professor of the Kayastha Pathshala College of Allahabad. The writer then noted his zeal for maintaining the high ideals of the teaching profession and discipline among students.

### *Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani*

Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani's untimely death at the age of 53 is a loss to the Congress party and to the country at large. He was one of the few Muhammadan leaders who were counted as Nationalists. His adherence to the Congress movement was the cause of much suffering on his part. He had also to suffer much in connection with the *Kishan* (Peasant) movement in the United Provinces. His self-sacrifice in the cause of the country was well-known. On various occasions he gave expression to his nationalistic views. For example, in supporting the main resolution adopted at the All Bengal Nationalist Muslim Conference held at Faridpur on the 27th June, 1931, he said :

The advocates of separation wanted to erect insurmountable barriers between Muslims and other communities. To this the nationalists could never consent. The evil effect of separate electorates was apparent from the fact that the spirit of separation was penetrating among the Muslims themselves. Votes were being canvassed on the basis of a candidate being a Mirza or a Pathan, Qureshi or Ansari, Shiah or Sunni. That distinction between caste and caste which ruined the Hindus was creeping into the democratic Muslim ranks. Under any democratic institution the Government was bound to be in the hands of the majority. If the electorates were separate, the minority groups were sure to be the worst sufferers.

### *Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill*

It was Mr. K. C. Neogy who originally drafted a Bill for the reservation of the coastal traffic of India for Indian-owned and Indian-managed ships. Subsequently he transferred the charge of the measure to the capable hands of Mr. Sarabhai Haji. The Bill did not become one of the laws of the land. The latest Bill drafted for the purpose of reservation of coastal traffic is the one by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed. It would be good if it could be passed during the life of the present Central Legislature, of which there is not much hope. As the future constitution of India would be more retrograde than the present, it would be far more difficult to pilot such a measure through it.

### *Japan's Withdrawal from the League*

If a member-state wishes to cease to be a member of the League of Nations, it has to give notice of its intention two years in advance. Japan did so two years ago. And now, with effect from the 27th of March last, Japan's withdrawal from the League is complete. Practically, of course, it had long ceased to be an adherent of League principles. There are some other member-states which pay only lip homage to those principles:

### *Conscription in Germany*

That Germany had been for years past making military preparations—whether for defensive or offensive purposes need not be discussed, as that is generally a distinction without a difference—was surmised by many observers. It is no longer a surmise. Conscription and other steps taken by Herr Hitler became startling items of public news some weeks ago. There is going to be conscription of labour, too, in Germany.

When every country which can, has been increasing its armaments, why should not Germany? Even the proverbial worm turns when trodden under foot—and they erred who thought that Germany was worse than a worm. And they erred also who thought that the Versailles "Peace" Treaty was not like a pair of heavy spiked boots to crush Germany under.

It would be lucky for Europe if the European situation did not lead to war.

### *Anglo-Russian Rapprochement?*

Moscow, Mar. 29.  
The toast of King George was proposed by M. Litvinoff at the end of his speech on the Soviet



Foreign policy at a reception to Mr. Anthony Eden last night. This is the first time that the Royal toast was proposed by a Soviet Minister of Russia.

M. Litvinoff declared that very friendly Anglo-Russian relations were essential for the preservation of peace.

The Eden-Litvinoff conversations lasted an hour and a half, and both political and economic aspects of Anglo-Soviet relations were discussed. It is understood that both the Ministers noted with satisfaction the improvement in both spheres and discussed the ways of further improvement.

Mr. Eden's visit to Stalin is taking place at 16 hours at Stalin's office. M. Molotoff will also be present at this interview, which is likely to be prolonged and important.—*Reuter*

### *Women's National Karachi Tragedy Relief Fund*

BOMBAY, Mar. 28.

On the appeal of Sheikh Abdul Majid, M.L.C. and other leaders, the women of Bombay have started a fund called the Women's National Karachi Tragedy Relief Fund with Mrs. Mahommed Ali, Sreemati Amrit Kaur and Mrs. Parbati Ramchand as organizing Secretaries. The Secretaries of the Fund have issued an appeal requesting all men and women of India to contribute to the Fund. In the course of the appeal they have quoted Mahatma Gandhi's words that the "Muslims are the flesh of our flesh and bones of our bones" and said that women are above communalism and all communities should give relief to the sufferers of Karachi who are mostly widows and orphans. Contribution are to be sent at Dinshah Mahal, Bombay.—*United Press*

Immediately after the gym and mournful tragedy the Hindus and Moslems of Sindh also have been raising funds for the relief of the sufferers, and Hindu doctors have been rendering great help to the wounded.

We strongly support the Bombay appeal.

### *Recruitment for the Indian Army*

It is surprising that a soldier like Sir Philip Chetwode, who complains so bitterly of the lack of imagination and brain slackness of his junior officers, who calls upon them to come out of their smug "military shells" where they develop a supercilious narrowness of outlook in every direction, should show himself as a typical military victim of tradition and fixed ideas. In opposing Mr. P. N. Saprú's resolution in the Council of State, urging that recruitment to the Indian Army should not be confined as at present to certain classes only, but should be thrown open to all Indians, he did not put forward a single argument which went beyond the usual platitudes about the so-called martial races of India. On the prospect of forming a national army in India he delivered himself of this familiar Tory cliché :

If India was a country like England, or Germany, or France, where the inhabitants are all of one race and practically of one religion [as if there were never any bloody religious wars at one time in Germany and France, and as if there is no anti-semitism, Nordic fanaticism, lynchings and racial pogroms in the West today. Ed., *M. R.*], where physical development is very similar, one to the other, from one end of the country to the other [anthropologists will have something to say to that.\* Ed., *M. R.*], it would be a different thing. But India does not resemble that sort of situation at all. Imagination almost boggles at the task of fitting together such a jigsaw puzzle as the attempt to recruit people from all over a continent like India for the army and make it into a homogeneous working proposition. [As if the present army is a homogeneous one and does not take account of the differences of caste, creed, clan, sept, and even *gotra* as well. Ed., *M. R.*]

Now, as the political intelligence of soldiers is never very highly developed, it is not necessary to take ebullitions of this sort too tragically. But one could at least expect a more realistic approach to the purely military problem from Sir Philip Chetwode. Referring to the aspiration of Indians to serve the country as soldiers, which he considered to be perfectly natural, the Commander-in-Chief said that "the people who were responsible for forming the army—the best army they could get", could not always fulfil that aspiration. Why does Sir Philip assume that responsible Indian leaders are less anxious to maintain the efficiency of the army than he? That an army must be efficient is no more than an axiom. But efficiency may well be a fetish and, what is more regrettable, a screen for something else. Many Indians believe that in the military vocabulary the word efficiency stands for efficiency of a particular sort. It is at any rate certain that in the absence of a well-defined standard, the judgment of military authorities have varied widely from time to time.

Lord Roberts expressed his deliberate opinion that the martial spirit had entirely passed out of the Marathas of the Deccan, who,

\* Says one great authority: "To a superficial observer Europe appears as a vast ethnic cosmopolis, where it is impossible to distinguish who is who." As regards Germany, it is interesting to recall the story of the State Anthropological Commission. This Commission had carried out a thorough anthropological survey of Germany, but the publication of the results was forbidden by the last Emperor lest it might disclose the racial disunity of the Empire. About France, the authority quoted just now, a French man, says: "The population of France is an ethnic complex. . . . She appears to contain even more ethnic types than Italy."



however, brilliantly vindicated their reputation during the Great War. As the Marathas nowadays constitute a whole regiment of the Indian Army, and as Sir Philip Chetwode himself says that the classes from whom the army is recruited now make the most efficient soldiers, it may be assumed that he does not consider the opinion of Lord Roberts justified. The case of the Khas or Chhetri Gurkhas furnishes another example of the capriciousness and political prejudice of the military authorities. There was a time when the army officers swore by the Magars and Gurungs alone of the many tribes of Gurkhas. The Chhetris then lay under a suspicion of inferiority. It is interesting to note how this class has gradually rehabilitated its character. A military manual of 1887 wrote about the Chhetris that they were "more or less under Brahminical influence and more national than the Magar and Gurung, and, therefore, less suited for employment," while the latest manual on the Gurkhas by Captain Morris, published under the authority of the Government of India, says that there is not the least doubt about the soldierly qualities of the Chhetris, as was proved by their uniformly good record during the War.

Thes Sikh were also formerly considered to be "boasters and cowards" and, as Cunningham relates, "in 1842 they were held... to be unequal to cope with Afghans and even to be inferior in martial qualities to the population of Jammu Hills. In 1845, the Lahore soldiery was called a 'rabble' in sober official despatches. . . This erroneous estimate of Sikhs tainted British counsels until the day of Pheroo-Shuhur." It is possible to go on multiplying such instances of wrong judgment. But one of the most edifying of these is to be found in a despatch of the British Military Attaché in Berlin in 1907 in which he reported to his Government that the Germans were quickly becoming a non-martial race and would not be a nation to fear in twenty years!

### *Revival of Military Spirit*

But even if the argument about efficiency be admitted in the necessary and desirable sense, a not less important question remains, and that is the question of the fair use of the human resources of India. This point was raised by Mr. P. N. Saprú when he said that it

was "necessary to develop a martial spirit in the people of India, and if enlistment cut out large areas, killing the martial spirit of the people living therein, it would be difficult to invoke that spirit at a time of national crisis." This is perfectly true. Every military organization which aims to be national husbands and utilizes the whole of the man-power at its disposal. It does not take just what it wants for the sake of efficiency of a sort and wastefully cripple and maim what it does not want. There is no country in the world which, like India, has undergone a deliberate and organized effort at demartialization, and it cannot also be claimed that the treatment of the inexhaustible man-power of India by the British military authorities has been economical and fair. This puts the whole question of efficiency on a different footing with us.

### *"Taking Inferior Material."*

In course of the same debate, Sir Philip Chetwode said that the Indian Army could not enlist people who were either of no use or of small value. What was the use, he asked, of taking inferior material?

This question is best answered by asking a counter-question. Sir Philip Chetwode has recently expressed himself very strongly about the capacities and education of the British officers. Yet why does he keep them in the army instead of filling up the commissioned ranks with keener men from the German, French and Japanese armies? Because, we suppose, he believes there is nothing inherently wrong with these men and also because he thinks they will improve with some change in the method of training. We Indians also believe the same thing about our own men. A person who had any stake in the country and among its people could not have spoken in the manner Sir Philip has done.

It is very easy to prove this with other British examples. The inferiority, of the physique and intelligence of the recruits to the British Army has become rather pronounced as compared with the standards of a previous age. This phenomenon, which is causing great anxiety to the Army authorities, becomes more conspicuous still when compared with the superior development of the Dominion soldier. This was brought to the notice of the Army authorities in England as far back as the



Boer War. Replying to a question about the quality of the colonial troops, before the Royal Commission, Lieutenant-General Kellykenny said: "Yes, I think they were superior to our men, not perhaps in discipline and training, but in intelligence." while Field-Marshal Lord Wolseley stated: "There is no doubt that the men who came from the colonies were first-rate. You could not have better men in every way. They were handy men, they were men of a superior class to our soldiers, certainly of superior intelligence and therefore if you compare them with our troops I should say they were better than any troops that I know of in Europe." This difference became very noticeable still during the great war. It is described in one of the most poignant passages of C. E. Montague's beautiful book "Disenchantment":

"You might survey from beginning to end a British attack up a bare opposite slope, perhaps with home troops on the left and Canadian or Australasian troops on the right. You had already seen them meet on roads in the rear; battalions of colourless, stunted, half-toothless lads from hot humid Lancashire Mills; battalions of slow, staring faces, gargoyles out of the tragical-comical-historical-pastoral edifice of modern English rural life; Dominion battalions of men startlingly taller, stronger, handsomer, prouder, firmer in nerves, better schooled, more boldly interested in life, quicker to take means to an end and to parry and counter any new blow of circumstance, men who had learned already to look at our men with the half-curious, half-pitying look of a higher, happier caste at a lower. And now you saw them, all these kinds, arise in one continuous line out of the earth, and walk forward to bear in the riddled flesh and wrung spirit the sins of their several fathers, pastors and masters."

No wonder the Canadians and the Australians came to regard themselves as the storm troops of the British Army. It has never been suggested for this reason that the British personnel in the British Army should be replaced by men from Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

### *Some Harijans' Threat*

The following resolution having been passed at a conference of Pallas of Kulitalai Taluk in the Trichinopoly district:

"This conference has intended to request all members of the depressed classes in the country either to convert themselves as Muslims, or Christians, if Mahatma is not pleased to change his present views on the Temple Entry Bill, or to agitate for separate electorates to the depressed classes, as it has been awarded by the Premier of the British Cabinet."

Mr. Gandhi has written as follows in *Harijan* with reference to it:

"Men who threaten to leave their religion because some other men, pretending to be of the same faith as they, prevent them from entering temples, have little religion about them."

Concluding Mr. Gandhi says that religion is essentially a personal matter. It is one between oneself and one's God. It should never be made a matter of bargain. I would respectfully advise the leading spirits behind the conference of Pallas of Kulitalai to treat the question of temple entry on its merits, and not to confuse the issue by the threat contained in the resolution.

What Mr. Gandhi says is true. But the "depressed class" people are not to blame. Who ever taught them what true religion is? And even if all the Hindu temples were thrown open to them, they will not *ipso facto* become spiritually uplifted. Generally speaking, the temples are places of merely ceremonial and formal worship. Are any efforts generally made in them to unfold even to "high" caste Hindus the spiritual treasures of Hinduism?

The attitude which the Hindu "depressed" classes ought to take up is that the treasures of Hindu spirituality and culture are as much *their* heritage and birthright as of the "high"-caste Hindus. In worldly matters, is there any son so foolish as to give up his paternal property because his brother despises him? There is none. In spiritual matters, too, the "depressed classes," who are as much the children of Hinduism as the Brahmans, should not give up their birthright and heritage because some or most "high"-caste people despise them. The former should stick to Hinduism and make it more progressive. Hinduism is nobody's monopoly. It is for all who call themselves Hindus.

The "depressed class" people and even numerous "high"-caste men do not understand the superiority of Hinduism. In the orthodox Muhammadan and other Semitic faiths their scriptures contain in their opinion all the truths and injunctions revealed once for all in some past ages. There is no progressive revelation in these faiths. Hinduism, on the other hand, is progressive, and has been becoming wider, more liberal and more inclusive with the process of the suns. The teachers of the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj may not be considered Hindus by orthodox Hindus. So we need not refer to what they have taught and practised to liberalize religion. But Chaitanya and Ramakrishna, for example, are considered Hindus even by the most orthodox Hindus. Nobody can say and show that all



that these prophets of Hinduism have taught are contained in the previously existing Hindu scriptures.

### *Commendable Move to Help Harijans*

A Bombay Government communique announces that their instructions to Local Boards sometime ago to put up notices in front of wells erected from public funds that they are open to all castes and classes without restriction, an experimental measure, have proved successful and now Government have decided to direct local bodies to take steps to put up such notice boards on all public wells.

The Commissioners of divisions will be asked to obtain from local bodies through Collectors annual reports for the next two years on the steps taken by them to erect and maintain notice boards and on their effectiveness. Government hope that this step will considerably help the depressed classes.

### *Manu Redivivus : "Scheduled Castes"*

In the Bengal Legislative Council on the 29th of March last,

In reply to Babu Satish Chandra Ray Chowdhury, the Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Reid made a statement on the castes or tribes included in the provisional list which objected to inclusion, through caste associations or through individuals.—Bagdi, Bhumali, Dhoba, Hadi, Jalia Kaibartta, Jhalo Malo or Malo, Kalwar, Kapali, Khandait, Konwar, Lohar, Mallah, Muchi, Nagar, Namasudra, Nath, Nuniya, Oraon, Pod, Pundari, Rajbanshi, Raju, Santal, Shagirdpesha, Sukli, Sunri.

Castes from which objections were received and which were included in the final list.—Bagdi, Bhumali, Dhoba, Hadi, Jalia Kaibartta, Jhalo Malo or Malo, Konwar, Lohar, Mallah, Muchi, Namasudra, Nuniya, Oraon, Pod, Rajbanshi, Santal, Sunri.

The reasons for the inclusion of castes in the list are contained in the Government Resolutions No. 122 A.R., dated the 16th January, 1933; and No. 915 A.R., dated the 28th December, 1934. The protests against inclusion were considered with reference to the criteria which Government had adopted for inclusion, the requests of Divisional Commissioners and District Officers and other materials in the possession of Government.

Here are men refusing to be labelled as socially and politically backward, and yet Government label them as such in spite of their protest! Government's inconsistency is also quite evident. When the provisional list was originally published, Government said that castes like the Telis and Kalus had been excluded from the list because they had objected to be included therein. Why then have the objections of other castes been disregarded by Manu redivivus?

Hitherto some men have been spoken of as the keepers of the conscience of some other men. Here we have some officials who regard themselves as the keepers of the social status of whole classes of men!

### *No General Release of Detenu During the Royal Silver Jubilee*

It has been an immemorial custom that auspicious occasions like coronations and their jubilees are marked by various kinds of rejoicings and acts of royal clemency causing rejoicings, like a general release of prisoners. This is not to be the case on the occasion of the coming Silver Jubilee of His Majesty King George V's accession to the throne. There is to be no general release of the Bengal detenus.

New Delhi, March 29.

Answering Mr. Chattopadhyaya in the Assembly regarding the release of detenus on security the Home Member said that the question of treatment of detenus under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act rested with the Government of Bengal who for sometime past had reviewed their cases and granted such relaxations as might be possible, consistent with security. "I understand the Government of Bengal are considering the question of release on security in suitable cases as one of the methods of relaxing the restraints, but there is no question of any general release of detenus. This policy has the full approval of the Government of India."

—Associated Press

Evidently the 2509 young men and women of Bengal, detained for an indefinite period without charge or trial, are sufficiently formidable in the eyes of Government to warrant a departure from immemorial custom.

### *Bengalis in Bihar*

At a well attended meeting of the Domiciled Bengali Association on March 25 under the presidency of Mr. Upendra Nath Mukherji, it was resolved that the Government be moved for the reservation of seats in the new reformed Council of Bihar at least one member from each division from among the domiciled Bengalis. A copy of this resolution has been sent to Rai Bahadur Satish Chandra Sinha, M.L.C., a member of the Franchise Committee, for placing it before the Committee for consideration.

In reply to certain remarks of Babu Nanda Kumar Ghosh in the course of a recent debate in the Bihar Council the Hon'ble Mr. Whitty said:

"The idea has been that when a domiciled community takes its place in the province, it should take its place with the other natives of the soil as part of the people of Bihar and Orissa," (and that as such) "it is not necessary to give them separate representation."

The Muhammadans, Christians and Aboriginal inhabitants of Bihar are also part of the people of Bihar. Why then are seats reserved for them? But that is not the whole point. The fact is, the Bengalis are not allowed to take their place with the other natives of the soil. They are discriminated against in the



matters of recruitment for and promotion in the public services, of admissions to educational institutions and award of scholarships, and of obtaining contracts of public works, and when there is to be retrenchment in any department, it has been definitely ruled that Bengali officers are to be retrenched first.

We are not in favour of reservation of seats for any class or community. But as some communities in Bihar have got seats reserved for them, though there is no crusade against them carried on by the majority community, the Bengali community, against which there is such a crusade, and whose language, culture, customs and personal law are different, ought to have seats reserved for it, to be filled by joint election.

Bengalis form 5.6 per cent. of the population of Bihar. Muhammadans in C. P. form 5 per cent of the population. Non-Muhammadans in N.-W. F. P. form less than 5 per cent of the population. Yet seats have been reserved for both and with weightage. Hence Bengalis, who form 5.6 per cent of the population of Bihar, should have some seats reserved for them.

### *Home Rule for the Philippines*

President Roosevelt has approved of the recently drafted constitution for the Philippines for introducing home rule there. Mr. Frank Murphy, the present governor of the Islands, is expected to summon the legislature shortly in order to arrange a nation-wide plebiscite on the acceptance of the constitution. The Filipinos, who have been under American rule for less than 40 years, have already got more power in the government of their country than Indians in theirs. It is they who have drafted the new constitution, of which we gave some idea in our last February number, pages 252-3. They are now going to get home rule, which is to lead ultimately to independence.

### *Scheme for Industrialization of the Panjab*

Recently in the Panjab Council Sir Gokulchand Narang, Minister for Industries, announced the Panjab Government's intention in regard to the programme of industrialization of the Panjab. He said, the Government were thinking of introducing a bill having for its object the encouragement of investment in industries, for helping the existing enterprises

and expediting industrial schemes generally. The bill will provide for grants and subsidies to the new industries. Government assistance through the purchase of shares and expert advice, etc.

As the Panjab Government has not been artificially reduced to a state of chronic insolvency, the scheme may fare better than the similar Bengal scheme.

### *Princely Donation for Tuberculosis Sanitarium*

Seth Ramkumar Banga, a leading Marwari merchant, has made the princely donation of Rs. 2,82,000 for the establishment of a tuberculosis sanitarium at Kalimpong. This timely gift deserves high commendation.

### *Tear Gas Instead of Bullets*

Recently Mr. Winston Churchill asked Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, why, following the example of America, tear gas is not used in India instead of bullets for dispersing unruly crowds. Sir Samuel has promised to consider Mr. Churchill's suggestion. The promise is good if it be not a device for shelving the question.

### *Indian Companies Predominate in Life Insurance Business*

That the Indian insurance companies are doing more life insurance work in India than non-Indian insurance companies was shown by an answer given by Sir Joseph Bhore in reply to a question put by Mr. Govind Das in the Assembly. It was stated that in 1928 the Indian companies earned an income of Rs. 3,34,78,000 (including business done outside India) as against Rs. 2,90,25,000 earned by non-Indian companies in India on life insurance business. Incomes on life insurance in respect of subsequent years were:—In 1929 Indian companies Rs. 3,89,67,000 (including foreign business); non-Indian companies Rs. 3,42,91,000. In 1930 Indian companies Rs. 4,09,02,000; non-Indian companies Rs. 3,88,90,000. In 1931 Indian companies Rs. 4,51,00,000; non-Indian companies Rs. 4,10,39,000. In 1932 Indian companies Rs. 4,96,20,000; non-Indian companies Rs. 4,23,46,000.

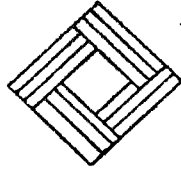
In the case of fire, marine and miscellaneous the non-Indian companies did many times more business in India than did Indian companies.

If, as ought to be the case, foreign life offices in India were subjected to the same laws as the Indian life offices, the latter would be still more prosperous. As regards fire, marine and miscellaneous insurance, Indian companies could do much better business if the industries, shipping and commerce of India were mainly in the hands of Indians instead of their being in the hands of foreigners.



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## NEW TRENDS IN PRACTICAL EDUCATION

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M. A., Ph. D.

**T**HE various social institutions with which we are familiar at the present time have been brought into existence and developed in the process of social evolution to meet the needs of the human race. The most significant among them are the home, the temple, the school and the State. Each of these stands in a particular and distinct relation to society as a whole and to the individuals that compose it. Since they have come into being in response to a demand for means to meet specific needs and satisfy the yearnings of man, the distinct function of each is fairly well established and understood. As civilization advanced and became more and more complex and, consequently, made greater and more varied demands upon all of its institutions, these were modified from time to time, and their functions enlarged in order to adjust them to the ever changing and growing needs of society. It is apparent that such frequent readjustment of the social institutions to the increasing requirements of our complex civilization is necessary in order that they may efficiently fulfil the functions for which they came into being; for, their continuance is justified only so long as they adequately perform these functions.

Being bound as we are by old-fashioned traditions of education and social habits, we seem, however, to be too slow in adjusting

our educational system to the demands of modern life. As a result, in India, more than in any other country in the world, the problem of unemployment amongst the educated young men is most acute. And yet what little thought is given in our country to the problem of educational reconstruction! The progressive States of the world are constantly re-evaluating their educational ideals, and reshaping their educational objectives in accordance with modern social and economic needs. Among the leading and prosperous nations of the world, America undoubtedly stands foremost, and even she realizes more than ever that a vast majority of her people seek an education more for its bread-and-butter value than for its cultural gains. Further, she is aware that a healthy development of her industrial life also depends on the kind of education her young people receive. This outlook is making the American system of school education not only scientific but largely utilitarian, and the demand for practical education keeps increasing in proportion to America's industrial and commercial progress.

### INDUSTRIALISTS HELP IN CURRICULUM CONSTRUCTION

Since the World War, American educationists have been giving much serious thought to the problems of educational reorganization



and curriculum construction. Moreover, the unprecedented economic depression has also brought about a more pressing demand for practical training in schools. To meet this new situation, the old high school buildings are now being so modernized and the new ones under construction are being so built as to make provision not only for class-rooms, libraries and laboratories but also for workshops. The old plan of providing in each school a manual training room with a few tools has been found to be too inadequate to give the kind of training that is now demanded. The high school of today is required to make provision for a full department of industrial education. The trade schools, where boys acquire along with English and Mathematics, the fundamentals of certain occupations, is not, of course, new, but the conversion of ordinary high schools to this plan even in small towns is relatively new; this, in fact, marks a new departure in school education. And this tendency to industrialize the high school is seen clearly in the fact that many courses, hitherto undreamt of in a public school curriculum, are now being added to it in increasing numbers. This change has made it necessary even to create regular advisory bodies of industrial leaders to help in formulating vocational training programmes in schools.

On the part of the Industrialists also, there is a growing realization that the old method of entrusting the whole responsibility for planning technical education to the school is not only unsound but unsuited to meet the demands of modern industry. Hence industrial experts are led to take greater interest in the technical education given in schools. This situation has resulted in bringing about a closer co-operation between the school and industry. Naturally, the school now seeks help from the neighbouring manufacturers without any hesitation. So also the industrialists, in turn, feel free to contribute generously to the mechanical equipment of the school; more than that, they take pleasure in acting in an advisory capacity and in giving the school pupils opportunity for practical experience in their own establishments. For instance, a school in California offers a course in foundry practice in co-operation

with a local Harvester Machine Company, and the course is given in the factory itself with one of its expert foremen as instructor. Another high school in the same State has developed its whole plan of industrial and vocational education, comprising courses in power-plant engineering, laundry and linotype work, in co-operation with local industries.

Another interesting school, being situated in the centre of limestone industry in Indiana, offers a course in stone drafting together with work in the production of finished materials for buildings. It is interesting to note that local companies have undertaken in this case to furnish a mill and provide the necessary equipment for such work. In some schools prominent industrialists serve as part time instructors and vocational advisors.

Information collected by the Federal Bureau of Education shows that a number of schools have taken up various phases of aviation industry also, since it has become nearly as popular in the United States as the motor industry. Instruction on airplane engine is generally combined with the four year work in auto-mechanics. Another promising field is the radio industry. The demand for service men in radio industry led the Vocational Education Board of Essex County of the State of New Jersey to make a survey of the radio manufacturing factories nearby and, on the basis of information collected, to offer courses on the various phases of the radio industry and train pupils for positions in radio service stations and manufacturing plants. These are only a few of the methods that have been recently introduced in the United States to make practical training a part of the high school education. According to the Report of the Bureau of Education there are already over two hundred and fifty schools in forty States of the Union which are thus readjusting the high school courses to meet the demands of their industrialized society.

#### EDUCATIONAL ENTERPRISE OF MANUFACTURERS

Another interesting development in the direction of practical education is the founding of trade schools by industrial



companies in order to prepare prospective employees for their concerns. There are over thirty such schools which have already been organized by the American manufacturing concerns. Some of them offer courses in engineering and train machinists, tool-makers, draftsmen, pattern makers, moulders and electricians. Railroad Companies, Public Utilities and Automobile Manufacturers are doing much at present in this direction. A Bridge Building Company, for instance, offers courses in its school in structural drafting, mechanics and bridge engineering. Another Company which makes plush offers courses in dress-making, fabric analysis and loom fixing. In order to teach its customers how to use their machines and get the maximum amount of good, a Linotype Company has established a school to train its salesmen and its customers. Another concern which manufactures scales, gives instruction in its school in mechanical drawing, wood and metal pattern-making and so forth. A school maintained by a steel manufacturer carries its pupils through a complete high school course in co-operation with the community high school.

The strictly trade schools, which are increasing in large numbers, are interested mainly in training workers, including mechanics in electricity and motors. The Henry Ford School, for instance, has over 2,500 pupils learning to be skilled workers in automobile factories and motor works. There are also schools for training students for country life and farm occupations. It will interest our readers to note that in the United States there are now barbers' "colleges" to train young men to be skillful barbers; candy (sweets) "colleges" for professional candy makers or confectioners; printing and painting schools where paper hanging, show-card writing, sign printing and the like are taught, are also found in good numbers. Besides these, other schools have now been founded where instruction in watch-making, jewelry engraving, photography and piano tuning, and also in the building of musical instruments are now being given. Even a shoe and leather work department is maintained by a school which teaches methods in salesmanship and the manufacturing of leather goods.

#### MONOTECHNICAL SCHOOLS

A still more novel feature of the present tendency toward practical education is that of making vocational training give a comprehensive view of an industry rather than merely of one of its minor functions. Based on this new idea in vocational training, some new schools have been founded which carry their pupils through all the phases of a single industry. This type has now come to be known as monotechnical in contrast to the polytechnical school, and it is organized in such a way as to present what might be called a vertical view of industry rather than prepare students for various occupational levels. In the textile high school of New York, which is founded on this principle, a bale of cotton goes through all the processes of the modern textile industry down to becoming even finished dresses. A journey through the seven-story school building is like a journey through a well-organized village devoted entirely to the many activities of a great industry. From the basement, with its huge cotton machines, to the upper floors with their chemical laboratories for testing dyes, art rooms, photography department, studios and craft shops, the school offers a great variety of training.

Students are trained in the knowledge of buying and selling textiles and in the techniques of advertising them. Through the course of accounting and cost-finding, they are trained to estimate the cost of various kinds of textile production. A secretarial course familiarizes them with textile terminology, thus enabling them to carry on correspondence about designs and other branches of the industry. For the pupil who wishes to be an interior decorator, there is architectural instruction along with the science of room arrangement and decoration. A model apartment provides a background for experimentation, where pupils put into practice the result of class-room work. They study fabrics, paint or paper walls, and investigate the relative merits of imitation wood panelling and other materials. Courses in biology, chemistry and physics are giving to train them to experiment with different dyes and become experts in textile analysis. Thus the school strives to give its pupils a broad view of



industry and train them in a variety of ways so that upon graduation they will have little or no difficulty in finding suitable employment. How much this type of education is appreciated even in the United States is seen from the fact that the enrolment in the Textile high school was only 84, when it was started as an experimental school a few years ago, and now it has an enrolment of over 6,000 day pupils and 2,500 evening students.

#### LIFE-CAREER-MOTIVE IN EDUCATION

Those educational experts who are back of this innovation in vocational training declare that this type of school possesses two valuable advantages over the polytechnical school-type. In the first place the mono-technical school teaches practically all the phases of a single industry to its pupils. This ensures some form of employment or other to its graduates irrespective of business fluctuations. If the phase of the industry in which they have been working becomes out-moded, they will be able to adapt themselves to newer ideas or to transfer to some other branch of the same industry without much trouble. The other idea is the recognition of individual differences and the educative value of motivation. In a school like this some branch of work or other could always be found to fit almost any intelligence. Through shop-work, the motor-minded individual, that is, the pupil who achieves expertness by doing things with his hands, often becomes interested in academic subjects. He finds it necessary to know the principles of chemistry, biology and physics if he is to solve his problems in the processes of textile-making. This sort of motivation is what is needed in schools. The late President Eliot of Harvard used to say that the child should select his vocation early so as to give his education the benefit of a "life-career-motive." When a boy has selected his life's work and realizes that what he is doing in school is a preparation for it, he is on the road to success, and there will be no trouble about his conduct or his application to his studies.

In fact, motivation is the greatest need in our school work today. Many boys and girls come to school just because they are sent there by their parents; some of them are

driven to school much against their own will; they have no interest in their school studies because they know that the school work is so unrelated to their life that it can lead them nowhere. The lack of interest, low grade of work and general carelessness and indifference are the greatest menace to our school work today, and the only solution to this problem is to adapt the school programme to the present needs of the pupil and, as early as possible, inspire him with a "life-career-motive." Psychologists tell us that a study is worthless to the pupil unless he becomes self-active in it, and to become self-active in his school work, the pupil must have a motive that will arouse his interest. When the pupil has been inspired with a life-career-motive, his enthusiasm will lead him not merely to master his vocation, but also his other studies. His English, his history, his mathematics will not mean the same to him when he sees that they will help him along the line of his chosen work. In fact, the purpose of vocational inspiration is not to narrow the pupil's interests, but to broaden them and make them many-sided.

#### STUDENT LABOUR IN VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Student labour has now come to be recognized by many schools in the United States not as a mere device to aid poor students to pay their way through school but as an essential part of a true education. Student labour provides, they declare, a unique opportunity for intellectual, cultural and moral training as well as the soundest kind of vocational guidance. In recognition of the educative value of student labour, some institutions are now making labour a part of the regular supervised course of study. The instructor in charge of student labour gets an intimate knowledge of the pupil's characteristics. Hence through student labour he is enabled the more quickly to recognize and detect weak points that should be remedied and strong ones that should be encouraged. Even the relatively new movement of vocational guidance has its soundest expression in student labour, because a large proportion of student workers follow in after-life the trade which they learnt incidentally in school. A great number, in fact, find them-



selves and their life work through such labour.

In recognition of the educational principle involved in this, many schools are offering now what are called exploration courses to help students in their vocational choice and in discovering their natural aptitudes. The exploratory experiences provided by the school fall under three heads: (i) try-out experiences provided in the school through the subjects of the curriculum; (ii) try-out experiences provided in the school by means of extra-curricular activities; and (iii) try-out experiences provided outside the school in part-time, after-school or summer employment. By providing such exploratory experiences, the modern school tries to find out the interests, aptitudes and capacities of its pupils and guide them in choosing their vocations wisely. How much superior this method is to the usual haphazard industrial method or the artificial trade school plan! There is nothing quite like experiences in helping one to decide whether or not he will like a particular occupation. Through supervised labour American schools seek not only to help their pupils to find occupations suited to their taste and natural aptitudes but to inculcate a proper attitude toward work or labour.

#### THE SCHOOL IN INDIA'S SOCIAL PROGRESS

While America is thus moving fast towards the industrialization of her school, our educationists are still emphasizing the cultural aim in education. To say that making the vocational study the foundation of our school work would eliminate the higher conceptions of education is to take a short-sighted view of the process of social evolution. Education in the past has not been a determining factor in our social progress because of its purely cultural aims. The real factor in social progress is the economic. Civilization never goes ahead of economic progress. The world's present civilization was made

possible only by the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. In that revolution the old order of things was overthrown and new forces were put into operation which made possible the high standards of civilization which the West now enjoys. As a result of economic progress in the United States, the common man enjoys today cultural advantages such as did not fall to the lot of kings in past ages.

But in India our education, being altogether too literary, has made the problem of the educated unemployed simply overwhelming. Every new year finds the problem growing more and more acute. Education in India has already become a distinct detriment to the earning capacity of our youth. It sends persons into professions which are already overcrowded, and robs them of the spirit of adventure which is so essential to business success. Education, we must bear in mind, is as much a commodity as wheat or rice. Wages, including salaries, are governed by the supply of service in relation to demand. By increasing the supply of the present type of educated young men, we have not only lowered their individual wages but placed many thousands more on the market for jobs which do not exist. It is no wonder, therefore, if education in India results only in aggravating the problem of unemployment and increasing economic misery. That the cultural aim in education is altogether too inadequate to meet the requirements of modern society is made all too clear by the sad plight of our educated young people. We can ill-afford to continue much longer to turn out from our schools young boys and girls unfitted to cope with the problems of making a living. If we are to save them from enforced idleness and its most demoralizing effects, we must bring about a proper adjustment between the cultural and the vocational phases of education, and provide our pupils practical training in schools to fit them for a useful and productive career in life.



# AN OUTLINE OF THE COLONIAL POLICY OF FRANCE

## THEORY AND PRACTICE

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### I

“**E**N France, tout le monde est un peu de Tarascon.”\* In France everybody is a bit of Tarascon. This quixotic strain in the French character probably explains why France was attracted to colonial adventure at all, because, unlike England, she had none of those “imperious” necessities such as increasing population, the growth of industries and the like, usually associated with England’s overseas expansion. The French colonial empire, at any rate in its present form, is recent in origin and is the creation of a handful of forceful personalities like Jules Ferry, Paul Doumer, Galliéni, Lyautey and Albert Sarraut. This is all the more surprising, because until recently the colonial cause was never popular in France. Every fresh annexation of foreign territory was hailed with violent outbursts of popular passion. Individuals responsible for France’s colonial destiny had to reckon with strong opposition, both in parliament and out. How, then, reconcile this apparent paradox? In the first place, it is important to realize that in France parliamentary control of colonial policy has never been more than a democratic fiction (indeed, this is more or less true of other colonial powers also)—the real control being always exercised behind the scenes by the permanent officials attached to the various *bureaux* responsible for actual administration. Secondly, a *fait accompli* in colonial matters has hardly ever evoked any real opposition, especially when the French public was convinced of its advantages, economic and otherwise, to the *Metropole*. Nevertheless, the reality of anti-colonial opinion in France must not be minimized. It was real enough, but it would be vain to interpret this in terms of any idealistic motives, above all in those of the revolutionary traditions of France—namely, liberty, equality and fraternity.† On this point, Jules Ferry, the progenitor of French imperialism, has probably given the final verdict. “*Dira-t-on que les conquêtes coloniales sont contraires aux principes de 1789 ? C’est là, répond Jules Ferry, de la ‘métaphysique politique.’*”‡ Should one say that

the colonial conquests are contrary to the principles of 1789? ‘There’, replies Jules Ferry, ‘we face only political metaphysics.’ Indeed, France owes some of the most important developments of her present colonial régime to the radicals like Jules Ferry, Paul Doumer and latterly Albert Sarraut. Finally, the most significant fact remains that the French colonial empire, as we know it, is almost entirely the creation of the Third Republic. On the other hand, Clemenceau—“*ce rude lutteur*,” that vigorous fighter—opposed colonial expansion, because it meant a dispersion of the resources of France—a treachery to the *Patrie* (Fatherland). His eyes and the eyes of those, who followed him, were fixed on the Rhine; they believed in the conservation of power for the final day of reckoning. Working from the same hypothesis, the protagonists of French colonial expansion drew the opposite conclusion. Colonies to them were vital for France, politically and economically, for the ultimate vindication of her rights on the Rhine. *La France outre-mer*, France overseas, was not only to act as a school for military training, but also to restore the international balance of power, and lastly to provide a market of ever-increasing importance to, and a source of raw materials for the growing manufactures of France. French public opinion has thus travelled the whole gamut of hostility, followed by a phase of neutrality to colonial adventure, until today most Frenchmen are reconciled to their colonial empire, and even convinced of France’s “*rôle civilisateur*,” (civilizing rôle) in the colonies.\* It is one of the paradoxes of human life that in national as in private life, self-interest often seeks justification in idealistic motives. It thrives best in an emotional penumbra.

The student of history will observe a certain parallelism between the history of France’s colonial fortunes in the past and that of her own political vicissitudes at home. Until the eighteenth century, at any rate, the political eclipse of France in Europe had always been followed by a period of more or less complete colonial obscurity. This is all the more striking because of her former colonial possibilities. France had

\* Those who have read Daudet’s famous novel, “*Tartarin de Tarascon*” are familiar with Tartarin, a mixture of Don Quixote and Falstaff.

† This remark naturally refers specifically to the politicians.

‡ Cf. Georges Hardy’s “*Histoire de la Colonisation Française*,” Paris, 1928, p. 237.

\* Cf. Albert Sarraut’s speech entitled “*L’Homme notre parent, le frère de couleur*,” Man, our relation, the coloured brother, delivered before the students of L’Ecole Coloniale (1923), and quoted in Pierre Lyautey’s “*L’Empire Colonial Français*” (Paris, 1931), p. 513.



anticipated England in almost every part of the world, but, with a few important exceptions, nowhere did she succeed in consolidating her position. Nearly everywhere France had to recede before England's advance. The Seven Years' War (1756-63) dealt a death-blow to France's colonial ambitions in North America, Africa and the East. The subsequent period of her colonial struggle is consequently barren of results. It is in the main a sullen attempt to strike England at her weakest points. France's help in the War of American Independence, Napoleon's invasion of Egypt (the strategic importance of which as the gateway to India was fully realized by him), the conquest of Algeria under the July Monarchy are illustrations, the real nature of which is unmistakable. But these are after all isolated acts, having none of the consistency which marks the colonial policy of France during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

The Franco-Prussian War is the dividing line which separates the positive new colonial policy from the negative policy pursued in the preceding period. Unlike before, the defeat in war instead of being a prelude to inaction in colonial matters inaugurated an era of feverish activity. For reasons indicated above, every circumstance, above all the ascendancy of the *bourgeoisie* in the Third Republic, favoured a re-orientation of French colonial policy. The foundations of what has been aptly called France's Second Colonial Empire were thus securely laid. The French Colonial Empire at that date, consisting of a few outposts scattered all over the globe, has gradually expanded, until now it has become the second greatest colonial empire of the world. Indeed, so phenomenal has been this expansion that, between 1870-1914, the French overseas territories increased from a million kilometres to 8½ millions, while her colonial population showed even a larger increase, *i. e.* five millions to fifty.\*

The belated appearance of France in the scramble for colonies has left a firm impress on the course of the colonial history of France. For one thing, its beginning is characterized by a lack of direction and flexibility, which British apologists claim as special features of British colonial expansion. The French went on adding one territory after another to their overseas empire, but there had not yet evolved a special French theory of colonial administration. The only thing that the French knew was that colonial possessions existed for the one and only purpose (and, indeed, this was the price for reconciling French public opinion to overseas expansion), namely, the enrichment of the

*Metropole, i. e.,* Paris, symbol of France. The *pacte colonial* of Colbert still coloured people's attitude towards the colonies.\* Not that other European powers had different views on colonial questions, but what marked her out from others was that when France started on her colonial career she lacked the colonial experience of others, and was therefore hopelessly inept in her practical approach to colonial administration. France found herself in the stage in which England was before the forties of the last century. The unusual brutality, which has marked the progress of France's colonial expansion, is also largely due to her late arrival in the colonial gamble. Unlike England, France found herself before an empire largely consisting of territories unfit for settlement. The colonies of exploitation (*colonies d'exploitation*) loom proportionately larger in her empire than, say, in the British Empire. The dual attitude, so conspicuous in British colonial administration, is thus absent from the very beginning in French colonial policy. It had, to all intents and purposes, no *raison d'être*. It is precisely for this reason that self-governing institutions, apart from the comparatively limited control over local finances granted in recent years, have made no headway in the French colonies. It is in the nature of things that the colonies should in the main remain entirely subservient to the *Mère-Patrie* (mother-country). On this question, the leading politicians of France are in complete agreement.† The comparison often drawn between the British and the French colonial methods on this score, to the latter's disadvantage, of course, is thus somewhat unreal. The overseas French settlers in the colonies being small and being mainly confined to Algeria, a department of France herself—in short, a bit of France *outré-mer*, have never presented quite the same problems as the English colonials have—to England. Algeria's nearness to France has disposed of a problem, which in the case of the English had to seek a different solution. The policy of direct rule over one's kith and kin, especially after the secession of the United States from the British Empire, could not very well be continued for long in those parts of the Empire where Europeans had settled. Indeed, even Mr. S. H. Roberts, a strong critic of French colonial policy, himself admits that "all of the

\* The *pacte colonial*, according to M. Hardy, "se ramène à ces deux termes : la Métropole fonde et entretient les colonies, les colonies enrichissent la Métropole." (op. cit., p. 53.)—The colonial pact resolves itself into two terms. The Metropolis founding and developing the colonies and the colonies enriching the Metropolis. See also Chap. II. (General Economic Policy), Roberts, op. cit., p. 34 et seq.

† Referring to Maurice Long's projected political reform in Indo-China after the War, Mr. Rebert says: "It was clearly laid down, even by Maurice Long, that France was in no sense to abdicate her authority. The natives were not to be supreme." (op. cit., p. 476).

\* Cf. S. H. Roberts, M. A. "History of French Colonial Policy (1870-1925)", P. S. King, London, 1929,—thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Science (Econ.) in the University of London, 2 Vols., p. 23.



French possessions are doomed to be 'overwhelmingly native lands, so that France can know nothing of that basic division between settlement lands and native lands.'\* One is thus driven to the conclusion that apart from some striking differences, due partly to national temperament and partly to the administrative practices of the two countries, the main existing differences between the British and the French colonial methods are due more to the element of time, *i.e.*, to the comparatively late arrival of France in the scramble for colonies, than to any fundamental difference of outlook on colonial questions. Indeed, how strongly of late French colonial policy has been influenced by the British policy of "indirect rule" of the "native" races will strike any student of comparative colonial methods. It is hardly necessary to explain that "indirect rule" is not self-government but an administrative method, that is, one of making the reality of alien rule as imperceptible as possible through native collaboration.

## II

The nature of colonial relations, *i.e.*, the relations between the colonizing power and the colonized country can now be defined. It is clear that the territories known as colonies in the overseas empire of European powers are in the vast majority of cases a misnomer inasmuch as few colonists have settled in them. The distinction made by the French between the *colonies d'exploitation* (colonies of exploitation) and the *colonies de peuplement* (colonies of settlement) gives point to this remark. A similar distinction underlies the difference made between the Dominions and the other parts of the British Empire.

Bearing the above clearly in mind, the ideas that have lent colour to French colonial administration may now be discussed. The first phase of France's colonial expansion, which may be termed the period of consolidation, is marked by a singular barrenness of constructive policy. The ideas which dominate this period are those of assimilation of the colonies to the administrative system of France. The policy of assimilation, as this particular attitude has been called, no doubt had its origin partly in the belief that what was good for France was good for everybody (was this due to the logical French mind or to jingoism?), and partly in the practical consideration that administrative centralization was indispensable for keeping the colonies in the economic leading strings of France. Thus, while on the one hand, this implied an attitude towards the non-European races quite unlike

that of the British, Dutch, Belgian or German\* it implied also a certain impatience with ideas or institutions other than French. The brutal suppression of indigenous institutions and their replacement by French institutions are certainly traceable to this doctrinaire attitude. But undoubtedly in some measure it is also due to France's inexperience in colonial administration. But this policy soon proved inexpedient, but probably not primarily because of its lack of flexibility, as Mr. Roberts has been at pains to explain, but because the implications of this policy were irreconcilable with the main ends of colonization, namely, that the exploitation of the colonies cannot be squared with the introduction of French institutions and the conferring of French civil rights. The critics of French colonial policy have ignored this, logically the most important, aspect of the problem.

The policy of assimilation thus failed because of its ultimate incongruity, but more proximately because it constricted whatever vitality the assimilated areas possessed. The classic example on this point is furnished by Cochin-China—an area notorious for its retarded development, side by side with the prosperous condition of the rest of Indo-China which is unassimilated. The economic stranglehold of the *Metropole* over the assimilated areas, by preventing the political and economic development of these areas, has thus proved sterile even for the purpose which gave this its initial justification. The administration with its inordinately large French personnel has proved top-heavy, corrupt and inefficient.† Nor has it left any scope for that degree of "native" collaboration which makes foreign rule bearable, even justifiable, in the eyes of a section of the subject-race.

What, then, is the alternative to this policy? As already noted, the gradual emergence of the theory of association,§ a close cousin of the

\* To quote Mr. Roberts again: "The French come more into contact with native life. They impregnate themselves with the traditions and thought and peculiarities of the native mind, and endeavour to understand. The English, on the other hand, stand aloof. They have no Delafosse, no Robert Randau, no novels of the *grande brousse* school..... The French draw no colour line and accept the fact of race difference rather than that of any innate racial inferiority." (op. cit., p. 653:).

† For a discussion on this topic, see Roberts, op. cit., p. 124 et seq. According to Mr. Roberts, the French employ three times as many European officials in their colonies as the British in theirs. "The minor officials received from £250 to £500 yearly and without exception, did work that the British and Dutch left to natives... In consequence, no less than a third of the general and a half of the local budgets went for the payment of officials!" It would be interesting to make a comparative study of the budgetary aspect of this problem in the colonies of all these three powers.

§ As Jules Harmand, the "leading exponent" of the new theory says: "In a word, association is the

\* The following will make the above quotation clearer: ".....apart from Algeria, with its 750,000 French subjects, the entire overseas Empire of France has only 1,044,000 European settlers, the great bulk of them officials," p. 640.



theory of "indirect rule" of the British coincides with the abandonment of undiluted assimilation as a practical policy. Thus, although in the assimilated areas it is impossible to put back the clock of assimilation, so effective indeed has been the suppression of indigenous institutions, a choice had to be made between a bold, new policy and the old which spelt economic backwardness or even ruin. Nevertheless, the traditions of centralization and of the *bureaux* rule die hard in France. Consequently the policy of association is of a limited character, as the process of administrative decentralization and "native" collaboration does not go as far as it does in the British Empire. The metropolitan control on the purely local administrative affairs is still far too close; the reliance on "the man on the spot," as in the British case, is still far too hesitating. None the less, even within these narrow limits of administrative and economic freedom, the new policy has justified itself. In the economic sphere, at any rate, the areas under the new system have proved distinctly superior to the assimilated areas.\*

### III

In the colonial expansion of France during the last half century, two motives are clearly discernible. First, the creation of a homogeneous African Empire, bounded by the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean on the one hand, and spreading from North Africa to the farthest limits of the Saharan desert on the other. The conversion of the Mediterranean into a French lake has been an integral, although subordinate part of this policy. The possession of Syria has thus played an important rôle in the near-eastern diplomacy of France, which however was not realized until the end of the last war. Secondly, the conquest of Indo-China was to act as a spear-head in the conquest of Southern China. The partition of Africa was to be followed by the partition of China. Clearly France was trying to retrieve the past mistakes which had cost her her African and Asiatic possessions. In both these directions her success, although incomplete, has been substantial. The dream of a French Empire sprawling across Africa from west to east was shattered on the rock of England's opposition. A similar fate awaited France's design on China. France found far more opposition in Annam and Tonkin than she had expected, nor was the knowledge that she had exaggerated the natural wealth of Yunnan such as to tempt her to further conquests,

although it by no means precluded its treatment as a virtual "sphere of influence." Indo-China and the African possessions, including Madagascar form the backbone of the French overseas empire. With the exception of New Caledonia in the Pacific, rich in minerals and suitable for White settlement, the other possessions of France are mere trading posts and of decreasing importance.\*

Starting from Algeria in North Africa, the French African Empire has gradually spread towards east, west and south. For climatic and other reasons, North Africa was destined to be a *colonie de peuplement* from the outset, and this received a fresh impulse after the defeat of France in her war with Germany. But the execution of this policy of colonization was not easy; first because the country was already well populated, and secondly, because the number of French settlers willing to come over to Algeria was never high.† The inducement for settlement had therefore to take the form of government initiative—a sort of assisted emigration. The provision of land for settlement was the most important question. A period of systematic pillage and judicial robbery of the land belonging to the indigenous population, the Arabs and the Berbers, by the so-called policies of *refoulement* and *cantonnement* followed. By the former the Algerians were continually driven back until the desert was reached, while by the latter they were forced into some sort of "native" settlements. By the end of the nineteenth century, the native Algerians had been completely robbed of their best lands and reduced to utter degradation. Vignon says: "Each revolt in effect,—and they were numerous as the repression of one was the germ of another—served as pretext for the confiscation of part or even all of the tribal lands. It was thus that the natives were driven back (on refoula les indigènes) in the three provinces, all of their best lands being taken for distribution among colonists."§ Is it surprising, then, that the high hopes placed on the colonization of Algeria have been an undiluted failure?

The French have evidently realized their mistakes in Algeria. The changed tactics in Tunisia and Morocco show a definite reorientation of their colonial policy for the rest of North Africa. The unwillingness of the French to settle in large numbers in the colonies has at last led them to turn away from the policy of assimilation and take refuge in indirect rule—the so-called policy of association. The deliberate spoliation

systematic rejection of assimilation, and tends to substitute for the necessarily rigid and oppressive regime of direct administration, that of indirect rule, with a conservation, albeit a well-watched and well-directed conservation, of the institutions of the subject-people, and with a respect of its past." (Roberts, op. cit., p. 113).

\* Ibid., pp. 54-55.

\* The mandated territories like Syria, Cameroons, etc., are left out of account here, because they do not strictly belong to the French Empire.

† This situation has been aggravated by the influx of Europeans other than French, in particular Spaniards and Italians. (Cf. "Problems of the Foreign Populations", Roberts, op. cit., p. 230 et seq.)

§ Ibid., p. 196.



of the land belonging to the natives of the country and the destruction of the indigenous social institutions have thus not been carried as far in Tunisia and Morocco. The practical success of this policy is directly reflected in the relatively greater prosperity of the native populations and indirectly on French trade and commerce.\*

In the rest of Africa, the actual settlement of the French has been ruled out by climatic and other considerations. Consequently, French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa are examples of *colonies d'exploitation par excellence*. The success of the French in these colonies has been unequal. In the former, where the population is on a culturally higher level, the tribal organizations have been retained and adapted to the economic exigencies of the French colonial policy. Suffice it to say that in the latter, particularly in the part formerly known as French Congo, all the horrors of the Belgian Congo, the neighbouring colony, have been repeated. In order to expedite the process of exploitation, concessions were granted to a number of commercial organizations, with administrative powers in their respective areas of concession. They in their turn destroyed the tribal organizations, imposed forced labour on the male members of the various tribes, separated husbands from wives, and perpetrated a thousand other atrocities,† from whose effects this part of the French colonial empire has not yet fully recovered.

\* Cf. Roberts, op. cit., p. 281 et seq., and p. 578 et seq.

† *Ibid.* Mr. Roberts writes: "Government and Companies combined to bring about this situation, which was so castigated by de Brazza that his official report was never published..." But the situation can be realized from what his lieutenant, Challaïe, wrote: "The Congo natives live in a regrettable situation. The Concessionaire companies make them labour for a trifle, using menace or even violence to secure their services; and their Government, without rendering a single service, crushes them with taxes and corvees. Instead of being drawn towards Europeans, as formerly, they doubt them and flee as far as possible... The routes habitually used by Europeans are almost denuded of villages, whereas formerly the natives used to cluster there. Regions described by the first explorers as inhabited and fertile have become deserts." (p. 353) Read also the nauseating details of the Toqué-Gaud *affaire*, which created such a sensation in France in 1905. To quote Roberts again: "Toqué, a boy of twenty-four, had to produce 3,000 carriers a month, or the Chad troops would starve. How he obtained them was unimportant as long as they were there. He found established a system of slavery, regular raids, hostage-camps for the women, and terrible treatment of captives in gaol. The new-comers simply carried on the existing system: and no comment is necessary when it is known that they were condemned for shooting alleged delinquents at will, blowing up natives with dynamite and a shameless disregard of native life in general. 'It was a general massacre, in order to keep up the service,' Toqué admitted, etc..." (p. 355).

Next in territorial expansion come Indo-China and Madagascar, although in economic importance Indo-China occupies an altogether exceptional position in the French colonial empire. The conquest of both these areas was effected after prolonged struggle. By the end of the last century, the constitution of Indo-China emerged—a loose federation in which each member (with the exception of Cochin-China, already assimilated) was to enjoy a degree of free development. Willy-nilly, France was forced to seek native collaboration, partly because in the end popular opposition proved too strong, and partly also because the special position of Indo-China\* precluded unadulterated assimilation. Paul Doumer's federal idea, however, meant more than native collaboration. It implied, above all, the creation of *particularism* which would anticipate the growth of a feeling of solidarity of the various races inhabiting Indo-China. It is *divide et impera* all over again. Gallièni's "policy of races" had done the same thing in Madagascar. France sought to break the power of the Hovas, the former ruling race, by separating "the people into their various racial groups, administered by their own chiefs under the advice of Residents, without forcing them to a uniform method of organization and administration for the whole island, for the manners, the customs and the character of each people have to be considered."† For many reasons, above all the incongruity of interests of the ruler and the ruled, even this, as elsewhere, has not been wholly successful in preventing the growth of a Malagasian national movement.§ The only other territory, as mentioned above, which is of importance to the French colonial empire is New Caledonia, but like the other islands and the five Indian towns belonging to the French, it shares the negative distinction of being the most backward in the French overseas possessions. The migration of Indo-Chinese to this island in recent years is the most promising feature for its future.\*\*

It has been noted that the main motive underlying the colonizing activities of all European powers has been the quickest economic exploitation of the colonized countries.†† The

\* Rice is the back-bone of Indo-Chinese economy, and constitutes Indo-China's main export. This not only makes the country unsuitable for European settlement, but also allows it an amount of economic freedom not enjoyed by France's other colonies.

† Quoted from Gallièni's instructions to his *Chefs de Provinces*, (Provincial governors) in October, 1896 by Roberts, op. cit., p. 399.

§ Cf. François Coty's frantic booklet, *Sauvons nos colonies*, (Save our colonies). *Le Peril Rouge en Pays Noir* (Red Peril in a Dark Country). A reprint of articles published in *L'Ami du Peuple*, Paris, 1931. This is a call to arms to all imperialist powers for united action, and Indian readers will particularly relish his reference to "un *fakir* plus ou moins grotesque" in the *Avant-Propos*.

\*\* Cf. Roberts, op. cit., p. 541 et seq.

†† Indeed, the backward condition of those parts



initial phase of such activities has consequently been characterized by such barbarity that, where the indigenous races are still vigorous enough to retaliate a period of unrest has inevitably followed, or where they have been utterly crushed, as in the French Congo, they have been reduced to such a state of moral torpor as to render them completely irresponsible to economic incentives. In both cases, the colonizing power has been a loser. The lessons of these experiences are writ large across the colonial history of France. By her exaggerated insistence on the subordination of colonial interests to those of the *Metropole*, the economic growth of the colonies has been crippled. To be sure, nothing shows this more clearly than the direct ratio between the freedom enjoyed by the different colonies and their economic development—the greater the freedom for development, the greater the economic progress.

The short-sightedness of this policy—veritably one of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs—has long been apparent to discerning eyes, but it needed the shock of the last war to induce France to own its complete breakdown. The repeated industrial crises which France, in common with other countries, has experienced since the war have made her realize the real importance of the colonies, both as a market for her manufactures and as a source of raw materials. The *mise en valeur* scheme sponsored by Albert Sarraut, and accepted as official policy since 1921 is a public, although tardy, recognition that the arbitrary exploitation of the colonies in utter disregard of the colonies themselves has failed. The systematic development of the colonies is therefore to be attempted by the economic planning of the empire, by the extension of railways, irrigation and other public works, by the improvement of public health, technical education and the like.\*

Clearly this marks an enormous advance on the older methods of exploitation; but often appearances are deceptive. At bottom it is only a modification of the *pacte colonial* of the *ancien regime* in modern terms. It is another determined attempt at implementing the Imperial Zollverein (which indeed has always existed in a rudimentary form), i. e., carrying the implications of post-war economic nationalism to its

of the French colonial empire, for instance, French Equatorial Africa, the *Anciennes Colonies*, etc., are only a reflex of their comparative economic uselessness to the mother-country.

\* Cf. Hardy, op. cit., pp. 316-18. The main point in this scheme seems to be the profitable investment of French capital. As M. Hardy says: "Il faut que les capitaux français se risquent aux colonies et ne cherchent pas immédiatement de gros intérêts, car la *mise en valeur* ne sera pas en un jour." ("We must see to it that the French capital even risks itself in the colonies without seeking immediately a big profit for the final evaluation shall not be in a day.")

most logical conclusion. It is evident that the French have seen the logic of imperialism more clearly than the other powers.

The more or less complete subordination of the economic interests of the colonies to those of France herself has had two indirect results. First, the deliberate strangulation of any political development in the colonies. True, a body of French colonials have been given civil rights from time to time, which has given rise to widely current myth that all French subjects are full French citizens\*; true also that, after the failure of the policy of assimilation, local customs and local social institutions have received the official imprimatur and the local intelligentsia have been received into the official hierarchy in a subordinate position, but in practice none of these carries any great practical importance. The French have never accepted, even in theory, the ultimate right of the subject races to govern themselves. The local assemblies that have been brought into being in some colonies, notably in Indo-China, are purely advisory in character and derive their *raison d'être* in administrative convenience.

The real test of the situation is supplied by the control over local finances. With the possible exception of Algeria, which really corresponds to a Dominion in the British Empire, the power of the executive in this sphere is complete. Mr. Roberts may be quoted on this question: "... in general, the executive officials control the budgets in the French colonies, and, even in places like Algeria, where a limiting convention had grown up to the contrary, the officials have power to step in if the occasion should arise. In most colonies, the executive is completely untrammelled, and, in the remainder, mainly so, although *special privileges have been vouchsafed in practice to Algeria*." (Italics ours.)† The special privileges granted to Algeria only confirm the statement made above regarding the fundamental similarity between the colonial practices of France and Great Britain, namely, that the distinction made between the *colonies de peuplement* and the *colonies d'exploitation* is fundamental. Secondly, the cultural backwardness of the French colonial subjects, which they, of course, more or less share with the colonial subjects of other powers, is of particular interest. The French, as a logical people, have clearly seen the danger of imparting a high standard of education, or for that matter any education at all to the colonial subjects. Literary education has in consequence never enjoyed official patronage, the emphasis being laid on technical education, agricultural and otherwise. It would thus not only produce efficient agriculturists and craftsmen, but would also anticipate the "dangers" in too literary an

\* Cf. Roberts, op. cit., p. 78 et seq.

† Cf. Roberts, op. cit., p. 630.



education. Needless to say, that in formulating the ideal of colonial education too narrowly, neither of these objects has been fulfilled. Technical education on a wide scale is still an ideal in the French colonies\* while it is yet to be proved that unrest inherent in colonial conditions can be stemmed by artificial measures, such as withholding higher education from the subject races.

Is it any wonder, then, that the French colonies are seething with discontent? The French are naively surprised at the young Annamite or young Tunisians for their lack of gratitude for the civilization that they have brought to them. To their disadvantage, they compare them with their forefathers, whom they hold up as models of loyalty. They conveniently forget, however, the toll that they had to pay in human blood before their acquiescence, mistakenly called loyalty, could be exacted. But in time the grim memory of the past recedes, and the old yields place to the new. The economic and political contrasts between the ruler and the ruled become sharper and sharper, with its endless sequel of revolts and violent suppressions. "Powder speaks" is well-nigh axiomatic with French colonial administration.† And yet, there is another side to the

picture—its human side—which is in many ways unique. The racial factor (quâ racial factor) has, till now, never been a bar sinister with the French. Colour has never formed an insuperable barrier between the French and the coloured peoples of the French Empire. It has not embittered the social relations between the French and their subject races, quite to the same extent, as among the Anglo-Saxons. There still exists a neutral plane where the ruler and the ruled can meet as human beings. This is an important, and at once incalculable factor in the future relations of France with her colonies. The comparative success of the French in reconciling the Negroes, for instance, to French rule is certainly due in a large measure to the absence of racial arrogance of the French§. But, after all, this may not have any significance at all. The real test will come when the systematic *mise en valeur* of the French Empire is well on its way, because in the last resort race prejudice thrives on what feeds on, namely, economic rivalry. It is not *sui generis*.

\* In Indo-China, for instance, up to 1923 there was only one industrial school at Hanoi; by the end of the year the number increased to eleven "with 1,091 students,—for a population of twenty millions." (Cf. Roberts, *op. cit.*, 478).

† Ibid., p. 478. Mr. Roberts says: "It must be

admitted, too, that Faidherbe's succinct despatch, "powder spoke", could have applied to most of this forward-movement, because it was in the main an imperialistic venture based on military conquest." This excessive reliance on force will be noticed throughout the French Empire.

§ This is also due to the fact that, unlike the Algerian Moslems, for instance, the negro populations had no great past to make them resent foreign domination to the same extent.

## THE FOUNDATION OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCIENCES, INDIA

By G. C. MUKHERJI, M. SC.

**T**HE twenty-second session of the Indian Science Congress was held at Calcutta in the first week of January 1935, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. H. Hutton, I. C. S., the distinguished anthropologist, who as census commissioner for India in 1931, had unique knowledge of the race problem in India. The inauguration ceremony was performed by His Excellency the Viceroy of India, and was attended by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and distinguished gentry and officials of Calcutta. The number of Scientists present reached a record of over a thousand.

The attainment of age by the representative body of Indian Scientists was marked by another event of great promise for the future of Science in India, *viz.*, the inauguration of a National

Institute (or Academy) of Sciences for India to act as a representative body of eminent Indian scientists for national as well as international work. The history of the movement which ultimately led to the foundation of this body has already appeared in the pages of this journal. In 1934, the Indian Science Congress which met at Bombay under the presidentship of Prof. M. N. Saha, F. R. S., accepted his proposals for the foundation of an All-India Academy of Sciences. The whole question was discussed at a special meeting of the general committee, which is the supreme body of the Indian Science Congress, where resolutions were passed appointing a representative committee for devising ways and means for bringing a National Academy of Sciences into existence. The composition and



the work of the committee are thus described by Dr. J. H. Hutton, the Congress president for 1935, in his presidential address :

"It is enough to remind you that the Indian Science Congress marked its coming of age by appointing a committee to draft proposals for the institution of a body which should perform for India some of those functions which the Royal Society discharges with regard to science in the United Kingdom. These proposals in accordance with your instructions are to be laid before your General Committee at this session. Seven meetings of the Academy Committee were held, at the first of which it was decided to determine first, the number of Foundation Fellows to form the Academy and then to consider its constitution as it was clearly desirable to have the constitution of the Academy approved by those who were to form it, before the draft was submitted to the Indian Science Congress. Arrangements were therefore made for the allotment of fellowships to the various sciences and for the selection of the persons to fill them. It was decided that the question of the location of the Academy's headquarters must be postponed for the decision of the Foundation Fellows, and part of the set of rules drafted by Professor Meghnad Saha was also considered. Before the second meeting could take place however, the work of the Academy Committee, as revealed in the copy of the minutes sent to absent members, was adversely criticized by Sir C. V. Raman, himself one of those members in a presidential address to a conference of South Indian Scientists at Bangalore. This was followed by his taking the unexpected step of registering a society as the Indian Academy of Sciences at Bangalore, thus involving your Academy Committee in a sort of comic imbroglia more suited to the dignities of the two Kings (or was it Mayor?) of Brentford than to those of the scientists of India. Your Academy Committee, however, went on with its work and ultimately came to an agreement with the Bangalore Academy, the terms of which involved the substitution of the name "National Institute of Science of India" for National Academy of Sciences of India and some minor verbal changes in the draft of the aims and objects of the proposed body. The Indian Academy of Sciences, Bangalore, has in its turn made certain necessary changes in its memorandum of association and constitution, and the present position is that the body brought into existence by the Indian Science Congress will co-operate with the three existing bodies of Academy status in different parts of India and with such other academies of sufficient status as may be formed in the future."

#### FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE AND ITS FIRST COUNCIL

The above extract is an admirable summary of the situation, and it is necessary only to add that 125 invitations were sent to 125 scientists who were selected by the sub-committees set up for the purpose and approved by the Academy Committee to become Foundation Fellows. To these invitations, there were only six refusals and these vacancies along with the three which

were due to deaths were filled up by the Committee at its last sitting. The Committee, acting as the provincial Council, elected the first council as follows: Dr. L. L. Fermor, F. R. S., Director of Geological Survey of India, who had guided the deliberations of the Academy Committee throughout all its sittings, was elected first president, and the Vice-Presidents were Prof. S. R. Kashyap, the distinguished Botanist of Lahore and General Couchmann, Surveyor General of India. Unfortunately Prof. Kashyap died shortly afterwards before he could take office and Prof. Birbal Sahni of Lucknow was elected in his place. The Secretaries were Prof. S. P. Agharkar who has acted as Secretary of the Indian Science Congress for the last ten years, and Dr. Heron of the Geological Survey of India. Prof. M. N. Saha was elected Foreign Secretary. A Council of 25 representing all sciences and provinces in India was elected.

#### THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS PASSES THE SCHEME

The draft constitution and the draft rules and regulations of the proposed body were placed before the General Committee of the Indian Science Congress on January 5 and carried unanimously with the single amendment that in the first year, the number of Fellows to be taken into the Institute should be 25 instead of 10 in after years. The proposal for acceptance of the draft report was seconded by Sir U. N. Brahmachari on behalf of the Asiatic Society, by Prof. K. N. Bahl on behalf of the U. P. Academy, by Prof. Venkatesachar on behalf of the Indian Academy of Science at Bangalore and by Prof. P. N. Ghosh on behalf of the General Committee.

#### THE INAUGURATION OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE

The constitutional position being thus cleared, the Inauguration Ceremony of the National Institute of Sciences was performed by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on January 7, 1935, in the Senate Hall of Calcutta University. The ceremony was attended by about three to four hundred scientists of India and the gentry of Calcutta. One of the notable guests was the Hon'ble Kumar Jagdish Prasad, I. C. S., member designate for the department of health, lands and education in the Government of India. Messages of goodwill and prosperous career were received from the great Indian Pioneers of Scientific Research in the country, from Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray, as well as Sir O. M. Froster the late Director of Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. The date selected for the inaugural meeting was too late to render possible the presence of members of the Government of India but messages of goodwill were received from Sir Fazli Husain, then member for education in the Government of India, and Sir James



Grigg, the finance member and Sir Frank Noyce, Home Member of the Government of India.

In the presence of this distinguished assembly Dr. Fermor, F.R.S., Director of the Geological Survey of India and first President of the National Institute of Science, gave an impressive address in which he gave a rapid survey of the progress of Science in India during the last and the present century.

#### SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN INDIA

Very substantial contributions to science were made by India, said Dr. Fermor, before the advent of the Europeans. Part of these contributions was indigenous, and pre-Greek. The Arab Science was built upon Greek and Hindu Science. But the introduction of West European Science and learning, he said, appears really to date from the arrival in Calcutta of Sir William Jones, a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Fort William in Bengal in 1783, followed by the foundation in 1784 of the Asiatic Society, a society for the study of the antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal, previously called only the Asiatic Society, exerted a very healthy influence on the progress of Science in India. Under its advice was founded the Indian Museum for storing the collections of the society, as well the various scientific services of the Government of India. In Lord Curzon's Education Act of 1909, little stress was laid on Scientific Education and Research in the University curricula, though even under such discouraging circumstances, individual centres of work were started by Sir J. C. Bose, and Sir P. C. Ray, in the Presidency College, Calcutta, and practically on their own initiative. It is worthy of notice that even as early as 1876 a practising doctor of Calcutta, Dr. Mahendra Lal Sirkar, founded on his own initiative the Indian Association for the cultivation of Science, at first mainly for the teaching of science to undergraduates, which then used to be neglected in the Universities, but after 1904 it was converted into a Research Association, which gave facilities to Sir C. V. Raman and his students for carrying on his well-known research work on acoustics and molecular diffraction. From 1904 we enter upon a new stage in the development of Scientific Research in India, a period characterized by the foundation of a number of specialist science societies, and Government and private Research Institutions. The dates of the foundation of some of these are as follows:

The Bombay Natural History Society	
—Bombay	1883
The Mining and Geological Institute	
—Calcutta	1906
The Indian Mathematical Society	
—Poona and Bangalore	1907
The Calcutta Mathematics Society	
—Calcutta	1908

Bose Research Institute—Calcutta	1917
Institute of Engineers—Calcutta	1921
Indian Botanical Society—Peripatetic (Lucknow at Present)	1921
The Benares Mathematical Society	
—Benares	1921
Indian Chemical Society—Calcutta	1924
Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Institute	...
The Indian Physical Society—Calcutta	1934
The Society of Biological Chemists	
—Bangalore	...
The Indian Society for Soil Science	
Calcutta	1934
The Institution of Chemists, India, Calcutta	1927
The Indian Physiological Society	
—Calcutta	1934

In addition to the Scientific Services, the following Research Institutions have been founded by the public and the Government on various dates.

The Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research—Muktesar	
The Imperial Agricultural Research Institute—Pusa (now shifted to Delhi)—Part of the endowment came from an American millionaire	1903
The Central Medical Research Institute—Kasauli	1906
The Imperial Forest Research Institute—Dehra Dun	1907
All-India Institute of Public Health and Hygiene, Calcutta—Partly financed by the Rockefeller Endowment Trusts	1934
School of Tropical Medicine—Calcutta. (Partly endowed by public subscription).	
The Haffekine Institute—Bombay.	
The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore	1911

(This Institute was founded by the late J. N. Tata, industrialist and business magnate, who have an endowment yielding an income of about three lakhs of rupees, and the site was freely given by the Mysore State. The Mysore Government gives an annual subsidy of Rs. 30,000 and the Imperial Government contributes Rs. 150,000 and smaller sums are given by other Governments. It is run as an all-India Institution).

The University College of Science, Calcutta	1916
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(Founded on the bequests left to the Calcutta University by two Calcutta lawyers, Sir T. N. Palit and Sir R. B. Ghosh and the Raja of Khairat. The total bequests amount to Rs. 75 lakhs. It has got research Chairs in Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany and Agriculture.)

Of recent notable bequests for scientific research may be mentioned the Foundation of the College of Science and Technology for the



Andhra University, by the Maharaja of Jaipur (Madras Presidency) yielding an income of two lakhs of rupees per year, the Lakshmi Narayan Trust at Nagpur amounting to Rs. 37 lakhs, the Foundation of various University Chairs at Benares and Aligarh by the Princes and the rich men of India and the foundation of the Royal Institute of Sciences, Bombay, which is due to endowments given by a number of Bombay millionaires.

#### RESEARCH WORK IN SCIENCE, IN THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

Though the teaching of Science was formally recognized in 1904, the real impetus to Research work in the Universities was given by the Sadler Committee in 1917, which recommended a scheme of re-organization in which it was definitely laid down that original Research should also form a part of the duty of the Professorial staff of Universities. At the present time the number of Universities in India has multiplied to 17 and though all Universities are not equally advanced as regards research organization, it may be said that the principle has been recognized and all Universities are striving towards the goal.

With this multitude of new bodies—services, societies, Universities, Research institutes—coming continuously into being, with a resultant tendency towards greater and greater specialization and consequent isolation of workers, there is an increasing need for organizations directed to counter-acting fissiparous tendencies so as again to bring men of science and other branches of learning back to a common fold providing for a free exchange of views; a result that can be secured either on a comprehensive basis enabling the co-operation of all branches of learning, or at least of all branches of science, or upon a compartmental plan in which allied groups of sciences are brought together.

To some extent such facilities have been provided by the Indian Science Congress, which was founded in 1911, by the joint efforts of Prof. J. L. Simonson of Madras and Prof. P. S. MacMahon of Lucknow, both professors of Chemistry in 1911 on the model of the British Association. The first session of the Congress was held in 1914 in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the Presidency of that distinguished pioneer of education, the late Sir Ashutosh Mukerji. This Congress, which has since become an Association, meets annually, moving from one important city to another on a plan analogous to that adopted by the British Association, so that during 22 years 10 different centres of research have been visited. The great success of this organization is shown by the large numbers of scientists from all parts of India who now attend the annual sessions and the corresponding magnitude of its annual activities. The Association is peripatetic, yet it

requires a permanent office, and this, in fact, is provided in Calcutta by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which acts as the managing body of the Congress. There can be little doubt that the Indian Science Congress has proved of very great benefit in promoting intercourse between the scientists of all parts of India and all sciences, thereby mitigating both forms of isolation. But this Association meets only once a year, and it is for one week only during 52 that scientists are afforded the opportunity for the fruitful intercourse. During the rest of the year, the centres of research tend to remain in geographical isolation from one another, and at those centres, particularly at the larger ones, the scientists return from the Congress to their specialist isolation, making use as far as possible of specialist societies.

The history of the movement for founding a National Institution which will act as a National Body for counter-acting, as Dr. Fermor puts it geologically, fissiparous tendencies amongst Scientific men in India, has already been described. The objects of the National Institute of science is given in the memorandum which is reproduced below :

#### NAME

1. The Society shall be called the National Institute of Sciences of India.

#### OBJECTS

2. The objects of the National Institute of Science of India are

(a) The promotion of natural knowledge in India including its practical application to problems of national welfare.

(b) To effect co-ordination between scientific academies, societies, institutions, and Government scientific departments and services.

(c) To act as a body of scientists of eminence for the promotion and safeguarding of the interests of scientists in India; and to represent internationally the scientific work of India.

(d) To act through properly constituted National Committees in which other learned academies and societies will be associated, as the National Research Council of India, for undertaking such scientific work of national and international importance as the Council may be called upon to perform by the public and by Government.

(e) To publish such proceedings, journals, memoirs and transactions, and other publications as may be found desirable.

(f) To promote and maintain a liaison between Science and Letters.

(g) To secure and manage funds and endowments for the promotion of Science.

(h) To do and perform all other acts, matters, and things that may assist in, conduce to, or be necessary for the fulfilment of the above-mentioned aims and objects of the Institute.

#### JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CHOICE OF THE NAME "NATIONAL INSTITUTE"

Dr. Fermor devoted a part of his address to a justification of the choice of the term "Institute" in place of the original designation "Academy"



which he showed originally connoted regional activities; for the original Academy of Plato in the golden days of Greece was really a pleasure garden which is supposed to have belonged to an ancient Greek hero Academus. In this first Academy the Philosophers discussed Arts and Letters, Mathematics and Sciences as well as Philosophy. As the Academy movement was revived in Europe during the middle ages, the bodies formed in different countries like the French Academy had more or less regional activities, i. e., they were located in a certain city and the members of the Academy used to meet frequently in the hall of the Academy for discussion on all kinds of philosophical topics. Even the great Academies of the world, viz., the Royal Society of London, the French Academy, and the Prussian Academy of Sciences, were at first somewhat regional in their activities. It was Napoleon who first felt the necessity of having a society representing all nation-wide activities in all branches of learning and Science and he constituted a new organization called the National Institute of Arts and Sciences of France of which the various Academies formed the co-operating branches. This system seems to have worked well in France and today a French Savant, whether he is a man of letters or of science, takes it to be the highest honour to be selected a Member of the Institute. In the United Kingdom, there is no organization corresponding to the *Institute de France* in its activities but the Royal Society of London is by common consent regarded as the premier scientific society and acts as the National Academy of Sciences for organization, in co-operation with the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and the Royal Irish Academy and other learned scientific societies, of the National Committees in various branches of scientific activity for advising the Government on Scientific matters of National importance and for representation in the International Councils in India. Prior to the founding of the National Institute of Sciences, there have been 3 bodies of Academies rank, viz., Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded 150 years ago, which includes all branches of Sciences and Letters; The Academy of Sciences of U. P. which was formed in 1930 and the Indian Academy of Sciences at Bangalore founded in 1934. The discussions amongst the scientists in India held throughout 1934 sometimes not without passion, had shown that for a continent like India there is need for more scientific Academies of this type. In fact it is advisable to have two more Academies, one at the Western Presidency (Bombay or Poona) and the other at

Lahore. But apparently these Academies with their activities, which, inspite of their name, cannot but be regional, cannot act as a co-ordinating body; which function can only be discharged by a body having a different designation; hence the name, *National Institute of Sciences*, commended itself to the Academy Committee, but a programme had to be devised by which undesirable competition with other Academies could be avoided. With this object in view a programme has been laid down for the National Institute of Science to which no objection can be made by any of the Academies in existence or Academies which may be formed in the near future. The Institute is to consist of a select body of scientists starting with the number 125 and electing 25 more in the first year and 10 in the subsequent years, though it will be governed by a council elected from amongst its fellows, it has been decided to include in its council one vice-president and one member of the council to be nominated by each of the co-ordinating Academies. For the election of Fellows, rules have been framed, modelled on those of the Royal Society, but modified to suit the needs of the country. One important difference is that all elections, whether of new Fellows or of the Council, should be determined by postal ballot. Dr. Fermor further gave a brief sketch of the future activities of the National Institute of Sciences, which will act as a National Research Council for the country and also represent Indian Science on the International Research Councils through the formation of National Committees in co-operation with other Academies and learned Societies which will co-operate with the National Institute in the same way as the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and the Royal (or National) Irish Academy, and other learned societies of the United Kingdom co-operate with the Royal Society of London for similar purposes. The programme has been adopted in response to the request made to the Indian Science Congress by the Government of India since 1930. On the publication side the National Institute has got an ambitious programme of publishing transactions, memoirs and proceedings of Symposia held on particular subjects. It is hoped that the National Institute will act as a reservoir of Scientific knowledge and experience. About 125 Fellows who have agreed to become Foundation Fellows, are from the leaders of Scientific Research in this country, like Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray and Sir C. V. Raman and all the distinguished professors in the Universities and members of Scientific services of Government of India.



## INDIAN ART IN MADURA

By P. R. SUBRAMANIAN

IT is only in the East that art still has a philosophy and still remains the greatest exponent of national faith and race traditions. Indian art was conceived when that wonderful intuition flashed upon the Indian mind that—the soul of man is Eternal and one with the Supreme Soul, the

with sculpture and architecture than with painting. Temple craftsmanship is the foundation of all the great architecture of India, secular as well as religious.

Many of the great Hindu temple foundations give permanent employment to master builders learned in Silpa Sastras and the donations of pious Hindus towards the building of new temples or the repair of old ones for constructing rest-houses for pilgrims, bathing ghats, etc., help to keep alive the



The image of Kali, taken from a panel in Pudumandapam



Samashti Gayatri at the entrance of Sri Sundareswara temple at Madura

word and cause of all things. This idea of the artist indentifying himself with Nature and all her moods is really the keynote of all Indian art, poetry and music. Indian art in its greater achievements is more concerned

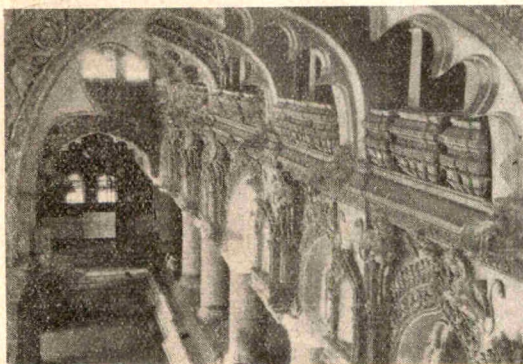
traditions of Indian Architecture and of many of the crafts dependent on it. There can hardly be a foreign visitor, who can boast himself of having made a survey of Indian art without casting his eyes on the gigantic



pillars and domes of Tirumalai Naik's palace and the wonderful carvings, beautiful designs and lofty towers of the Meenakshi Temple in Madura.

The temple of Madura is dedicated to Lord Sundaeswara, the third of the manifestations of the Hindu Trinity, and Goddess Meenakshi. According to the Hindu traditions and religious literature God Siva performed in Madura his sixty four miracles or "Leelas" as they are called.

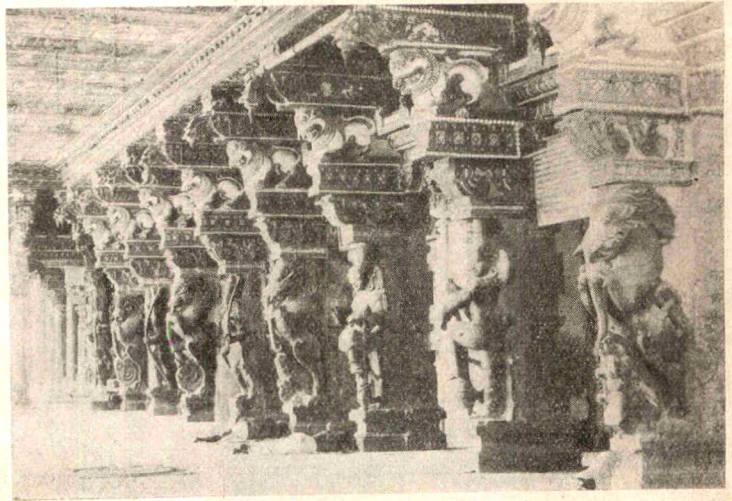
Situated in the heart of the city, with its huge and magnificent towers, over a furlong square in area, the temple adds beauty to the city. The porch leading to the temple is called Asta Sakti mandapam. The gateway and the *vimanas* or towers on the top of the porch are extremely elegant and are of the sacred architectural type purely Dravidian. Before reaching the Sanctum Sanctorum of Goddess Meenakshi one has to pass a dark *mandapa*, the Golden Lily Tank (potramarai) and the Hall of Parrots (Kili Katti Mandapa) wherein the statues of the Pandavas are carved on the two rows of pillars.



The arches in the palace

On either side of the entrance to the sanctum sanctorum of Sundaeswara two beautiful images of Panchakshara Moorti and

Samashti Gayatri are represented. Opposite to these lie the Maha Mandapa, a big hall and other pavillions in which on special occasions processional images of the deity are placed and worshipped. In this place there is a mandapa enclosed by 8 pillars of 25 feet in height ornamented with 25 representations of Siva, all stable, massive and architecturally proportionate and there are also huge columns with a number of sculptured 'Yalis' elephants, and other figures of high

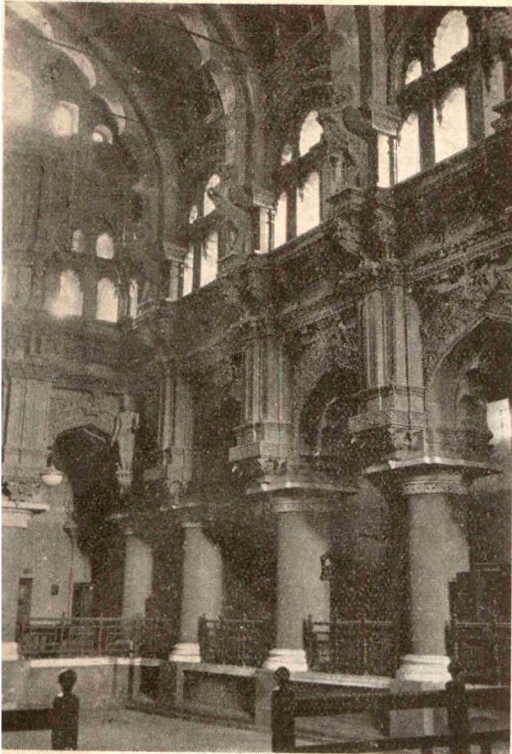


A row of pillars in the Hall of Parrots famous for its sculptural work

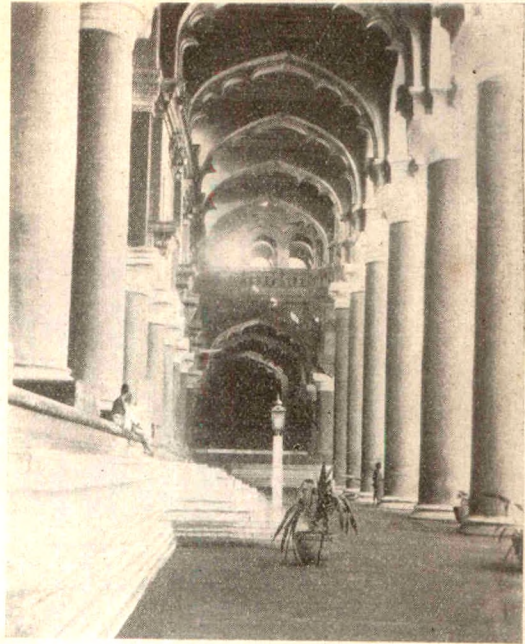
archaeological interest. The artistic work of outstanding merit on this collection of sculptures can be realized from the pictures.

Opposite to the temple is a hall known as Vasanta Mandapa (spring resort) having elaborate sculptural works of various forms of Siva represented in the huge pillars. The figures carved out have a classic greatness and a form with chiselled and remarkable workmanship. At stated intervals the God is brought out in procession with all paraphernalia. Festivals are celebrated every month Chitra, Puttu and Teppam festivals being the most prominent of them all. Of the two great twins of artistic creation the beautiful temple so far described is one, the other is the palace of Tirumalai Naik within whose magnificent precincts the various Government offices are accommodated. The palace is an eloquent illustration of more modern Indian Architecture. It is

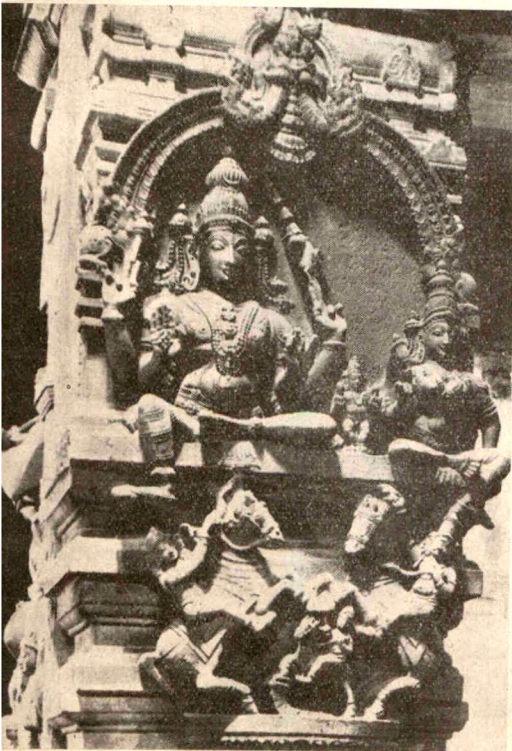




The bathing tank of Tirumalai Naik's palace



South wing of Tirumalai Naik's palace at Madura, famous for its huge columns

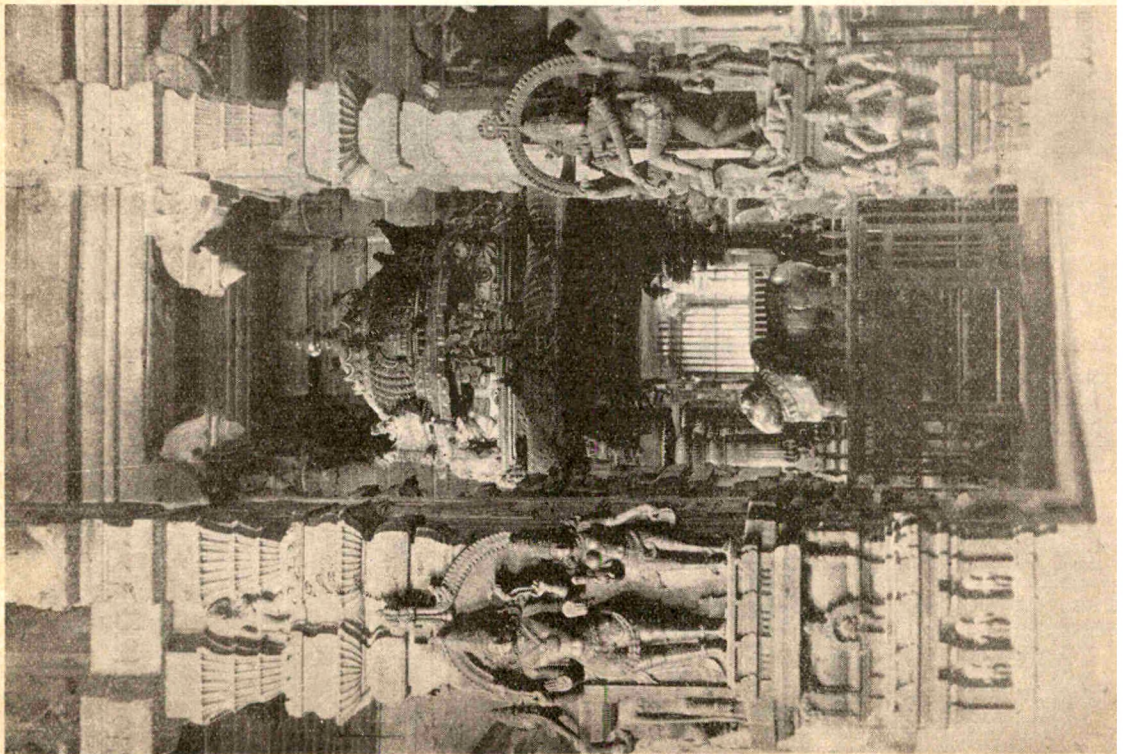
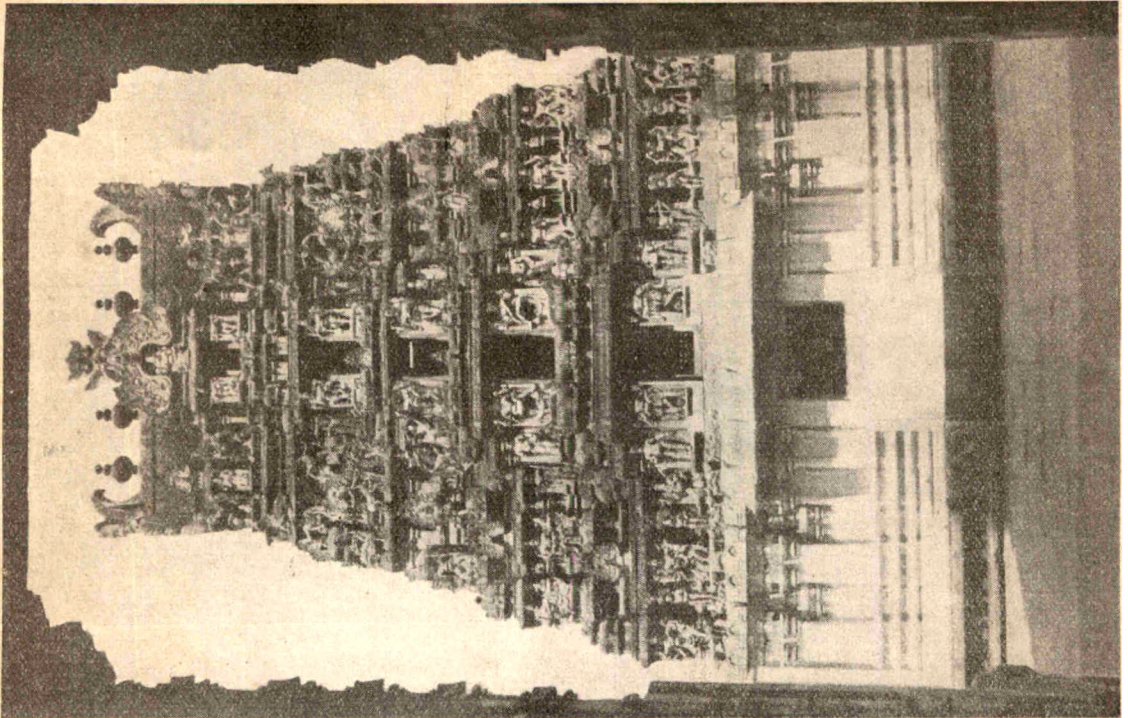


Somaskandha Moorti



The wedding of Sri Meenakshi with God Sundareswara. Mahavishnu in the left is acting as guardian.

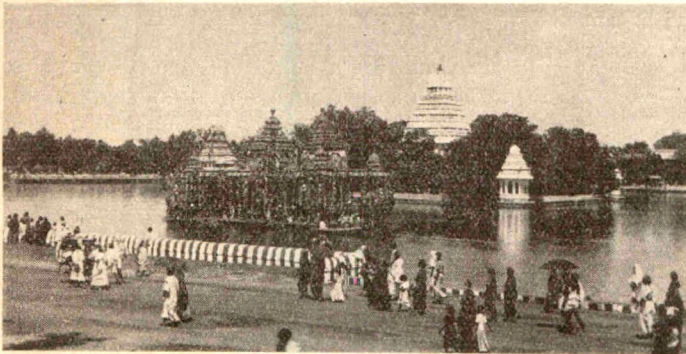




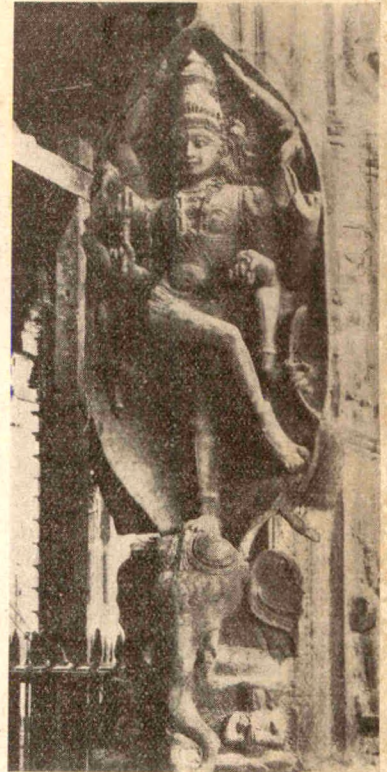




The huge crowd that attended the Ashtami festival, celebrated in the month of December



South Indian Splendour. South India is famous for its floating festivals and here is a picture from Madura showing the floating in progress with Goddess Sri Minakshi in the float.



Gajamoorti or Krittivasas

mammoth building with lofty domes supported by colossal pillars. The building reminds us of the days in which the kings of India lived and how they spent money on things of beauty which are a joy for ever.

Indian architecture is an ancient national art bound up with the religion and tradition of the people and nowhere has it been better

preserved than in the religious edifices of the country. The central idea through Indian art is inherent in spirit, not in matter and is easily intelligible to those who will read it in the light of the religion and philosophy which inspired both the artists and the people to whom the art was addressed.





## MACAULAY ON INDIA, 1833

By M. K. CHAKRAVARTI

IN view of the great dust that is being kicked up in Parliament in connection with the Government of India Bill, and of the extraordinary claims that are being made by its sponsors as to the magnitude and momentousness of the reforms proposed and risks taken by the National Government of England, it may not be uninteresting to recall the debate on the India Bill of 1833. A great son of India, Raja Rammohun Roy, was present at that debate in Parliament and heard the speeches with the most anxious interest. Perhaps the most distinguished speaker on that occasion was Macaulay, representing the most enlightened view of that time about the better government of His Majesty's Indian territories. If Rammohun Roy could come to life today and hear or read the speeches of Sir S. Hoare or Mr. S. Baldwin, he would be surprised that so little advance has been made since then in the Parliamentary thought and conscience about India; and that the Parliamentary leaders of today still talk in the language of Macaulay, steeped in cautious prudence and sentimental rectitude; and still walk in his footsteps, only in places heel foremost. It would seem that the key-note of British Political opinion about India was fixed once for all by men like Macaulay a hundred years back; and all that the succeeding generations of British politicians have done is to modulate the voice from time to time or add showy improvisations to win applause.

This is what Macaulay said with regard to the wisdom of retaining the archaic East India Company as an organ of Government for India.

"The question is, I acknowledge, beset with difficulties. We have to solve one of the hardest problems in politics. We are trying to make brick without straw, to bring a clean thing out of an unclean, to give a good Government to a people to whom we cannot give a free government. .... If the question were, what is the best mode of securing good Government in Europe? The merest smatterer in politics would answer, represen-

tative institutions. In India you cannot have representative institutions. Of all the innumerable speculators who have offered their suggestions on Indian politics, not a single one, as far as I know, however democratical his opinion may be, has ever maintained the possibility of giving at the present time, such institutions to India..... We have to engraft on despotism those blessings which are the natural fruits of liberty. In these circumstances, Sir, it behoves us to be cautious, even to the verge of timidity. The light of political science and history are withdrawn: we are walking in darkness: we do not distinctly see whither we are going. It is the wisdom of a man, so situated, to feel his way, and not to plant his foot till he is well assured that the ground before him is firm."

He would be a bold man who would say in the face of the above quotation, that English, political attitude towards Indian self-government has altered, in any essential, from what Macaulay adumbrated more than hundred years since. The same need of extreme cautiousness; the same emphasis on the impossibility of introducing representative government *at the present time*; the same distress of walking in darkness—in spite of hundred years of intimate Indian Administration and the founding of eighteen Indian Universities—the same hardest problem in politics and history; the same miracle of making brick without straw and silk-purse out of sow's ear; and lastly the same admirable but unfortunately impracticable endeavour to engraft on despotism the natural fruits of liberty—all are written large on the pages of the White Paper, J. P. C. Report, and Government of India Bill; and are loudly re-echoed by the Parliamentary speeches in support of those documents.

Again,

"A representative constitution India cannot at present have. And we have therefore, I think, given her the best constitution of which she is capable."

As regards Civil Service recruitment he said

"India is entitled to the service of the best talents which England can spare."

Sir S. Hoare is exactly of the same



opinion : the only difference being that while Macaulay's attitude was benevolent, Hoare's is tyrannical towards India, owing to the changed circumstances. Mr. Churchill would, perhaps, like to make a slight change in the language and say, "England is entitled to send the best talents that she can spare for the service of India." But the meaning is identical.

The foundation of the now-familiar pose of regretful admission of the anomalous position of England in relation to India, by which generations of English politicians have justified, at least reconciled, their Indian policy to their own conscience, seems to have been laid by Macaulay when he said :

"Do I call the Government of India a perfect Government ? Very far from it. No nation can be perfectly well governed till it is competent to govern itself.....The power of the Company is an anomaly in politics.....But what constitution can we give to our Indian Empire which shall not be strange, which shall not be anomalous ? The Company is an anomaly ; but it is part of a system where everything is anomaly. It is the strangest of all governments ; but it is designed for the strangest of all Empires."

The above attitude of mind has been as a shield to the English Parliament for defending all sorts of political freaks, monstrosities, and heresies in the administration of India from the East India Trading Company—which Macaulay described as a "Political monster of two natures, subject in one hemisphere and sovereign in another"—down to the Diarchical Rule, Communal Electorate, Double Chambers for the Provinces, Indirect Election, and Commercial Safeguards of these days. India is both racially and geographically the land of 'anomaly' ; so the Britisher is not bound by any known principle of political science or philosophy in ordering its administration. Long live 'Anomaly' !

The very habit of a certain type of British imperial politician staring in amazement at his own imaginary shadow on the moving screen of history is due originally to the picturesque imagination of Macaulay. The germ of the famous theory of 'trusteeship' which England has been exploiting with such success for generations lies concealed in the sense of wonder which the strangeness of the genesis of the British Empire in India forced upon Macaulay's historical mind. From dumb

wonder to a recognition of Providential dispensation ; and from that to self-constituted "trusteeship" was of course a natural progression. Said Macaulay on the occasion of the India debate of 1833 :

"That a handful of adventures should have subjugated a vast country divided from the place of their birth by half the globe ; a country never before violated by the most renowned of Western Conquerors...; that we should govern a territory ten thousand miles from us,—a territory inhabited by men differing from us in race, colour, language manners, morals, religion ; these are prodigies to which the world has seen nothing similar : Reason is confounded. We interrogate the past in vain. General rules are useless where the whole is one vast exception."

A Ramsay Macdonald, a Stanley Baldwin or a Samuel Hoare can only, as they actually do, paraphrase, but hardly excel the above in their per-fervid orations on the mysterious destiny that has linked India and England together. But while there is a ring of sincerity in the amazed words of the English politician of a century ago, who, almost like a sailor of Columbus, saw the vision of a new world arising before his eyes, the modern imitation of the emotion, after 100 years of close familiarity with India, strikes one like the performance of a third class actor on a trumpery stage. The Britisher of today ought to be and in fact is more conscious of the similarity than of the diversity between the East and the West ; but he must repeat the 'Exception' myth, in the interest of the Empire. Hence the one hundred and one 'Safeguards' of British interests ! Verily, the exceptional character of India is an inexhaustible gold mine for England.

But Macaulay had the wisdom to strike a note of warning that "Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear." Do the manufacturers of the Safeguards ever think of that ? Macaulay thought it a greater advantage for a manufacturing and trading country like England to have India as a market of intelligent and well-to-do purchasers of British goods than to hold her as a backward and impoverished Empire. He said :

"It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well-governed and independent of us, than ill-governed and subject to us ; that they were ruled by their kings, but wearing our broad-cloth, and working



with our cutlery, than that they were performing their salams to English Collectors, and English Magistrates, but were too ignorant to value, or too poor to buy, English manufactures."

But from the nature of the case Macaulay could not foresee that India also would one day try to set up industries of her own and that there would be conflict between the interests of the two countries. Yet Macaulay's fundamental position remains intact: the British cannot simultaneously enjoy complete political domination and the best commercial advantages, for the simple reason that goods cannot be forced down the throats of a poor or unwilling people. They must make their choice; but the tragedy of the situation is that the Britisher wants to have it both ways: and the outcome is the present Government of India Bill.

Macaulay gave proof of having the right spirit of idealism and a true conception of national glory when he concluded his speech with the following passage:

**Dr. S. A. BISEY, D.Sc. (Hon.), F.S.Sc. (Lond.)**

A cable has been received from New York announcing the death of Dr. S. A. Bisey in New York on April 7th, 1935. He lived for the most part during the last thirty years in Europe and America and has achieved international fame as an inventor and a scientist.



Dr. Bisey was a self-made man in every sense of the word. He had no more than a High School education. At an early age he displayed a bias for dabbling with mechanics, craftsmanship and such other pursuits unrelated to the orthodox ideas of education at the time.

In the course of an autobiographical sketch published in New York in 1933 Dr. Bisey told the public:

"My father passed away in 1893. In 1895 I accepted an offer to go to England where I spent six months and exhibited some of my scientific optical illusions invented by me and many English papers spoke highly about them. In 1897 H.H. Sayajirao, Gaikwad of Baroda, gave me a valuable present for my scientific work at a special Durbar. In 1898

"To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own."

A splendid distant ideal, that he put before his people to strive for and realize, worthy of a great statesman of a great nation! Not that it has been disregarded by our English rulers. History knows how this and similar utterances of Macaulay have been honoured by men both in England and India by repetition and elaboration, to wind up speeches and messages, both sincerely and insincerely. But it is in this generation only that we hear English politicians talk as if the title has been won, and the glory of realizing the splendid vision of Macaulay has already put an aureole on the head of Britannia, while India still lies in the dust. But India cannot be deceived in that way. Why this endeavour to cheat history?

I won a prize in England competing with several European inventors for inventing an automatic weighing machine. It being the first time for a Hindu to win such a competition in England. I was hailed as an inventive genius. Several prominent citizens of Bombay then urged me to resign my government service and go to England as a pioneer Hindu inventor and scientist to prove to the world that the Hindus did not lack inventive faculty.

"For sixteen years I carried out my work in England in which the late Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Ratan Tata and Hon. G. K. Gokhale took a keen interest. I invented type-casting machines on original lines and as I solved some intricate problems unsolved by European inventors, I was called the Edison of India. In 1908 I was honoured by the Indian National Industrial Congress at Madras for my scientific work. Since 1916 I have been permanently established in this country (America). I completed the type-casting machines. *The Scientific American* published an illustrated article about these machines in August, 1917, and the *Inland Printer* and other technical papers also published illustrated articles.

"Besides the type-casting machines I put on the market an iodine compound known as atomidine (atomic iodine). It is acknowledged to be the only watersoluble, non-poisonous, non-irritating, odourless compound of iodine known to science that has also the unique property of helping the growth of healthy tissue. It is the result of ten years of my research work and is prescribed by thousands of physicians and dentists in this country and abroad."

He was born in Bombay on the 29th of April, 1867.



## RAJMOHAN'S WIFE

BY BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

### Preface

Strangely enough, Bengal's first great novelist, like Bengal's first great modern poet, made his debut in the field of literature in the English language. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was only twenty-seven when he won a permanent place in the history of Bengali literature with his first novel, *Durgesh-Nandini*, published in 1865. Two years before that he had completed a novel in English. This was entitled *Rajmohan's Wife* and was published as a serial in 1864 in the weekly periodical, the *Indian Field*, edited by Kishori Chand Mitra. The files of the *Indian Field* being almost unobtainable, the existence of a complete English novel by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was almost forgotten, and even his biographer and nephew, Mr. Sachis Chandra Chatterjee, has stated that Bankim did not finish this English novel. A happy chance has, however, enabled me to recover the complete story with the exception of the first three chapters. I had occasion, in connection with a different line of investigation, to go through the files of the famous Anglo-Bengali paper *Hindoo Patriot* for 1864, facilities for consulting which were very kindly obtained for me by Sir Jadunath Sarkar from Mr. Sitanath Pal, a grandson of the great Bengali publicist, Kristodas Pal. With this volume of the *Hindoo Patriot* was found bound by chance the issues of the *Indian Field* in which Bankim's novel had appeared. Thus the historian of Bengali literature has reason to be grateful for a binder's mistake.

This first serious work of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee is now made accessible to a wider circle of readers than could possibly consult the files of the long-defunct *Indian Field*. As regards the missing first three chapters of Bankim's original, it has been possible to substitute for them a version as close to Bankim's own as could be desired. At a later period of his life Bankim himself had begun to prepare a Bengali version of his first novel. But he did not proceed further than the first seven chapters of the English original. This fragment was completed in his own way by his nephew, Mr. Sachis Chandra Chatterjee, who did not know that the fragment was actually a Bengali rendering of the English original, *Rajmohan's Wife*. He, on the contrary, believed it to be an entirely new work and gave to the joint production the name of *Vari-Vahini*. It is by means of a translation of the first three chapters of this Bengali book that the missing beginning of Bankim's English novel has been supplied. *Rajmohan's Wife*, as published by us now, thus comprises Bankim's own original English from Chapter IV to the "Conclusion," and our English rendering of Bankim's Bengali version from Chapter I to III.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

### CHAPTER I.

THERE is a small village on the river Madhumati. On account of its being the residence of wealthy zemindars it is regarded as a village of importance. One Chaitra afternoon the summer heat was gradually abating with the weakening of the once keen rays of the sun; a gentle breeze was blowing; it began to dry the perspiring brow of the peasant in the field and play with the moist locks of village women just risen from their siesta.

It was after such a siesta that a woman of about thirty was engaged in her toilet in a humble thatched cottage. She took very little time to finish the process usually so elaborate with womankind; a dish of water, a tin-framed looking-glass three inches wide, and a comb matching it sufficed for the task. Then, a little

vermilion adorned her forehead. Last of all some betel leaves dyed her lips. Thus armed, a formidable champion of the world-conquering sex set out with a pitcher in her arm and pushing open the wattled gate of a neighbouring house entered within it.

There were four huts in the house which she entered. They had mud floors and bamboo walls. There was no sign of poverty anywhere, everything was neat and tidy. The four huts stood on the four sides of a quadrangle. Of these three had entrances opening on the yard, the fourth opened outwards. This last was the reception room, while the others, screened on all sides, constituted the zenana. Some brinjals and salads were growing on the carefully tilled plot of land in front of the raised terrace before the outer room. The whole was enclosed by a reed



fence with a bamboo gate. So the woman could easily make her way into the house.

It is superfluous to add that she went straight towards the zenana. I know not where the other inmates of the house had gone after their siesta, but at that time there were only two persons there—one, a young woman of eighteen bent over her embroidery and a child of four immersed in play. His elder brother had wilfully left his inkpot behind when going to school. The child's eyes had fallen on it, and he was joyfully smearing his face with the ink. He seemed to be afraid of his brother coming back and snatching the inkpot away, and so he was emptying the pot. The newcomer sat down on the floor by the side of her who was working and asked, "What are you doing?"

The other laughed and said, "Oh, it's Didi.\* What kindness! Whose face was it that I first saw on getting up this morning?"

The guest laughed back and retorted, "Who else but the person you see every morning?"

At this, the face of the younger woman clouded over for a moment, while the smile half-lingered on the lips of the other. Let us describe them both at this place.

It has already been mentioned that the visitor was thirty years of age. She was neither dark nor exactly olive; her face was not quite pretty, yet there was no feature which displeased the eye; she had a sort of restless charm, and her smiling eyes heightened the effect of it. The ornaments on her person were not large in number, but constituted a fair load for a porter. The conch-shell worker who had made her shell bracelet was no doubt a descendant of Visvakarma† himself. The woman adorned with these ornaments had only a coarse sari on her plump figure. There was evidently no love lost between the sari and the washerman, for it had not visited the laundry for a long time.

The dainty limbs of the woman of eighteen were not burdened with such abundance of ornaments, nor did her speech betray any trace of the East Bengal accent, which clearly showed that this perfect flower of beauty was no daughter of the banks of the Madhumati, but was born and brought up on the Bhagirathi in some place near the capital. Some sorrow or deep anxiety had dimmed the lustre of her fair complexion. Yet her bloom was as full of charm as that of the land-lotus half-scorched and half-radiant under the noonday sun. Her long locks

were tied up in a careless knot on her shoulder; but some loose tresses had thrown away that bondage and were straying over her forehead and cheeks. Her faultlessly drawn arched eyebrows were quivering with bashfulness under a full and wide forehead. The eyes were often only half-seen under their drooping lids. But when they were raised for a glance, lightning seemed to play in a summer cloud. Yet even those keen glances charged with the fire of youth betrayed anxiety. The small lips indicated the sorrow nursed in her heart. The beauty of her figure and limbs had been greatly spoilt by her physical or mental suffering. Yet no sculptor had ever created anything nearly as perfect as the form half revealed by the neat sari she wore. The well-shaped limbs were almost entirely bare of ornaments. There were only *churis* on the wrists and a small amulet on her arm. These too were elegant in shape.

The younger woman put away her needlework and began to talk with the visitor. The latter displayed great eloquence in describing her domestic tribulations, most of which unfortunately were imaginary. She put the fringe of her mud-stained sari again and again to her eyes, which were not in a condition to call for it. But in certain eventualities even the *Salagram* (god) dies. As often as the end of the sari touched her eyes, they shed copious tears. After many such showers she was preparing for a full dress outburst when her eyes suddenly fell on the ink-smeared face of the child who had emptied the ink-pot and was standing with a darkened countenance. The bizarre sight converted the tears of the narrator of household misery into laughter; humour swept away pathos.

When the ceremony of tears ended at last, the sun was really sinking down to rest. At this the speaker invited the young woman to come with her to fetch water. She had in fact come there with a view to making that invitation. The younger woman refused, and when her companion began to press her, said, "There are crocodiles in the Madhumati. They will drag me away."

Her companion laughed out loudly at this, which showed her that her objection was not admitted. Yet she added, "You should go now, Kanak. It's growing late."

Kanak pointed to the sun which was still above the trees and said, "It's still noon."

At this the younger woman became grave and said, "You know, Kanak Didi, I never fetch water."

"That is why I am asking you to," replied Kanak. "Why should you remain in a cage all

\*Literally, "elder sister"; used also to address or refer to friends or acquaintances older than oneself.

†God of the handicrafts.



the day. Do not all other housewives draw water?"

The younger woman said disdainfully, "That's a work for servant-girls."

"Why, who fetches water for you? Where are your servants?"

"Well, Thakurji fetches our water."

"If the daughter can do servants' work, cannot the daughter-in-law?"

The young woman said firmly, "I cannot argue about it, Kanak. You know my husband has forbidden me to fetch water, and you know him well."

Kanakmayee did not reply off-hand. She quickly glanced round to see if anyone was coming. When she saw there was no one about, she stood with her eyes fixed on the face of her companion as if wanting to say something. But she repressed the impulse from fear and remained musing with downcast eyes. The younger girl asked, "What are you thinking about?"

"If only you had eyes," replied Kanak.

The younger woman would not, however, listen to her. She made a sign to Kanak to stop and said, "Hush, hush, I understand your meaning."

"If you have done so, what are you going to do now?" asked Kanak.

The younger girl remained silent for a while. Her quivering lips and reddening brow betrayed the preoccupation of her mind. A slight tremor in her limbs also showed how agitated she was. After some time she said, "Let us go, but is it wrong?"

Kanak laughed and replied, "Wrong! I am not a fat-bellied Bhattacharya. I have nothing to do with the Shastras. But I would have gone even if I had fifty men."

"Oh! what bravery!" replied the other laughing as she went out to get her pitcher. "Fifty! Do you really wish for as many?"

Kanak smiled sadly and said, "It's a sin even to say so. But if all the fifty were of the same sort as the one given me by Fate, it would hardly matter. If I meet none, I am a chaste and devoted wife even if married to a crore of men."

"The Kulin girl's lot!" exclaimed the other and quickly got a tiny pitcher from the kitchen. The pitcher perfectly matched the carrier of water. Then they both marched off towards the river. Kanak laughed and said, "Come now, my proud girl, let's go and show beauty's splendour to the gaping idiots."

"Hang you, monkey!" cried the other and hid her blushing face in her veil.

## CHAPTER II.

The rays of the setting sun had vanished from the tops of the cocoanut palms. But night had not yet descended on the earth. It was at this time that Kanak and her companion were returning home, each with a pitcher in her arm. By the roadside was a small garden, of a type rare in East Bengal. Numerous roses and *mallika* buds were caressing the eyes of the passers-by from within the compound surrounded by a handsome iron fence. Walks covered with red brick-dust had been laid down beside the old style square and oval beds. There was a tank in the middle of the garden, whose banks were covered with soft turf. On one side was a row of brick-paved steps. Facing the steps was the reception room, in the front veranda of which two men were engaged in talk.

The older of the two would be above thirty. He was a tall and stout man. It was because he was too stout that he could not be said to possess a good figure. His complexion was dull and dark. There was no feature on his face which could give him the least claim to handsomeness. On the contrary he had something positively unattractive about him. In fact, his was not a common face; at the same time it was difficult to define its peculiarity off-hand. He had a *dhoti* of Dacca manufacture on. A long and twisted Dacca *chudder* was tied round his head in the shape of a turban which hid even the few wisps of hair that still remained there. His dark and corpulent body could be fully seen through the shirt of Dacca muslin he was wearing, and with it his gold amulet which peeped out off and on. But the thick gold chain which adorned his neck had actually intruded outside his shirt. The shirt had gold studs fastened with a gold chain; all the fingers had rings; and there was a huge bludgeon of peach in his hand. The two small feet were enclosed in English shoes.

This man's companion was a remarkably handsome young man of about twenty-two. His clear placid complexion had turned a little dull either through want of exercise or too much comfort. His clothes were good but not very costly; a *dhoti*, a fine *chudder*, a cambric shirt and English shoes. There was a single ring on one finger, and no amulet or necklace. The elder man addressed the other, "Well Madhav, you have turned to Calcutta again. Why this infatuation?"

"Infatuation?" replied Madhav, "if my liking for Calcutta be an infatuation, why shouldn't yours for Radhaganj be called by the same name?"

Mathur asked, "Why?"



Madhav. "Why not? You have spent your life in the shade of the mangoe gardens of Radhaganj. You love Radhaganj. I have spent my life in the stench of Calcutta. I love Calcutta."

Mathur. "Stench only? The filth of the drains with rotten rats and cats thrown in. Surely a feast for the gods!"

Madhav smiled and said, "It is not for these that I go to Calcutta. I have business, too."

Mathur. "Business indeed! New horses, new carriages, visiting all the sharks of the town, throwing away money, burning the oil, drinks for anglicized friends, and pleasures. What are you staring at that way? Have you never seen Kanak? Or has the girl with her just dropped from the sky? Ah, yes! Who is it with her?"

Madhav flushed, but immediately changed the subject and said, "What a girl Kanak is! She can laugh with so much sorrow eating into her heart."

Mathur. "Yes. But who is it she's got with her."

Madhav. "How can I say? I cannot see through clothes. You see she is veiled."

It was in fact Kanak and her companion who were returning with their pitchers. Everybody knew Kanak. But such indescribable beauty radiated from every movement of the other woman that it charmed the eyes first of Madhav and then of Mathur. Their looks remained fixed on her and they were as fascinated by the sight as a deer is by the sound of the flute.

When the words last recorded came out of the mouth of Madhav, a sudden gust of wind passed over the heads of the women. The younger woman was then adjusting the pitcher in arms still unused to carrying water, and she had brought down her hand from the veil. The wind blew it away and revealed the face. Madhav raised his brows in surprise. Mathur said, "There, you know her."

"Yes."

"You know her and I do not? I have spent my life here and you are only a newcomer. Well, if you know her, who is she?"

"My sister-in-law."

"Your sister-in-law? Rajmohan's wife!"

"Yes."

"Rajmohan's wife, and I have not seen her!"

"How can you? She never leaves her house."

"Why then has she to-day?"

"I don't know."

"What sort of a woman is she?"

"You have seen her.—Very handsome."

"Oh a thought-reader indeed! I am not asking that. Is she a good woman?"

"What do you mean by a 'good woman'?"

Mathur. "Oh the college has done for you! It's impossible to talk with people who have once gone there and recited the jargon of the red-faced sahibs. What I mean is—has she—"

The stern frown of Madhav cut short the coarse speech forming on Mathur's lips.

Madhav said haughtily, "You need not be so outspoken. You have no business to prattle about a respectable woman passing along the road."

Mathur replied, "Did I not say that a smattering of English converts our brethren into fiery sahibs! Well, if one is not to discuss one's sister-in-law, whom is one to discuss—his grandmother? Anyway, let it pass. Relax your scowling face, or the crows would begin to peck at it. What luck! That clown Rajmohan to have a wife like this!"

"Marriage is called a lottery," said Madhav.

And after a few more words the two parted company.

### CHAPTER III.

Kanakmayee and her companion silently pursued their way home. The latter was feeling extremely shy before men, and at her silence Kanak also had to remain silent. Kanak, however, felt the missed opportunity of wagging her tongue very keenly. The pathway was more lonely near their homes, and the younger woman began, "How the wretched wind hustled me!"

"Why?" replied Kanak laughingly, "has your brother-in-law never seen you before?"

"I am not thinking of him. But there was another man with him."

"He is Mathur Babu. Have you never seen him?"

"No, indeed! Is he Mathur Babu, the cousin of my sister's husband?"

"Yes, who else?"

"What a shame! Please don't talk about it to anybody."

"Oh no! I am going to tell people that you dropped your veil and showed your face when coming back from the river," said Kanak and began to simper. The younger woman said angrily, "Go to Jericho! How she goes on! I would never have come with you if I had known—"

Kanak laughed again.

"Leave your jokes alone.—O horror! Durga save me!" cried out the young woman as she cast her eyes towards her house and began to tremble. They were at that time quite close to it. Kanak saw Rajmohan standing at the door



with glaring eyes, the very image of Death, and whispered to her companion, "There is trouble for you! Let me go in with you. I might be of some help."

Rajmohan's wife replied in the same low tone, "Oh no! I am quite used to it. It would probably be worse if you are there. You had better go home."

At this Kanak went her way. Rajmohan did not speak to his wife when she entered the house. She went to the kitchen to put her pitcher down. He followed her silently there. When she had set it down, he said to her, "Wait a moment," and poured out all the water on the dust-heap. Rajmohan had an old aunt who used to do his cooking. She scolded Rajmohan for thus wasting the water, "Why are you throwing the water away? You don't keep a score of servants to draw water."

"Shut up, you old hag," cried out Rajmohan and flung away the empty pitcher. Then he turned round to his wife and said in a softer but scathing tone, "Well, queen, where have you been?" The woman firmly whispered back, "I had gone to fetch water." She was standing like a statue exactly on the spot where her husband had asked her to stop.

"To fetch water!" taunted Rajmohan, "but with whose permission did you go out?"

"With nobody's permission."

Rajmohan could restrain himself no longer. "With nobody's permission!" he shouted, "have I not forbidden you a thousand times?"

The woman replied in the same even tone, "You have."

"Then, wretched girl, why did you go?"

The woman proudly replied, "I am your wife." Her face reddened and her voice began to be choked. "I had gone because I thought there was nothing wrong in it."

At this display of boldness, Rajmohan absolutely blazed up. "Have I not forbidden you a thousand times?" he shouted, and jumping on his wife who was standing stock-still, gripped her by the wrist, raising his other hand to strike her.

The helpless woman seemed to understand nothing. She did not move away one step from her assailant, but only looked at him with such pathetic eyes that his hand remained motionless as if spell-bound. After a moment's silence Rajmohan dropped his wife's hand, but immediately shouted out, "I'll kick you to death."

Even then the chidden woman did not reply. Only tears were streaming down her face. At the sight of her silent suffering the cruel man softened a little. He no longer tried to beat her,

but continued his abuse. It is unnecessary to try the patience of my readers by reproducing all of his Billingsgate. The patient woman bore it silently. When, at last, Rajmohan's anger ebbed away, his aunt gathered some courage. She took her nephew's wife by the hand and led her into a room, all the while scolding her nephew. Even that was done circumspectly. But when she saw at last that Rajmohan had almost cooled down she burst out in her turn and paid the nephew back in his own coin. Rajmohan was then nursing his own grievances. He could not quite appreciate the language of his aunt. At any rate there was no novelty in it, for he had heard it many times before. So they both parted. The aunt began to console the wife, and Rajmohan went out pondering whom to fall upon and smash up.

#### CHAPTER IV.

#### The History of the Rise and Progress of a Zemindar Family

It is a notorious fact that many eminent zemindar families in Bengal owe their rise to some ignoble origin.

Bangshibadan Ghose lived as a menial servant with an old zemindar of East Bengal whose name and family are now extinct. The unfruitfulness of his first marriage induced the zemindar, late in life, to take another wife, but it had been preordained that he should live and die childless. He had, however, a blessing which next to a progeny he deemed the greatest good that could befall him in his old age—a young and beautiful wife. It is true indeed that discordance and broils between his two helpmates often interrupted his domestic felicity, for the elder lady always sturdily maintained that seniority constituted the indisputable rule by which favours should be bestowed, which indisputable rule, however, the old gentleman always presumed to dispute. Matters were getting to a hopeless state when interfered an umpire whose award brooked no question, and justly acknowledging the claims of her own indefeasible right of seniority removed the elder lady to another world. The old man and his youthful mate were now left in peace, but the former justly took warning by the occurrence and perceived that he himself might be called upon to follow at no distant day. Now hopeless of leaving a family, he reflected with bitterness that his ample estates must be left to the enjoyment of those who had been to him almost strangers, and that though they might remain in the possession of his wife during her



lifetime, she could not, with her hands fettered by the law, be anything more than a pensioner on her own estate. Desirous of leaving it in a condition which should leave the young woman its complete mistress, and led into the same course by the advice and influence of his wife, whose perception of her own future prospects was wonderfully clear, he began to free his possessions of landed incumbrances and to convert his zemindaris into ready money and movables as often as he could advantageously do it, and so successful was his uxorious zeal that when he died his relict became the mistress of a splendid fortune of which landed property formed a very inconsiderable portion. Now Karunamayee was a decidedly sensible woman, and she judged it right that, mistress of her fortune and her person, she should enjoy both. Ram, the godhead, she argued, had, in the depth of his love and gratitude for his adored wife, consoled himself in the days of his bereavement by a metallic representative of Sita. Why then should not her immense love for her departed husband find expression under the same representative system? She also thought that it would be a decided improvement in the plan, if she made a human being instead of a metallic image represent the loved and lost one for whom she mourned, inasmuch as a human being is a nobler thing, and would bear a closer resemblance than metal, and also as such resemblance would by no means be confined to the external form alone. Thus fortified by reason and veneration for the departed as well as by the example of the gods, she lost no time in making her choice. Bangshibadan Ghose the menial servant was the happy mortal on whom it fell. This crafty person perceived his advantage too clearly to neglect it, and lord of his mistress's bosom, he saw no reason [why]\* he should not be the same of her fortune. It was an easy achievement and his progress from the rank of Khansama to that of Sadar Naib was rapid. A fever originally slight, but which from unintelligible or rather very intelligible causes, became fearfully violent, forced the anxious widow to part with her domestic and with the world before age had chilled her fires. A few days after, the distant and expectant relatives of her husband came to take possession of her estates, but found to their great mortification that they consisted only of a few wretched villages. Of movables, they were told, there were only a few and these she had given away to her servants.

\* The portions bracketted were found partly or wholly moth-eaten, and the readings have been restored by us.

Bangshibadan carried with him a splendid fortune to Radhaganj, the seat of his humble paternal abode. He very prudently made no display of his immense wealth, except so much as was necessary to a life of comfort. On his demise he left a splendid patrimony to each of his three sons. These, who deemed long possession had conferred security, were no longer restrained by the same prudential considerations as their father, purchased zemindaris, built fine houses, and assumed the state and style that belonged to their wealth. The eldest Ramkanta by dint of prudent and able management improved his share, and after having lived to a green old age bequeathed it to the equally able or abler hands of his only son, Mathur, with whom we have had the pleasure of making the reader acquainted. Ramkanta had viewed with eyes of jealousy the encroachments that were being made in the ancient manners and usages by the influence of western civilization and had steadily forborne to send his son to an English school, which he condemned as a thing not only useless but as positively mischievous. Mathur was early associated with his father in the management of the zemindari and proved an exceedingly apt scholar in the science of chicane, fraud and torture.

The fate of Ramkanai, the second son of Bangshibadan, was different. By nature indolent and extravagant, he soon managed to throw his affairs into disorder. His houses and gardens were the most magnificent, his estates the most unprofitable and the worst managed. Some wily hangers-on, too, played on his credulity and painted to him in alluring colours the chances which a certain mercantile scheme they propounded presented of retrieving his affairs. Ramkanai followed their advice and, placing himself under their guidance, took up his residence in Calcutta. It is needless to add that his advisers continued to fleece him of every farthing he had ventured in the speculation and eventually to bring his mismanaged and neglected estates to the hammer.

One good result however had followed Ramkanai's residence in the metropolis. Influenced by the example of the metropolitans, he had bestowed on his son Madhav as good an education as he could receive in Calcutta. He had also accomplished that great object of a Hindu father's love—the marriage of his son with a girl of remarkable beauty. A poor Kayastha dwelt in a small village in the vicinity of Calcutta, who boasted that the only good fortune that the heavens had conferred on him



was perfect in its kind, and his two daughters had not their equal in beauty or in dutiful and amiable conduct. But the same circumstances which often so cruelly match the fairest and tenderest of fair and tender Bengalis, consigned the eldest of his daughters, the noble and beautiful Matangini, to the arms of the brutal Rajmohan; yet, when the marriage took place, Matangini's father thought he had not chosen ill. Rajmohan had indeed then reached manhood and was therefore unsuited in age—but this was not minded much. He possessed no handsome person—but a handsome person was to be looked for in a boy bridegroom, not in a man. He lived in an adjoining village, and the prospect that no great distance would separate father and daughter served greatly to favour the match in the eyes of the former. His robust frame and vast strength were the envy and admiration of all who knew him. His spirit was active and energetic, ready in expedients, and as a natural consequence, though his father had left him no fortune and given him no education, he was never much in want. This circumstance which promised to rescue Matangini from the pinchings of poverty seemed to her father to be another and the greatest recommendation, and the marriage accordingly took place. The younger and more fortunate Hemangini became the bride of young Madhav.

The father of Madhav died a little before the latter completed his studies at college. He would have been left penniless but for a circumstance which nobody had foreseen.

Ramgopal the third son of Bangshibadan was neither so fortunate as the first, nor so unfortunate as the second. He died early and childless bequeathing nearly the whole of his property to his nephew Madhav on condition the latter maintained his relict as long as she lived in Madhav's household.

Madhav continued his studies till he finished them, his agents managing his estate for him during his absence and minority. After the expiration of the year, he prepared to leave the city for Radhaganj with his young and beautiful wife. Before [going there he] took her to her father's house in order [to enable her to] bid her parents farewell. [Madhav's wife] was beloved by her sister, [and design] or accident brought also Rajmohan [and his wife to the] house.

Madhav intended to make a short stay with his father-in-law; Hemangini incessantly wept at the prospect of parting with her parents and her sister, for how long she knew not. It was a far,

far country whither she was going, and would she ever come back to the scene of her earliest affection? Would her parents ever visit her there? Her father said he would, but then her mother? her sister? Her mother and sister answered not, but wept with her in silence, and gave her their blessings.

Matangini took hold of her sister's hand and drew her aside. When they were alone, she said, "Hem, I have something to ask of you." Hemangini did not reply but gazed upon her sister with an enquiring look in her large black eyes.

"Hem," Matangini resumed, "we part to-morrow."

Hemangini burst into tears. "Weep not, sister," said Matangini, calming her own agitated features with effort, "weep not; the gods will bless you, and you have a husband, Hem, who will make you happy." As she said this, warm tears ran down her cheeks and fell upon the lily hands that she held in her own.

"What were you going to ask of me?" inquired Hemangini, wiping her eyes.

"I am poor, Hem, very poor, but were it for me only I would never speak of it to you. But my husband, whatever he is, sister, Heaven made him so—he is my husband and I care for him. He has now nothing to do and is reduced to great straits. He has besought me to ask you to speak to my brother-in-law."

"Yes, I will; but what shall I ask in his behalf?"

"An employment—some means of earning a livelihood."

"I will," promised Hem, and then the sisters conversed on other subjects.

Hemangini had in the ardour of her affection for her sister undertaken a task which she knew not how to execute. She was still of that tender age when wives in her country speak always timidly to their husbands, and hardly ever on such subjects. She mustered resolution, nevertheless, and when she saw her husband, related to him the conversation she had [had] with her sister. Her husband promised to do what he could. Rajmohan had, with the usual bashfulness of boors, chosen the indirect agency of *sari* Government, usually restored to by poor relatives, instead of a direct and personal application to his brother-in-law. Madhav chose to reply in person, and the next morning drew Rajmohan into a conversation on the subject. He politely enquired what Rajmohan's present pursuits were, and desired to know if he wished to change them. Rajmohan, from foolish pride or shame or



perhaps from design, made no avowal of distress, but said he, he had nothing particular to do at present. Madhav then informed him that he had need of the assistance of some able and trustworthy relative to overlook the management of a part of his zemindari, and if Rajmohan had no objection to a change of residence to Radhaganj, he would ask him to do this friendly office.

"That cannot be, sir," replied Rajmohan; "with whom can I leave my family?"

"I have thought of that," replied Madhav, "I shall provide them with a comfortable home at Radhaganj."

Rajmohan darted an expression of fierce anger at his brother-in-law.

"At Radhaganj!" he exclaimed, "never, I shall sooner die if necessary in prison." Saying this, he walked away in great anger.

Madhav was surprised at this burst of temper but said nothing. Rajmohan however had scarcely a choice to make. For reasons which even his wife did not know, he had himself become anxious for a change of residence, though Radhaganj he had never thought of. He had made poverty the pretext of his application, but poverty seemed to be the least powerful cause which had led to it. And he also seemed to entertain the utmost repugnance to Madhav's proposal. Taking his *chudder* Rajmohan left the house. He ran rather than walked through the fields in the noonday sun, stopping nowhere and speaking to nobody. Hours and hours after he returned, with a gloomy and vexed countenance. He had decided on going to Radha-

ganj with his family, and informed Madhav of his determination in no very gracious terms. Madhav agreed to wait a few days more in Calcutta to allow him to make his preparations, which done they left the city together and reached Radhaganj in a few days.

Notwithstanding the churlish manner with which Rajmohan had accepted of his assistance, Madhav behaved very handsomely towards him. Aware of the unprincipled and unscrupulous character of his rude brother-in-law, but sincerely compassionating the unmerited fate of Matangini, he vested him with the nominal control of one single village but allowed him a handsome salary in return. He also built him a house, the one where this narrative opened, and gave him lands to cultivate by hired labourers if he chose. Indeed, this latter employment chiefly engaged Rajmohan's attention, as he had little or nothing to do with the zemindar's sherista.

But this liberality did not command much gratitude from its [unworthy] object. Ever since their arrival at Radhaganj he behaved with coldness, and perhaps with more than coldness towards his benefactor, and the benefactor and the benefited had little intercourse with each other. Madhav seemed not to notice his strange conduct [or if he] did, it was with indifference, though he never lessened his bounty to its ungrateful object. One painful effect of this feeling on both sides was that the sisters, who loved each other dearly, had very little of each other's company.

(To be continued)

## NEW EDUCATION AND THE OLD PSYCHOLOGY

By M. GILLET

A few days ago Prof. Flugel, lecturer in psychology at University College, London, gave a most illuminating address on ascetic ideas in their relation to education. Some of the ideas in this essay are borrowed from that address.

Progressive education aims at providing so free and natural an environment that a child will find in his school nothing to cramp or artificially mould him, nothing to produce those painful psychoses such as 'inferiority,' 'bombast,' 'sadism' and so on which most of us suffer from in greater or less degree, and

which can almost if not quite always be traced back to school or home. The exponents of the New Education claim that the happy child is the good child and will make the good citizen, and a child to be happy must have the maximum of freedom to live his own life as he chooses, not as the self-styled wise adult chooses for him.

We all mean to be wise adults. We all think we know how to bring up a child. The last thing we realize is that we have none of us any sort of right to try to bring up another individual in the way we think he should go.



By so doing we are in reality affirming one of two things. Either "Here am I—satisfactory neither to myself nor to society—and my child is going to be all I am not" or else "Here am I, splendid sort of fellow. I've done well, so what is good for me is good for my child." In the first case how can we be sure that we shall do any better the second time than the first, and in the latter—well, however fine a fellow I may think myself, or am, my children are not myself. They are a new creation. So let us stop trying either to mould the lives of children so that they are like or unlike the present generation. It is putting new wine into old bottles and the end will be—sheer loss. But what is behind much of the adult attitude to the up-bringing of children?

Dr. Flugel would answer, asceticism. He describes various types of asceticism. There is first utilitarian asceticism, that is, self-discipline not for its own sake but for an end which cannot be reached without it. For example, persistence in learning to ride a bicycle after it has flung you in the ditch several times, for the sake of the pleasure of seeing the country in the long run. This kind of asceticism is obviously of great value in life and so long as it comes from the child's own volition it can have no harmful effects. Then there is what he calls Epicurean asceticism, self-discipline in order to enhance enjoyment. For example, I remember as a child choosing always to go to bed early on Christmas Eve in order to make the joys of Christmas morning come more quickly. This again is of value if it comes from one's own free will. But there are other forms of asceticism just as common which are not often recognized as such, and which are likely to have dire results. These, for brevity, I will class all together as punitive forms of asceticism. This must be taken to include punishment of oneself as well as of others.

Why do the majority of parents and teachers still say that character cannot be formed unless children are made to do what they dislike? The answer is that deep within us is a primitive fear, a taboo which whispers "If you are too happy, too successful, the gods will be angry or jealous. You must sacrifice. You must not speak proudly of your beautiful baby son, you must call your lovely daughter

by a name that suggests ugliness; your happiness will not last unless you sacrifice." So not only do many of us extract a strange joy out of suffering, because we feel that thereby we stand well with the gods, or ourselves, or some force we all call by different names; but alas, we also inflict the same taboo on others, chiefly on our children. Most teachers and parents are masochistic—they enjoy self-sacrifice—who will deny it?—and therefore most are sadists because what is sauce for the old goose is sauce for the young gander. So they make the child learn what he hates and do what he hates; if he rebels they punish him for his good because through pain comes joy. Thus the strong father says "A little bullying is good for a boy" or "Drop mathematics? No sir, certainly not. I know you have no capacity for it, but it's doing the things we don't like that makes men of us." And so on. Sadism, whether expressed in crude corporal punishments or in the even crueller tortures of the mind exemplified by parent, too will always find a moral justification for its action. And this moral justification comes from our inbred asceticism.

Now the modern schools of the world—schools like Santiniketan, Bedales, the King Alfred School, Summer-hill, are all a revolt against this asceticism. Of course we cannot and do not wish to do away with asceticism altogether. Utilitarian and Epicurean asceticism obviously will always have their place. We shall always make ourselves do unpleasant things in the search for a desired goal. But let us be honest about the other sorts of asceticism and recognize them for what they are. Most of our 'don'ts' to children are quite unjustified. Naughtiness is nearly always just creativeness, and when it is not it is ourselves who should be blamed because we have forced the naughty child to take pleasure in annoying us. Let me illustrate these 'wild' assertions. We say "Don't get your clothes dirty; don't climb trees, it's dangerous; don't hinder mother when she's busy; don't swear; don't, don't, don't." The surging life energy of childhood on the other hand urges a child to make mud pies, slide down grassy banks on the seat of his clean pants, makes him want to learn to do what mother is so busy about, makes him want to experiment with adult



expletives, and so on. If you try to stop this life energy of childhood you are damming up the stream of creation, the gift most divine, the very gift which brings hope with the advent of every new baby to a hopeless world. And what is more, you are turning a lover into a hater, a sin past forgiveness, because the thwarted child will become the resentful, selfish, destructive adult. We hate not so much what makes us suffer; no; we hate most those we *cause* to suffer. So when the mother constantly appeals to her child to be good because "it hurts mother when her child is naughty," she must not be surprised if that child shows his resentment by behaving as badly as possible to his mother.

We who uphold the New Education believe that true morality is enjoyment of life. Love is joy, and love is the highest we know. Let joy be the guiding principle of education, not asceticism, not this stern insistence on the unpleasant. Children will always learn because they have the likeness of the Creator—but that likeness can be effaced and it is we grown-ups who are most likely to be the Vandals by trying to mould the free and joyous spirit of childhood, to pour it into neat traditional shapes; to insist on painful initiation rites before we allow the child to partake of even as much liberty as we have ourselves.

Somebody—I have forgotten who—has been collecting statistics by means of a questionnaire to find out whether strictly brought up children are more successful social units when grown up than those who were brought up leniently. So far the findings indicate that strictly brought up children have fewer friends, make more disastrous marriages, are weaker morally, and suffer from more fears and inhibitions than those who have been left alone to grow more as nature dictates. This may sound fantastic, but is it not common sense? The race has evolved from the

primeval slime by its freedom to experiment, to make trial and error. Nature herself provides enough of discipline. I know a boy who would not learn to read or write, who taught himself to do both well in a short time in order to be able to write a book. If the interest is there, discipline is accepted willingly.

After reading books or hearing lectures on education and psychology I often feel quite in despair. How in the world can I avoid injuring the child in some way by my ignorance? I believe the answer is "Let nature be your teacher." Supposing you have respect for a child's personality, natural affection, and at least some self-control, then I believe you should be content to leave action to the inspiration of the moment—in other words to act spontaneously and by intuition, not by the cold light of reason. The old advice was—never punish in anger. Now psychologists seem to be saying "Never punish except in anger." An occasional annoyed slap can be understood by any child for what it is worth. "Mother means no harm but she's lost her temper—as I so often do." The old hypocritical "I must punish you but it hurts me far more" does not go down with a child. He doesn't believe it. Even when he does he resents it—because it afflicts him with a sense of inferiority and impotence, but most of all because he is made to feel guilty not only of a deed which may not be sinful in his own eyes, but also of an act of violence against the parent, which he never intended.

So perhaps the difficult business of child education is going to resolve itself simply after all. Perhaps our educational slogan should merely be "Hands off" rather than anything more learned or high sounding. If we believe children to be nearer God than we are in their joyous simplicity then let us beware of caging them and clipping their wings by our sunless grown-up asceticism.





## THE AWAKENING OF RELIGION IN JAPAN

By P. N. ROY

THE symptoms of a religious revival are now visible in the East. Old faiths that were supposed to have been languid and moribund are showing signs of vigour and upsurgence. A new sense of the excellence of the national heritage is overtaking the peoples of the East. Customs that were discarded, modes of thinking and of living that were abandoned, types of worship that were looked upon as out of date and as vestiges of a state of civilization that has been surpassed, are now again asserting their claims as potent factors in moulding and guiding the strained and confused life of the hybrid East of today.

This process of renewed spiritual galvanization is to be observed from the one end of the Orient to the other. Whoever has the ear to hear will perceive the new voice of the soul of the Orient in anguish trying to renovate itself. In this effort at renovation, it is being increasingly realized that the salvation of the Orient lies along the way traced for all time to come by its ancient sages and wise men. It is not a return back to the past; it is a forward movement in which new experiences are being leavened by old virtues and old truth.

The phenomenon is observable in the Islamic world, in the middle East and in the far East. The progressive activity and the secularization of life that we find in the Islamic world should not lead us to wrong conclusions. The abolition of the Caliphate and the birth of nationalism in the near Eastern countries may apparently seem to be undermining the influence of Islam as a guiding force, but in reality what is happening is only the transference of the religious authority from the priest to the State which is gaining an ethical character, and the nationalism that is today busy in creating a strong State will ultimately revivify the Islamic spirituality which is the national patrimony of these countries.

In the middle East India offers an interesting spectacle of the re-birth of old idea under new influence. In India, on the one hand, there is at work a process of rapid dissolution of many elements of society and life and on the other hand a process of reconstruction in which the strong qualities of traditional Indian conceptions are being put to test.

In the far East, China is now turning again to her spiritual tradition as created by her ancient sages Laotze and Confucius. After an unsuccessful effort to imitate the Western civilization China is now coming to realize that to go against the genius of the race is a fatal mistake and so General Chiang-Kai-Shek and his lieutenants have started the new life movement calling the Nation back to its past wherefrom to derive the required strength for its growth in the future. The interesting thing to observe is that the cry to fall back upon the spiritual heritage is raised by the so-called "returned-students" of China who were once the champions of blind imitation of the West. It is these returned students who are now the opponents of the co-educational system in China, who are against the political "isms" of the day and who have rediscovered Confucius. The cult of Confucianism is now in full swing in China. It is being diffused not only by the intellectuals but by the Officials of the Government. The journals have taken up the cry of return to Confucius and the school authorities have been asked to observe the 27th of August of every year as the day for offering sacrifice to the sage. All the dilapidated temples in the cities or the country-side dedicated to Confucius have been repaired.

In Japan also there is now a revived interest in religion. One writer, Mr. Kenlo Nara, in an article in the *Osaka Mainichi* of September 9, 1934, says that not for decades, perhaps for centuries, has Japan felt such a revival of interest in religious matters as she



is feeling today. Japanese papers report the birth of many new Shinto sects. The educated people are showing increased reverence for Tenrikyo and Omotokyo. There is a marked revival of interest in Buddhism which had found special manifestation in the pan-Pacific Buddhist Congress held from the 18th to 21st July last.

It is claimed by some that the present movement is the necessary counterpart of Japan's immense material progress, that the Japanese have completed the material evolution of society and now they are feeling the necessity of a moral revolution because only now have the changes in the social and the ethical fabric become really far-reaching and of pressing importance and spiritual confusion is the result, that everywhere it has been suddenly discovered, the old foundations that were thought to be as they had been through the ages are crumbling and giving way, that in this attempt at moral revolution the first attention is naturally turned towards religion.

Others explain that the revival of religious interest in Japan is the echo of the agony of the human soul all over the world in this moment of political and economic crisis.

Before we pass any remark on the explanations we should like to observe that religious psychology in an individual as well as in a nation is produced by a mood of depression, by the spirit of defeatism, by the sense of failure, as well as by a mood of exaltation, by the spirit of victory, by the sense of success. The attitudes of pessimism and of optimism are equally conducive to the growth of the religious sentiment. To which of these two sources is the interest in religion in Japan to be traced?

According to the explanations given above it would seem that Japan's religious interest has been the result of a mood of depression and of the sense of failure. The whole world today is ailing and so may be Japan, but to us it seems that the religiosity of Japan proceeds from the contrary source. It is not the mood of depression and defeatism that is at the bottom of it, rather the mood of exaltation, the sense of success, the sense of a creative urge. There may be and to some extent there certainly is some spiritual con-

fusion in Japan, but this confusion does not result from the crumbling of her age-old social foundations but from the failure of the Western political and economic dispensation of society. If Japan today has any sense of failure, it is this and so she is becoming more strongly attached to her national tradition.

We say more strongly because it is to be doubted if the extensive material progress of Japan on Western lines has been able to shake the foundations of Japanese life. When in the last century Japan introduced the mechanical civilization of the West, she at the same time strengthened the basis of tradition by restoring the Shinto. The mechanical civilization has only changed the exterior of the Japanese people, but its soul has remained uninfluenced by it.

Japan has not known that agony of soul due to the clash of culture which India and China know, because for Japan occidentalism was an invited guest and not an intruder. She introduced Western methods of industrialization and the Western political methods for her own benefit, knowing well to what extent she could go with it and where to stop. In fact the religious policy of Japan of the last six or seven decades show how she has tried and become successful not only to keep intact but to reinforce her national religion *i. e.* Shinto. We have already seen how Shinto was restored to its pristine glory in 1868, shortly after the introduction of Western civilization. When in 1889 the new constitution, based on the principles of liberalism, was promulgated, Japan had to recognize the liberty of religious worship in conformity with the liberal principles. But the Japanese statesmen saw that this step was likely to weaken the position of Shinto by putting it in competition with other religions. To save Shinto from this situation it was officially declared that Shinto was not a religion but a civic and national duty, and therefore its observance was compulsory for all Japanese citizens. Uptil 1900 the Japanese Government had an administrative Office for shrines and temples which looked after both the Shinto and the Buddhist cult. But in that year this office was suppressed and two new offices were created in its place, one to look after the



Shinto, the other for other religions. In 1913 the latter office passed under the Ministry for Education, while the former continued to exist as a part of the Ministry of the Interior.

This official definition of the Shinto as not religion is only a compromise between modernism and traditionalism. It does not mean any alteration of its character which is essentially religious for the Japanese people. On the contrary the special care bestowed on it by the Government has strengthened this character in the mind of the people. It has been further strengthened by the historical achievements of Japan during the last few decades. To the Japanese Shinto means divine protection of the fatherland, divine origin of the ruling dynasty, divine character of the emperor and the continuity of the national conscience through ancestor worship. It is thus a religion which nourishes patriotism and is nourished by it. It can easily be imagined how the imperialistic progress of Japan can foster the growth of faith in this religion.

The revival of interest in the Shinto cults and the birth of so many new Shinto sects are the by-product of Japan's success in the world. This success has produced a national moral emotion which has increased conviction in the protection of the country and the success obtained through the power of a tutelary divinity. In fact there are Japanese thinkers and statesmen who connect this religious stir directly with the Manchukuo affairs. An official investigation carried by the Japanese Government says that the religious spirit is more manifest in the soldiers who have returned from Manchuria. One Japanese thinker, Mr. Chikao Fujisawa has written a book entitled "The Essentials of the Japanese and Oriental Political Philosophy" in which he discusses the Manchukuo problem in the light of the renaissance of Oriental philosophy. General Tinge, the Manchukuo minister in Tokyo, is reported to have said: "In Europe they cannot understand the Manchukuo problem, because they think it is a political question, whereas really it is a question of Oriental philosophy."\* This Oriental

philosophy has found expression today in Japan in the Kodo movement which is calling the nation back to its racial spirit. We shall speak of it later. Here we only want to mention that pilgrimages to Shinto shrines and Shinto festivals have greatly increased in the last year or two and that official encouragement in this direction has been conspicuous.\*

But how are we to account for the revival of Buddhism in Japan? It may be that the revival of Buddhism is partly due to the revival of interest in the Shinto cults. Buddhism was introduced into Japan in the sixth century. It was imbibed by Japan not so much as a religion as a part of the general Chinese culture. Shinto and Buddhism remained for some time distinct without producing any bitter hostility as in later times was produced by Christianity. The reason for this is not far to seek. It lies in the fact which we have mentioned above, *i.e.*, in the fact that it was accepted as a part of Chinese culture. It should also be remembered that Buddhism offers an almost unlimited field for eclecticism, a quality in which the Japanese excel all other people. They did not feel in it that kind of dogmatic rigidity which is to be found in other religions. Buddhism being essentially a religion of self-culture rather than of faith, it had not to challenge any one's faith and so it had no necessity to resort to the stake and the rack as instrument for self-assertion. It only supplemented the Shinto without dethroning it. The two cults existed side by side but in course of time the two were welded together and denominated as Ryobu-Shinto (dual Shinto) in which Shinto deities came to be regarded as *Avatars* of the Buddhist divinities. In this way Shinto became absorbed into Buddhism without being obliterated and though there was a revival of pure Shinto in the 17th century which formed the basis of the restoration of the Shinto in 1867 and though at present an official distinction is maintained between the two, in the life of the people the two are intermingled and any movement in the one is likely to produce repercussions in the other.

The revival of Buddhism in Japan may

\* *Vide—Cultural Nippon*, March 1934, Art. "Europe and Modern Japan" by L. de Hoyer, p. 77.

\* *The Osaka Mainichi* and the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, Nov. 4, 1934—Art. "Religious Revival by Kenlo Nara".



also be partly due to the revival of Buddhism in other parts of the world. Ever since the last decade of the last century a Buddhist renaissance has been slowly manifesting itself. The efforts of the late Rev. Angarika Dhammapal have been a great contributing factor to this renaissance. It was through his initiative that the Mahabodhi Society was established in Calcutta and the Buddhist Vihar was founded in Sarnath, near Benares, where there is now a talk of establishing an international Buddhist University.

But the real cause that has directed the attention of Japan to Buddhism seems to be her relations with the external world today.

To explain what we mean let us go a little back in history and trace the relation of Japan with the external world.

It was the Portuguese who discovered Japan in 1542 and the island of Kiushiu soon became the centre of Christian propaganda and commercial intercourse with Europe. The pioneer propagandist was Francis Xavier who landed at Kagoshima on the 15th Aug. 1549 and soon succeeded in obtaining the permission of the feudal Chiefs of Satsuma to preach Christianity in any part of the fief.

It should not be supposed that the Japanese were enamoured of Christianity. If Japan allowed Christianity to be preached, it was purely out of commercial motives. The Satsuma Chief gave the permission because he was led to believe that if the Jesuits were allowed to preach their religion, trading vessels would visit his fief. But Satsuma Chief was soon deluded and in 1550 he issued an edict making it a capital offence of any of his vassals to embrace Christianity. The edict was occasioned not only by the delusion which the Chief had but was provoked also by the conduct of Xavier and his companions who were full of bigoted intolerance. After several years of this edict another feudatory Chief in Amakusa embraced Christianity in order to attract foreign trade but he too was deluded like the Satsuma Chief and reverted to Buddhism and made the missionaries withdraw.

But Kiushiu continued to be a flourishing centre for Christianity where it was spread by methods not always fair. The Annual letter of 1582 which the Jesuits wrote to Rome mentioned 150,000 converts of whom

125,000 were in Kiushiu. This rich harvest was obtained by the lure of foreign trade.

The method of converting people by alluring them with commercial prospects were given up in some parts, *e. g.*, in Kyoto where the cruelty of the Christian fanatic became known in sanguinary tumults which culminated in the murder of Shogun (1565) and compelled the emperor to issue a decree proscribing Christianity (1568).

Notwithstanding this, Christianity was protected by Nobunaga, a far-sighted statesman, who saw the distant possibilities of the contact with the external world and stood between the Jesuits and the Emperor when a second edict was to be passed.

Nobunaga was succeeded by Hideyoshi in 1582. He followed Nobunaga's policy of tolerance towards Christianity and even signed a patent granting the missionaries the license to preach Christianity in Japan not only without molestation, but with special privileges. This was in 1586. But next year, for reasons unknown, he suddenly changed his policy and issued an edict of banishment.

As a result of this order of banishment some Jesuits left for China while others, in defiance of this order, continued to live under the protection of the converted feudatories. This defiance would certainly have brought them lamentable consequences had not a Portuguese envoy succeeded in persuading Hideyoshi that if the missionaries were driven out, foreign trade would cease. In order not to lose the trade Hideyoshi therefore became more tolerant towards the priests.

But soon the situation was complicated by the arrival of the Franciscans and the Dominicans who entered the scene concealing their real motives under the subterfuge of coming to Hideyoshi as ambassadors from Manila. The discovery of this subterfuge threw Hideyoshi into fury and the fuel was added to the fire by the declaration of the pilot of a merchantman stranded off the coast of Japan, who said: Our Kings begin by sending into the country they wish to conquer, missionaries who induce the people to embrace our religion and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent who combine with the new Christians and



then our kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest."

This time the result was the order for the execution of the Christians.

Hideyoshi died in 1598. The mantle of his authority fell upon Iyeyasu, the Tokugawa Chief. During the time of the Tokugawa rulers, Christianity became exterminated in Japan and the country definitely closed its doors against the world.

It is not to our purpose to go into the reasons for which Christianity was suppressed in Japan. Suffice it to mention that the policy of isolation which she adopted was caused by anti-Christian and not anti-foreign sentiment. She always tried to differentiate between foreign trade and Christianity but at the end it proved impossible to let the one grow without the other and she had to stop both.

After an isolation lasting for 240 years Japan again opened her doors to the world in 1853. But mindful of her past experiences, this time she did so with greater fortification of her own position. Her policy this time was not so much anti-Christian as anti-foreign. She introduced Western science, Western methods of organization, Western political institutions in order to bring prosperity to and increase the efficiency of her people, so that they might stand foreign competition in international rivalry. At first Japan went apace with foreign imitation without any distinct manifestation of anti-foreign feeling, but since 1890 a definite national reaction against foreign imitation set in. The success of war with China and Russia increased the self-confidence of the nation and produced a reactionary tendency against Western culture. At the same time Japan had to recognize the efficiency of the Western civilization in obtaining this success. From that time a discussion of the pros and cons of the old and the new culture began, but Japan continued her experiment with the western methods. But ultimately further experimentation along Western lines began to appear unsafe. Parliamentarism began to produce those evils which it has produced in Western countries. It became the means of pursuing selfish ends and to increase personal prestige and power. Party-politics combined

with the capitalistic spirit made the situation worse. Japan then tried to seek the remedy for the Western evil in another Western political method—the Marxistic socialism.

But when the Marxistic doctrines were introduced, Japan realized that the point was arrived at where she must stop with westernization. Up till now she was able to go on westernizing without losing the Japanese spirit or weakening the real foundations of her age-old society. "The dangerous ideas" of communism identified time-honoured Japanese monarchy with capitalism and the communists made several attempts to overthrow the monarchy and establish Soviet dictatorship.

This state of affairs brought in an energetic reaction of the Japanese spirit which is now ready to counteract not only communism but also capitalistic liberalism. Westernization was carried on by the civil element of the Japanese population, but in this national reaction it is the military element, the inheritors of the Samurai tradition and the Bushido cult, that has taken the lead. This movement for return to Japan's national ideals is known as Kodo.

It is not possible to discuss in detail what Kodo means. It has been translated as the "kingly way". For the Japanese Kodo has a mystic significance involving elements of piety, of abnegation, of loyalty, of the conviction of the sacredness of the imperial authority. It is something that eludes explanation according to logic and reason. It is a flower whose perfume can be perceived only by the Japanese nose. It derives its nourishing sap from the subconscious stratum of the people's mind where the spiritual experiences of the race lie hidden to come up in moments of emergency. In this respect it has affinity with the movements that we find today in Italy and Germany.

But though we cannot explain how these movements come out of the people's mind, we can ascertain what they aim at and so also in the case of Kodo. Kodo intends to unite the principle of liberty with that of authority in the person and character of the emperor of Japan who is the divinely appointed head of the family state and to realize the destiny of the



nation through the perpetuation of the imperial dynasty; in other words, it intends to antidote the poisons of liberalism and communism and to maintain the organic unity of the Nation through the institution of monarchy which, according to the Japanese spirit, is a combination of democratic and theocratic ideals. \*

Now to return to our point, *i. e.*, the revival of Buddhism in Japan. It is a consequence of the Kodo movement. The Kodo movement being essentially a reassertion of the Japanese spirit, it cannot but bring into prominence Buddhism which has contributed so much to the making of that spirit. Japan's debt to Buddhism is incalculable. It has impressed Japanese character, Japanese art, Japanese thought in an indelible manner. "The study of the masterly specimens of sculpture etc. make one doubt whether without the help of Buddhism . . . it would have been possible for Japan to attain such a high stage of refinement as she presented when she opened her doors to foreign intercourse." †

Moreover, a close connection has always existed between Buddhism and the imperial court of Japan. In fact, the connection was so close that prior to the restoration, princes of royal blood were used to be installed as head priest in one or the other Buddhist monastery of the country. It is no wonder therefore that the circumstances that have brought forth the Kodo movement will also bring about a Buddhist revival.

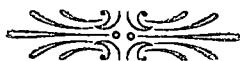
\* For a discussion of the Kodo movement Vide *Cultural Nippon*, March 1934.

† The Japan-Manchukuo year book, 1934, p. 158.

But we should like to mention yet another cause of the revival of Buddhism in Japan. Japan has replaced her one time policy of isolation with such a vigorous policy of expansion that the nations that once tried so much to bring her out of her nook, now consider her to be a danger and disturber of peace and are eager to throw her back again into that nook. But Japan is determined not to be awed into isolation again. On the contrary, now that the West is suffering from its "isms," she is gradually gaining conviction that she has a cultural mission to fulfil in the world. May it not be that Buddhism is being revived in Japan as a means of averting this danger of isolation and as a channel for her cultural expansion?

There is now such a vogue of Buddhism in Japan that it is said that books on Buddhism are among the best sellers today. People are trying to invigorate it according to the needs of the time. Chinese Buddhism has been more or less contemplative but in Japan the Nichiren sect gave it an activist character. Nichiren declared: "Hokekyo teaches the practical life. It covers all activities of existence, production, consumption and all social phenomena." The Japanese are trying to renew this practical teaching of Nichiren. Many Buddhist sects have established Buddhist Universities in Kansai, Tokyo and other places. Radio lectures on Buddhism are proving to be very popular. Lately the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha was celebrated with great pomp.

From whatever causes it might take place, the revival of Buddhism is certainly a happy sign for Eastern people.





## SELF-DETERMINATION BY PLEBISCITE

By BHABATOSH DATTA, M.A.

THE recent conclusion of the Saar Plebiscite has opened a new chapter in the history of nationalism and self-determination. In a world, where on the one side nationalistic claims are being made more strongly than ever, and where on the other side the principles of nationalism have been flouted in a number of cases the determination of the Saarlanders to return to their German fatherland and the acceptance by the League of Nations of his determination have certainly an importance that cannot be exaggerated. There have been plebiscites before this in the history of Europe, but it is difficult to find another example of a plebiscite which was so definite as the last one and so full of possibilities for the future politics of the world.

It was a weary world that looked up to the Conference at Paris, after the conclusion of the War, for peace and justice among nations. The problem of nationalities in Europe has been a baffling one ever since the rise of political consciousness among them and the people expected that the Paris Conference would help the world in securing a balanced adjustment of the rights of different groups. To some extent the Conference was successful. The Poles who were forcibly partitioned among Russia, Austria and Prussia were re-united and the 'soul wandering in search of a body' was allowed 'to begin life over again'. Considerable readjustment was also made in the Balkan Peninsula. The Slavonic groups of the South were pooled together in the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. On the Baltic, a number of distinct groups gained State rights and a long-standing wrong was made good by transferring Alsace-Lorraine to France again.

These were no doubt distinct achievements. And it could not certainly be expected that the Versailles Treaty would remove by one sweep all the ills of a diseased political body. So, naturally, there remained lots of persons and groups of persons who were discontented and who wanted the League of Nations to do justice to them. In a few cases additional provisions were made in the Treaty itself and the case of the Saar was one of them.

A word or two about the Saarland may not be out of place here. The Saar, a region of considerable industrial and mining importance, comprises an area of nearly seven hundred square miles and a population of nearly eight lakhs. The chief industry of the area is coal-mining and there are nearly thirty mines employing roughly seven thousand persons. The average

annual production is more than 12 million tons and the lowest estimate of the coal reserve shows that at least 9,000 million tons of coal are deposited under the soil of the territory. The production of pig iron and steel is also considerable.

On this land, rich with mineral resources, France fixed her eyes and at the end of the War she laid a claim on the Saar mines as compensation for damage caused to her own coal mines by the German troops. The result was that the territory was separated from Germany and France was given the right of exploiting the mines. It would have been going too far to transfer the political control over the Saar to France and so an International Governing Commission, responsible to the League, was set up for carrying on the administration of the territory for a period of fifteen years. At the end of this period, on the 13th of January last, a plebiscite was held and the Saarlanders showed clearly that fifteen years' separation from their fatherland had not been successful in damping their nationalistic sentiment.

The actual effect of this decision of the Saarlanders on France, on Germany and on the Saarland herself are subjects of practical importance. Most politicians express a sense of relief and satisfaction at the easy conclusion of the Saar problem, while there are others who are a bit sceptical about the beneficial effects of this accretion to the dominions of the Nazis. There is certainly still much to speculate about regarding the Saar. But, it must nevertheless be admitted that the students of political science find in the result of the plebiscite something which gives them a guidance in suggesting solutions for other political storm-zones in Europe and elsewhere. The success of the Saar plebiscite leads to an anticipation of similar success in other territories too.

It must, however, be admitted that the Saar plebiscite is not the first of its kind. Plebiscites were known to the French, and the Revolutionary conquests were often followed by voting among the people of the conquered territory. Napoleon had used and manipulated the plebiscite as an instrument to justify his large-scale conquests, and Louis Napoleon got his *coup d'etat* confirmed by the votes of the people. But it was the Peace Treaty after the War that made for the first time a partly systematic provision for plebiscites to determine the political destinies of certain ethnic groups. The results were, however, not in every case adopted as the basis for ordering or stopping transfer of



territories. The boundary line between Austria and Yugoslavia near Klagenfurt was drawn in accordance with the opinion of the people expressed in a plebiscite. The proposal for the transfer of Sopron from Hungary to Austria as provided for by the Treaties of St. Germain and Trianon, was rendered ineffective by an adverse vote of the people of the locality. Similarly, in Allenstein-Marienwerder there was a plebiscite to decide about the apportionment of the territory between Germany and Poland, and effect was in fact given to the wishes of the people of those parts in so far as it was possible to do so under the conditions laid down at the Peace Conference.

These were certainly steps in the right direction. The right of ethnic and of other homogeneous groups to determine their own political destiny is an impregnable one, and the recognition of this right, due no doubt to the efforts of President Wilson, was something of which an exact analogy is not to be found in the past history of European politics.

The grievance of the dispassionate student of international politics is however that this principle was not more widely adopted. President Wilson formulated three famous principles, namely,

(a) "that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were chattels and pawns in a game . . . ."

(b) that every territorial settlement involved in the war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the population concerned, and not as a mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival states, and

(c) that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded to them without introducing new, or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently, of the world."

What the world then required was a full and unqualified recognition of these great principles enunciated by Woodrow Wilson. But neither the Conference nor the League was in a mood to accept these as guiding principles in making settlements in all those spheres where "adjustment or compromise of claims" seemed inevitable.

From the standpoint of political theory the right of self-determination is fundamental. If in a national area the unit is the individual, in the politics of the world as a whole, the nation is the unit. If the cause of liberty of the individual can be defended, so can also be the cause of the liberty of the national group. It was perhaps because of this that John Stuart Mill, the philosopher of individual liberty and of utilitarianism, was a staunch supporter of the rights of nationalities. He was a convinced defender of the mononational state, of the right of nationalities to determine their own destinies

unhampered by any influence from outside. He was fully convinced that "where the sentiment of nationality exists, there is a *prima facie* case for uniting all members of the nationality under the same government and a government of themselves apart." His belief led him to say that free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities. It would be according to him a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of governments should coincide with those of nationalities. One is astonished to find that Mill had not the conviction to make his doctrine applicable to all peoples alike. But, in 1861, there were a few persons only who had as much liberal a mind as Mill had.

Mill's doctrine was not however allowed to stand unchallenged. Political philosophers, brought up on the writings of idealists, refused to accept the doctrine of 'one nation, one state' as a universal principle and attempts were made to sing in hyperbole the glory of the poly-national state. It was difficult, however, to shake the principles formulated by Mill. And the recent changes in the concept of the state have facilitated to a greater extent the recognition of the doctrine of self-determination. Though shunted aside often in practice, the theoretical validity of the principle that the boundaries of states should coincide with the boundaries of nationalities is nowadays unhesitatingly accepted by many. The wide acceptance of the democratic principle implies also the acceptance of the right of self-determination. When one holds that every territorial settlement must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the peoples concerned, he must also be ready to assert that the people of a region can alone judge what their own interest is. And so, the right of the people of any group, who want to have a separate group-existence of their own, to determine their own form of government is indefeasible.

It is however often argued that an indiscriminate grant of the right of self-determination will mean dissension everywhere and the effect will be that every group will try to form a separate state for trivial causes and that every existing state will tend towards disintegration. It cannot be denied that there is some truth in these arguments and it is exactly here that the League of Nations can step in to make matters right.

The sentiment of nationalism is nothing, if not intense; the strength of nationalism lies in the intensity of group feeling, in the fervent desire of the members of the group to live a common political life. The feeling therefore represents no passing phase in the minds of the people. If it is really born, it continues to exist and it comes to have a tendency to become stronger and stronger still. A true nationalism is one which is unabated by rebuff, undamped by passage of time and unshaken



by counter-propaganda. Partitioned in 1772, the Poles retained a strong national sentiment and the strength of it had to be realized by everyone who had a hand in European politics. Separated in 1919 from Germany, the Saarlanders continued to cherish for the last fifteen years an intense love for their fatherland, and no amount of *Status quo* propaganda could deter them from joining by an overwhelming majority the parent-body of which they once had formed a part.

Where the feeling is so very strong, it is a denial of the primary democratic rights to force a people to live under a government which they do not want,—whatever may be the nature of the special safeguards and protection afforded to them. And it is here that a plebiscite can prove useful; a plebiscite among the people will show what the people want and it should be imperative on the rest of the world to abide by the decisions of the people themselves.

But, the critic will say, what provision can be made for protection against frenzies of temporary passion? Where is the guarantee that a group of persons will not vote itself out of a state only because a temporary and unimportant rift has occurred? Is it not likely that every breach of amicable relations between two groups living within the same state will lead to a demand for self-determination by plebiscite? The answer to this volley of questions can be picked up from the experience of the Saar plebiscite. The Saarlanders had been given fifteen years' notice of the plebiscite. In the meantime they could think and decide on the advantage of joining Germany; in the meantime there was ample opportunity for propaganda as well as for counter-propaganda. These fifteen years showed to them the implications of a government by an international commission. The economic union with France, as regards currency and customs tariff, gave them some taste of the nature of French influence. The decision to return to Germany was therefore a product of cool deliberation, of an adequate balancing of the pros and cons of it. Such a decision cannot be the outcome of a mere temporary passion; no amount of Hitlerite propaganda could have induced ninety per cent of the Saarlanders to register their votes in favour of returning to Germany, had they not been themselves burning with a mature desire for doing so.

This, therefore, gives a lesson to those who are seeking a solution of the problem of adjusting nationalistic claims. The strength and the justice of a claim can only be proved by the persistence of it, and if such continuous persistence is proved for a long period of time, there will be ample justification for recognizing that claim. A primary plebiscite may be granted when there is a convincing proof of the existence of a nationalistic claim—of a claim of a national-group to form a new State, or to join a particular State, or

to separate itself from the State which it does not like. The result of the primary plebiscite, if it is found to support the agitation, may be taken as the basis of action. The group can be easily asked to wait for a period of, suppose, ten years at the end of which a second plebiscite will be held. This period of ten years which will intervene between the first expression of a definite nationalistic desire and the final expression of it will give time and opportunity for thought and for deliberation, for propaganda on both sides and also for preparing the world opinion for accepting the result of the final plebiscite. The result of the final voting, therefore, will show whether the voters really desire what they had been agitating for. The elements of temporary likes and dislikes, of frenzies of passion, of blind obstinacy, will be absent from such a decision and the world also will find itself ready to accept it as calmly as it has accepted the return of the Saar territory to Germany.

Such a proposal, however, would not have been possible in the nineteenth century when peace was maintained by a balancing of armaments, when every nation looked upon others with suspicion and distrust, and when a surface-deep *entente* used to cover up dark fumes of animosity. These things have not entirely disappeared from the world, but there is one institution now which the nineteenth-century world did not possess. This institution, the League of Nations, can be made effective in solving the problems which constantly arise on the chess-board of world-politics. To the League of Nations the cultured opinion of the world turns for securing a proper adjustment of nationalistic claims.

It is true, however, that the League is weak and that the League has difficulties. As it is constituted now it cannot always make its voice effective in questions regarding world-politics. There have been cases of claims for self-determination where the League has shown remarkable weakness. It might have been possible, for example, to arrive at a better solution regarding the claim of the inhabitants of the Aland Islands. The islands were ceded by Sweden to Russia in 1809 by the Treaty of Friedrichshamn and they formed a part of the Grand Duchy of Finland until 1917 when the latter territory declared her independence. The Aland Islanders had retained their Swedish character and they claimed the right of self-determination. Unofficial plebiscites recorded a majority vote in favour of return to Sweden and even the grant of autonomy in 1920 could not affect the persistence of their claim to secede from Finland and to join Sweden. At this stage, the League of Nations intervened at the instance of England and, finally, a Special Commission of Inquiry was appointed to investigate into the justice of the claim of the islanders. On the basis of the report of this commission, the League rejected the claim of the islanders to secede from Finland, but compelled Finland to



grant autonomy to the islands together with certain specific guarantees. The League award satisfied Finland and Sweden, while it ought to have satisfied the islanders.

The justice of this settlement can certainly be questioned. The claim of a part of a state to secede from the parent-body is no doubt one which is full of complications, but it cannot be maintained that the right of secession is nowhere appropriate. To deny a part of a state the right to take itself outside the influence of the state is to cling to the metaphysical philosophy of the Hegelian school. It is better to recognize that the state is just one of those human associations which serve some useful purpose and that the compulsion which the state exercises finds its own justification not in the so-called ultra-human nature of it, but in the material services it performs. When the state is brought down from its high metaphysical pedestal to the level of the things of the material world, when it is recognized that there is no special sanctity attached to the state, it becomes possible to hold the idea that on pure material grounds a territory can perhaps have a just claim to withdraw from the corporate body of the state of which it forms a part. The so-called monistic unity of the state, if it exists at all, breaks down when a section in the state rouses itself against the state; the 'organism' becomes disjointed on the expression by one of the limbs of even a desire to separate itself.

It is difficult in these days when political science is gradually becoming more a science of the 'service-state' than of the idealized state, to deny the right of secession when a particular group passionately and fervently wants it. And, in the case of the Åland Islands, it would certainly have been proper to allow the inhabitants to choose their own sovereign—that is to choose between Sweden and Finland. The argument for such a course of action would be stronger because Finland itself was a new state created by breaking away from another state. Under such circumstances it would have been better if the League had proceeded with a primary plebiscite among the islanders. If the plebiscite had shown a majority decision in favour of return to Sweden the islands ought to have been placed under the control of a Governing Commission responsible to the League, or Finland might have been allowed to continue to govern them under the supervision of the League. Then, a second plebiscite taken ten or fifteen years later, would have indicated whether the islanders earnestly desired a union with Sweden. In the meantime, Sweden, Finland and the rest of the world could have prepared themselves for a change in the control over these islands. Here, the League might have shown better statesmanship, instead of the weak and vacillating policy adopted by it.

Similarly, in other cases also, the League has not been able to prove its worth. The partition

of Upper Silesia between Poland and Germany was not certainly in accordance with the recorded opinions of the inhabitants of that territory. In cases like these it would have been possible by the adoption of the system of primary and final plebiscites, to eradicate discontent, particularly among the Germans and the Hungarians, and to stop at the root the growth of irredentist movements.

It must, of course, be recognized in a spirit of fairness to the League, that the Covenant, though containing provisions regarding disarmament, external aggression, registration of treaties, international justice and similar other subjects, says nothing about readjustment of political boundaries in the case of a strong demand from a group of people for such a change. The preamble, which sets forth the intention of the High Contracting Parties in forming the League, seems to be concerned more with the maintenance of *status quo* than with changing it.

By Article X of the Covenant, "the Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and the existing political independence of all Members of the League." This however, does not take any cognisance of a claim made by a part of a state to separate itself from the body of the state. But when such a part wants to do so, it is the *integrity* of the state that is endangered, and if the recalcitrant group strongly wants a separation, the integrity of the state can be best maintained by granting the group the right to secede and not by compelling the separatists to live within the state and thus perpetuating discord. If necessary, it ought not to be difficult to make a minor amendment in the League Constitution in accordance with the procedure prescribed in the last article of the Covenant.

If, thus, the League stands forth as the protector of the rights of nationalities, it can do a real service to the distressed world. Small groups which have no means of making their wills effective will apply to the League for securing the right of self-determination, and the League, after considering the justice of the claim and the probable effect of the recognition of the claim on the international political and economic situation, will order a primary plebiscite. If the result of this be in favour of the maintenance of the *status quo*, the matter will end there. But, if the people show by an absolute majority of the total number of voters in the list that they want to have a separate government of their own, or to join a state with which they are racially or otherwise related, the League should arrange for a second plebiscite after the lapse of a fixed number of years. In the intervening period the area may be governed by the state to which it belongs at the time of application, but certain necessary guarantees may be given to the inhabitants. The result of the second



plebiscite, if it confirms that of the primary one, will effectively indicate what the people really want, and in such cases of confirmation, the League should unhesitatingly arrange for acting in accordance with the expressed opinion of the people. In cases of disputes or legal troubles, the Hague Court may be able to arrive at a solution.

It can be easily imagined that the adoption of such a policy by the League would mean considerable re-making of boundary lines mainly in continental Europe. South Tyrol, for example, may choose to go back to Austria, if an opportunity is given for doing so. Ample facilities should be given, first, for a definite expression of mature and deliberate opinion, unsullied by any temporary grievance, and, secondly, for action in accordance with the opinion expressed. In many areas, the adoption of a scheme of granting the right of self-determination through the mechanism of primary and final plebiscites may be of help in smoothing a large part of the existing troubles.

Such a plan of action will be helpful in other spheres too. As India is a member of the League of Nations, the question of separation of Burma has got more than a domestic importance. To know whether Burma really wants a separation, it is necessary to allow the Burmans to form a definite opinion unaffected by circumstances which are merely temporary and incidental. This can be achieved if a primary plebiscite is

followed by a final plebiscite after an interval of ten or fifteen years and if at the plebiscites all adult citizens be allowed to record their votes. If both of these votings show by an absolute majority of the total number of voters a desire to separate from India, separation should be allowed by all means. Such a procedure will perhaps be the only effective means of determining what the Burmans really want.

It is to the League of Nations, therefore, that one looks for action. No authority other than the League can be entrusted with the difficult and delicate task of adjusting nationalistic claims; and the successful performance of no task other than this can bring real peace. For, peace depends, not so much on reduction of armaments as on elimination of discontent—not so much on maintaining at any cost the existing state of affairs as on altering the situation as circumstances change. The High Contracting Parties can certainly promote international co-operation and achieve international peace and security by the "prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations"; but these relations, in order to be honourable, must pay due regard to the rights of nationalities. And we have seen how these rights of nationalities can be really made effective without perpetuating temporary discords. The Saar plebiscite has imparted a lesson to the world. Will the world fail to benefit by it?

## COLGONG AND ITS HISTORICAL REMAINS

By KALI KINKAR DATTA, M.A.,

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**C**OLGONG is situated in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar on the E. I. Ry. Loop Line at a distance of 246 miles from Howrah. Nature has adorned this place with exquisite beauties; on the east and west of the railway line are hillocks covered with bushes and trees of various descriptions and by the western side of the place flows the Ganges. To one having a contemplative or a poetic turn of mind the serene flow of the Ganges and the sublime pose of the hillocks would appear as objects of profound interest.

The place has a special value also for the students of history. In every nook and corner of the town are found relics and remnants of the past which clearly indicate the historical importance of the place during ancient, mediaeval and also modern times. It is well known to all that the region from Jamalpur to Barahrwa has a great strategic importance because of its special

geographical features and as such a study of its past history is also interesting and profitable.

Old travellers and writers from Hieuntsang to Buchanan (1811) and Captain Walter S. Sherwill (1846-1851) have referred to Colgong in their accounts. At the top of the hillock lying to the east of the railway station are several muslim tombs. The most prominent one of these is referred to as the *dargah* or shrine of the martyr Kumari (Shahid); there is no inscription on it. Buchanan, who visited Colgong on the 27th of October, 1810, has referred to this tomb in his Bhagalpur Journal (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, September-December 1929, p. 312).

In the north-east corner of the town is an extensive plot of land containing many old muslim tombs. The largest and the most important of these is regarded by some as the tomb of Mahmud Shah, the last independent



king of Bengal who died at Colgong in 1539 after the sack of Gaur. [*Bhagalpur District Gazetteer* by J. Byrne, p. 164; Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 140; *Ryax-us-salatin* (English translation), p. 142, footnote; Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal* Vol. XIV, p. 85]. Recently the Archaeological Department has made arrangements for its preservation. The tomb is further a fine specimen of old Indian architecture.

The muslim inhabitants of Colgong have preserved in the mosque of the Pathanpura mahalla a slab of stone (24" long and about 12" broad) containing a valuable inscription in Persian dated 1012 A. H. This slab of stone was found about 3 or 4 feet beneath the ground while digging the earth for constructing a house in a neighbouring mahalla. The inscription refers to the construction of a fort by Nawab Zafar Khan (Akbar's governor of Behar) under the management of his slave Muhammad Jalal on the 4th (month not mentioned) of 1012 A. H. The inscription can be thus translated :

"God is Great !

This fort in the name of his holiness the Prophet (Peace be on him) which has been constructed by Nawab Zafar Khan under the management of his slave Muhammad Jalal.

Dated on the 4th.....1012 A. H."

During the 19th century this region was famous for indigo manufacture and there were indigo factories at Colgong and its surrounding localities. Just to the west of the Colgong Railway Station is an old building called the 'Hill House' constructed with considerable skill and workmanship at the top of a hillock. This house belonged to the famous indigo planter of Colgong named Mr. Barnes whose concerns were very flourishing during the middle of the 19th century and who took an important part in the suppression of the Santhal Insurrection of 1855-56 in that quarter. It is at present called 'Ganguly Castle' after the name of the Ganguly family of zamindars of Colgong who received it after the death of Mr. Barnes on the strength of a document. The building has been carefully preserved and within it are to be found many beautiful furniture of different kinds. There is an extensive compound round the building in different corners of which are found relics of the past interesting to students of history. To the west of the building there are broken pieces of old statues, images, pillars, etc., gathered at one place (apparently by the present owners) round a Sivalinga; these appear to be of much value for students of Ancient Indian History and Art. In the south-east corner of the compound is an old muslim tomb of large size without any inscription and in the north-east corner of it are to be found remains of 6 tombs of old muslim saints. It appears from the style of construction of the tombs that they belong to the Pathan period of Indian History.

About two miles to the north-east of Colgong

is situated the old and magnificent building of the Indigo Factory at Ganguldai once belonging to the indigo planter Mr. Simon Murchison (*East India Gazetteer*, corrected to the December, 1810). Just on the west of the building flows the river Ganges and on the north of it is a hillock. Buchanan has thus referred to this locality :

"The small hill Ganguldai north by west. On it is a temple of a Sakti of this name, with an image of stone. No inscription."

The temple which is a beautiful specimen of old architecture can still be seen there. Remnants of indigo factories are found in many interior villages near about Colgong, e. g., at Khabaspur, Pialapore, Burani, Shankarpur Shampur, Shau, Bara, Madahpur, Lakshampur, and Madhusudanpur.

In the bed of the Ganges, near Colgong, where the river takes a bend to the north are three rocky islets containing interesting and valuable historical relics. In one of these is a rock-cut temple (now preserved by the Archaeological Department) of a peculiar style having figures of images on all its walls, which I could not identify. Alexandar Cunningham has given the following description of this rock-cut temple :

"In plan it is a square of nearly 12 feet side, with a slight extension of the front on each side. In elevation it has two gable-ends, something like the Teli Mandir at Gwalior. Between the gables roof looks like the imitation of the horse-shoe vault of the great Buddhist caves. The chamber is very small only four feet deep by one foot 10 inches in breadth and 2½ in height.....In front the entrance of the cell has a round head with a breadth of 2½ feet, a depth of 1½ foot, and a height of only 3½ feet" (*Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. XV, p. 35).

He further writes :

"On the summit of the rocks there is a level terrace, on which there was once a large brick temple with white sandstone pillars and doorway of which the door jambs are still standing."

I could not find any sign of this temple; its ruins have also disappeared, but a little above the rock-cut temple I saw a muslim tomb said to be of Shaik Mari Shah.

On another islet are 4 caves, one of which has been converted into something like a temple by a Hindu saint living there with his only companion, a young monkey. In the third also I could notice 3 caves, a large piece of stone containing impressions of two Buddhist images and on the level of it I saw a brick temple which appeared to be of a comparatively modern construction and where, as the local people said, a Sikh saint lived a few years back.

Eight miles north-east of Colgong is Pathargatha ('The ghat of the rocks,'—the Pathergota of Rennel's *Bengal Atlas*), a place which is famous for its archaeological remains and which some try to identify with the site of the famous Bikramsila Buddhist monastery.



These archaeological remains, some caves on the hills and the 'Eighty four images' "sculptured on a rock high up the hill," attracted the notice of old writers like Vijayarama (Tirthamangala, 1769 A. D.), Buchanan, who visited the place on the 16th of January, 1811 and of Bishop Heber who went there on the 8th of August 1824 (*Narrative of a Journey through the upper Provinces of India*, Vol. I pp. 164-268) and also of some later writers like Alexander Cunningham (*Archæological Survey Report*, Vol. XV) and J. Byrne (*Bhagalpur District Gazetteer* p. 171). High up on one of the hills is the temple of Bateswarnatha. Buchanan wrote :

"On the promontory of granite are some small carvings in relievo, but so rude that it would be difficult to say what is meant... East some hundred yards from the promontory, and on the face of the hill is the temple of Bateswarnath, built of brick, and newly repaired but a small and rude edifice."

Vijayarama Senavisarada in his work named *Tirthamangala* dated 1769 A. D. refers to Bateswarnath and other images of Brahma, Vishnu and other gods and goddesses. It is stated in *Uttara-radhiya Kayastha Kulapanjika* that Bateswar Mitra, born of an Uttara-radhiya Kayastha family, married his daughter to king

Ballala Sena, for which he was deserted by his father, brother and other relatives. But Ballala Sena honoured his father-in-law with the newly-acquired Magadha kingdom (Ballala pujitobhutua Bata-abhud Magadhesvara),—a Bengali Kayastha governor of Bihar, eight centuries before Lord Sinha. There was another similar predecessor of the baron in the person of Raja Janaki Ram Som, governor of Bihar in the time of Alivardi Khan. About a mile to the south-east of the Patharghata hills Buchanan noticed "what is called the Dorohor and is supposed to have been a Rajah's house." He continues :

"It appears to have been a round hill perhaps fifty feet in perpendicular height ; but without digging it would be impossible to determine positively whether or not it may not have been a building. If it has been a building, in probability it has been a solid temple (i. e. a Buddhist stupa) no house in decay being capable of leaving such a ruin. There are traces of a square fortification round it, and the surface of the earth within is covered with broken bricks. Many squared stones, one very long, are lying in various parts of the vicinity."

Bijayarama refers to the house of a paharya raja (king of the hill tribes) at Colgong ; the 'Dorohor' above described may be the same.

## "EVOLUTION AND RELIGION"

*A Review*

BY PROF. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA, M. A.

CLEAR and convincing, thought-provoking and stimulating—such is this latest book\* from the pen of Dr. Sunderland. Argument seems to be relative to the writer and he argues his case in a very cogent and impressive manner. The book is, therefore, full of a kind of missionary ardour, for it seeks to persuade and to convince. In this aim the writer succeeds admirably, for he proves his case to the satisfaction of his readers. It should not, however, be understood that this is a book of vehemently controversial nature. The learned author puts forth his case without raising his voice or offending his opponents. He is a model of good temper and gentle yet forceful pleading.

To say that Dr. Sunderland is a very learned man will mean stating what is only obvious. But none can deny that in this book he makes a very judicious and pretentious use of his learning. It is true he is a very careful student of science and religions and that he has read all the relevant literature for the purpose of writing this book, but nowhere does he try to impress in things merely for the sake of overawing the reader. The book, therefore, does not lean under a formidable citation of authorities, nor is it over-weighted with obscure learning, curious

facts and recondite scholarship. In other words, the book is neither dull nor dry as such books are usually found to be. Its argument is as clear as crystal and the method of its presentation is throughout interesting and sometimes gripping. Throughout the book the appeal is addressed to the common sense and instructed intelligence of the readers and occasionally the writer appeals strongly to our feelings. The book is therefore, not merely a logical and clear statement of facts, but also a fervent exposition of convictions.

That this book has made a deep impression on my mind speaks much for it. In the first place, I am not a scientist and in the second place I have never taken much interest in the dogmatic and theological side of religion. Perhaps the scientist may be able to point to the inadequacy of the doctor's argument and the theological controversialist may say that the conclusions at which the writer arrives are not borne out by what he has read in his scriptures. But this will be neither here nor there. I do not think the book will convince the dogmatic scientist or the professional theologian (which book can ever convince them ?), but I am sure it will impress those who come to it with a fresh mind. I go even further than this and say that though the argument of the book might leave some readers unconvinced its style would move everyone.

\* EVOLUTION AND RELIGION : By Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland. Published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta.



Readers of all shades of opinion will find something in this book to stimulate their thought and moral susceptibilities.

Dr. Sunderland in this book sets out to prove that the theory of evolution is not inimical to religion. It is, on the other hand, a great auxiliary to it. In the first chapter he discusses the evolution of the world in the light of different cosmogonies and especially in the light of the Genesis story of creation. He finds all these accounts to be inadequate, contrary to reason, facts and experience. He, therefore, says, "In truth, it is in *Evolution* that we have a *revelation* of God; in all previous theories of creation we have had only *assertions* of God. What does the Genesis story do? It asserts; it asserts that God at a certain time did so and so. It shows us nothing. It uncovers nothing. It reveals nothing. (To reveal is to show or to uncover.) What does *Evolution* do? It uncovers facts of nature. It shows us God actually doing. It exhibits the divine creative work going on before our eyes, in the past and in the present. Thus God is not simply asserted as a creator, but he is *revealed* as a creator. Which, then, brings God nearer to us and makes him more real and certain, the old or the new?"

He gives an equally convincing answer to those who believe that evolution is irreligious. "Men talk about the doctrine of *Evolution* being irreligious. What a strange use of words! Is it irreligious to enlarge the sphere of God's power and work from a narrow and circumscribed earth to a boundless universe? Is it irreligious to extend the time of his creative activity from six days to ages without beginning and without end? Is it irreligious to transform our thought of a creator from that of an almighty mechanic, or potter, operating in one limited place, to that of a Divine Spirit quickening and giving life to his children and his worlds everywhere?"

In the second chapter entitled the *Evolution of Man* he criticizes the two conflicting accounts of man's creation given in the book of Genesis and comes to the conclusion that they are of legendary and not of historic character. He says further that man was not created six thousand years ago which the Bible record says, but he was created many millions of years ago, as it has been proved by anthropologists and scientists. At the same time, he traces physical and psychical resemblances between man and the lower animals and birds and says, "I have sometimes dreamed the wild dream of being an eagle, and living an eagle's life, up amidst the storms, the clouds, the mountain peaks, the lightnings. Again I have dreamed of being a deer roaming free in the woods; a skylark singing in the clouds; a fish in the sea; a lion in the desert; a wild horse on the plains; a polar bear on his lonely ice fields; a chamois amid the Alps; a humming-bird or a butterfly among the flowers, and living the different and wonderful lives of all these. If *Evolution* is true, these dreams come nearer than I may suppose to realization. In me something of the lives and natures of all these, and of all forms of existence below me, actually survives and lives." He comes, therefore, to the conclusion, "*Evolution* is continuous, progressive change according to definite laws and by means of resident forces." But what are laws, if they are not the methods of operation of God, the Infinite Wisdom and Power? And what are resident forces, but God the Infinite and Eternal Energy at the heart of all things? To talk

of *Evolution* without God is like talking of wind without air, waves without a sea, light without the sun or the ether, effect without cause. The truth is, no other conception that ever entered into the mind of man is so full of God as *Evolution*. You cannot find a pin-point of all the eternity-long and universe-wide evolutionary process, where God is not. Not until you can expel law from *Evolution*, and resident force from *Evolution*, can you expel God from *Evolution*."

In the chapter on *Evolution of Religion* he says that if there has been evolution in every department of life why should we not accept it in the matter of religion? He, however, understands religion not in its traditional, ceremonial and historic sense, but as something that is in the heart and conscience of man and the essence of which is the desire for worship. He, therefore, thinks that there has been evolution not only in man's conception of God but also in his spirit of worship. He says, "As to man's conception of God, it has moved from the narrowly local, first to the tribal, then to the national, and finally to the Universal. From that which was very limited in power and wisdom, it has moved slowly to that which was less and less limited, until at last it reached the thought of God as omnipotent and omniscient. From diversity it has moved ever toward unity; that is, from gods many—we may almost say everything a god—it has moved steadily toward the thought of God as one, over all, through all, and in all. From gods without moral character, it has moved on and up to a conception which at last endowed the Divine Nature with the highest ethical attributes. Worship, which at first was scarcely more than fear, and selfish desire for protection and for material advantage, gradually rose until it became gratitude, love, trust, and adoration of the morally worthy."

"In other words, religion has developed from the lowest and crudest forms of nature-worship (or worship of spirits identified with natural objects), as seen in animism and fetichism, to polytheism, or the thought of gods more or less distinct from nature and independent; then to higher and higher grades of polytheism, in which the gods became more powerful, wholly anthropomorphic instead of therianthropic, and began to gain moral characteristics; then from polytheism up to the worship of God alone, but without conceiving of him as universal, or denying the existence of other gods; then to real monotheism, or the belief that there is only one God; and, finally, to ethical monotheism, or ethical theism, which conceives of God as infinite in power and wisdom and possessed of all moral perfections."

In the chapter on *Pain and Evil* he gives the lie to those who believe that the existence of poverty, sin and suffering in this world shows that, though the Creator is good, he is not omnipotent; nor does he think that it is right to believe that the existence of these things proves the doctrine of the fallen man as given in the Bible. He believes that pain is not an evil but nature's signal of danger which puts us on our guard. In the same way, he believes that poverty, hardship and struggle are not to be derided, because to them we owe some of the strongest and noblest traits of our character. He, however, believes that all these are temporary and will disappear after some time. He ends by saying, "No, it is not a fallen world that we are in, but a rising one. Eden is not behind, but before. Man's great day is coming, not past. There has been no wreck of



God's great plan of things, but a steady carrying forward of all the acts of the sublime drama from the beginning until now. And what has been is a pledge of what will be."

In the chapter on Immortality he says that man has a dual nature. He has a body of flesh and blood which is corruptible and perishable at death and another of a nature finer and higher which is incorruptible and cannot be affected by death. He examines all the theories advanced against immortality and comes to the conclusion that immortality is a fact which can be verified as well as any other fact.

Such are the views expressed in this book. But no review, however, conscientious and detailed, can give an adequate idea of the wealth of facts given in this book. Nor can the reviewer communicate to his readers the sweet reasonableness of the author's

temper or the moving eloquence of his style. The book is, therefore, such as should be read by everyone even though one might not find oneself in agreement with everything that it contains. It is especially welcome these days, for it provides an effective antidote against dogmatic religion, economic materialism and scientific agnosticism. On every page of this book the author bears witness to the presence of God and of moral forces in this universe. And even if one does not agree with the thesis put forth by the author, one's faith in God and one's moral perceptions are bound to be quickened by a perusal of it. The book, thus, revitalizes our faith in God and His plan—faith which is not based on ignorance and superstitions but on knowledge and facts and the deeper things of the mind, heart and soul.

*A vivid picture!*

## WAR TIME IN A LITHUANIAN VILLAGE—1914-1920

By A. POSKA

### WAR, WAR!

**I**T was midsummer and the rich crops required much and immediate labour when the unexpected news broke out.

"War, War, War." Some spoke of the War enthusiastically, weaving fantastic stories of current happenings, some silently in fear repeated the echoes of the news and with wrinkled foreheads continued their labour for gathering the rich rye and wheat crops.

Germany, unknown and insignificant in Lithuanian village life, suddenly became a thing of great interest. Soon we discovered that on the other side of the frontier there lived, if not devils themselves, then at least mad beings—the Germans. In a short time, the Russians, under whose rule was a large part of Lithuania, created feelings of unrest amongst us and won over our sympathy.

### MOBILIZATION

The next day's work was interrupted not by the threatening and suspicious news, nor by the fantastic stories, but by the cries and lamentations of the villagers. Every man, from 21 to 45 years of age, who held a Red or Blue ticket, had to leave home, hearth, wife, mother, children, and within 48 hours to be present at the District Office. Those who failed to act accordingly were liable to capital punishment.

The unattended horses yoked to ploughs wandered aimlessly in the fields, destroying crops. The cut crop lay ungathered in the fields, trampled under the hoofs of the unguarded cattle. The whole country seemed to run amuck: Everyone was dazed and puzzled and

ran hither and thither, not knowing where and why. The women-folk neglected their homes and work, but very soon saner counsels prevailed, and they realized that food and clothing had to be prepared for their departing sons and husbands, on their long march to death.

Of our village, 24 men had to go, and they lay semi-conscious with intoxicants, unaware of the impending doom.

### REQUISITION

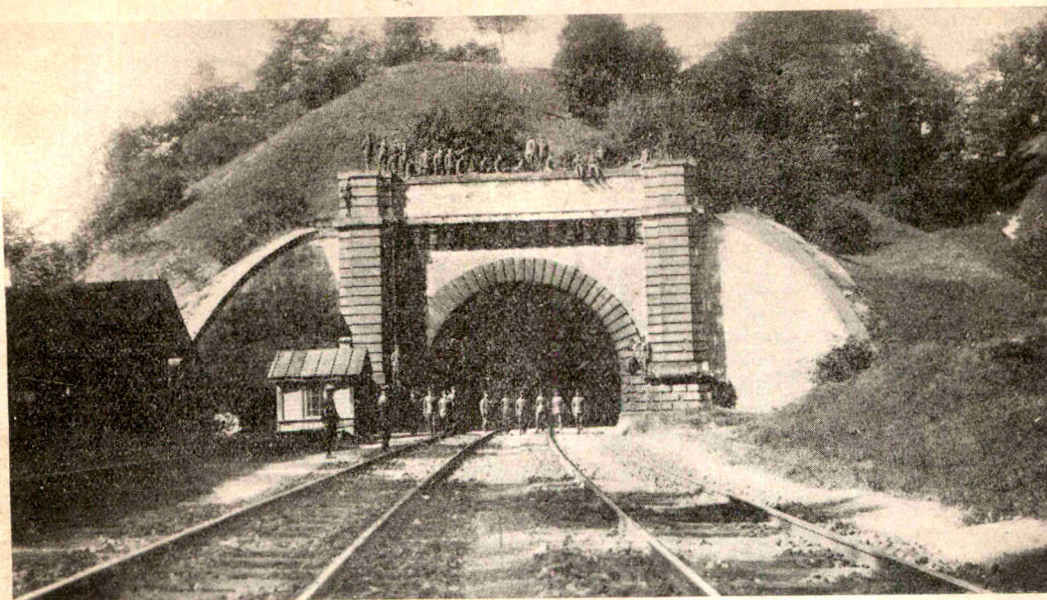
Hardly had the tears dried from the eyes of mothers, wives, and children. Hardly had the echoes died of the desperate lamentations of the poor villagers, when a new poster announced that all bicycles, motor-cycles, cars, horses, carriages and other conveyances must be presented at the District Office. At the District Office, strangely clad and armed Russian Military officers pronounced only two words "Fit" and "Unfit" as the villagers presented their horses, carriages etc. Those declared "Fit" were confiscated in exchange of a formal receipt, while the "Unfit" were allowed to be taken back home.

Our village was deprived of more than fifty horses and about a dozen carriages. This loss was insignificant compared to the irreparable loss sustained by the previous mobilization—"If you have taken our men, take everything. We are helpless," spoke the desperate villagers on their return home.

### CONFIDENCE

After a week or so, letters from the mobilized villagers arrived and encouraged the rest, who were in despair. They wrote that the Czar was





Subterranean entrance into a first class fortification of KAUNAS. This fort was considered impregnable, but collapsed under a few barks of "Bertha" 16c. m. diameter shells. The soldiers belonged to the Lithuanian Army.

sending them to crush the Kaiser, and that after some weeks they would be in Berlin. They asked those at home to attend to the fields and other domestic work.

Very soon it looked as if nothing had happened. Everyone was day and night working in the fields and wondering why they had neglected the mother earth and allowed its golden corn to drop and spout on the wet ground.

The roads were full of endless lines of carriages and thousands of grey-green clad soldiers marching with a forest of their bayonets. The fields and forests were filled with their martial jumping marching songs.

After the day's work was over, the women and children came to the roads to present milk, curds, and other food-stuffs to the marching soldiers, as a share of their own sons or husbands.

#### TO BERLIN

The dark masses, of a hundred million Russians, practically trampled the Frontier Guard of Germany, and after their first successful battle near Tannenburg in Prussia, advanced to Koenigsberg.

The unlimited enthusiasm of the drunken Russians knew no bounds. Cries such as "To Berlin and bring down the Kaiser by his moustaches to Russia" were the spiritual food of these fools rushing into the trap.

#### RETREAT

Suddenly all activities of the Road turned their backs to Berlin and a mad rush through the fields and valleys began. <sup>t</sup>

Two hundred thousand of Russians discovered that they were surrounded by Germans, the rest of the Russian army in great panic rushed, where no one knows, but only further and further from the Germans. Neither the smoke nor the fire, neither the roar of cannon followed them, but a mad panic had suddenly overtaken them and they were too afraid to face the Germans.

Soon, however, there appeared the Cossacks and the Siberian Regiments, who stopped this mad rush by force, and once more the Russians advanced to the German frontier. The brave Cossacks actually guarded the Russian army and with whips drive them to the frontiers of Germany.

#### "MONSTERS"

Those who escaped from the German siege and succeeded to desert from the Russian army spread the most fantastic stories about the Germans. They said the Germans eat dead Russian bodies, that they carry on the points of their bayonets heads of innocent children and women. Wherever they advance they kill every living thing. Some even went to such extent as to say that Germans have tails and horns and that they can become visible and invisible according to their wish. That they can march in the air, and that the only things the Germans are afraid of is the Holy Icons of the Mother of God. And other devotional paraphernalia of the Orthodox Russian Creed

"9"

No wonder that after such fantastic news



of the Germans, the people were terror-stricken even to hear the very name of Germans.

As the Germans were slowly and surely advancing, the helpless inhabitants began to retreat into the depths of Russia, leaving all their houses and belongings to fate. The most tragi-comical situations occurred in these days. If one saw retiring War refugees on the roads, he suddenly rushed home, yoked his horse and hurriedly grabbed what he could collect in two or three minutes and with his family "escaped" from his house. Men's mentality in those days was more useless than that of a rabbit; he loaded useless things like spindles, looms, plough, but forgot the spoons, axe, food and clothing.

But these "refugees" had not gone far when they soon got tired of roaming without food and shelter and retraced their steps once more homewards. When they returned home, however, they found their homes already occupied by others and "farming" in their own fashion. The returned owners did not know whom to blame, themselves or the invaders, who in their own turn had left their own homes and property.

#### THE "MONSTER" ADVANCES

The roar of cannon, columns of smoke and flames, slowly approached day by day. Roads were reserved for Army transport only, and refugees filled all fields and empty houses. Those who happened to be on the roadside with better horses and carriages were mercilessly deprived of them for military transport. Thus many refugees were left weeping on the roadside over their scattered last belongings.

Those who had tasted the bitter life of a refugee, now refused to leave their houses, when the real fire approached. The Russians ordered to destroy all crops by using Field Rollers, and to burn all houses that the advancing Germans might not get any food-stuffs or shelter in the occupied area. At the point of the bayonet, the people were ordered to destroy crops, to put fire to their own houses and to retire further into Russia.

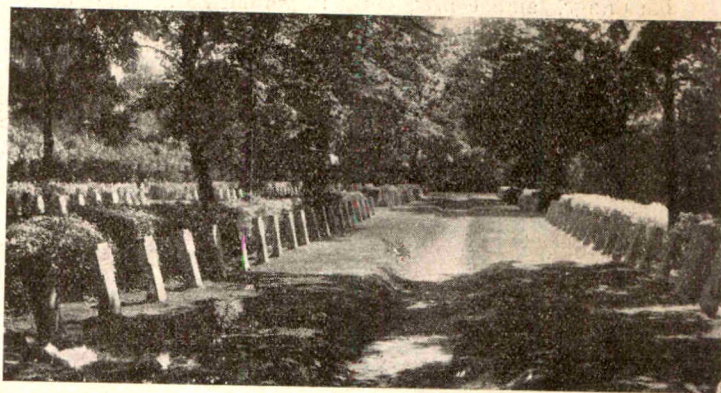
#### THE "CAVE-MEN"

Those who were left behind had therefore to dig caves in the ground as the only protection against the bullet "rain" and bitter cold. All property and foodstuffs were buried in the ground, as the only safe place. The pit dwellings contained family members, some provision of grain, meat and bread; some of the caves were decorated by pictures of Saints and Crosses. Dark and dampness were the only companions

of these helpless "Cave-men." Tragic occurrences were not infrequent: one family was buried alive by a cow accidentally walking over the roof of the cave. Three children and their mother thus perished. Then several fatal accidents took place due to rain water rushing into the pits and completely submerging the occupants and thus much loss of life was sustained.

#### SHELLS

Here and there amongst roars of cannon, burst hundreds of shells, spreading death, fire and smoke. When a shell hit a trench, only water, rags and smashed human bodies remain in a shapeless pit. The maddened cattle and



German Military Cemetery in KAUNAS. Here lie some 14,000 young and brave husbands and sons of unhappy German wives and mothers

other domestic animals with wounded bodies rush into the ruins of wrecked stables for shelter rending the air with their agonized cries. One of our neighbour's cows ran for a day with several yards of loose bowels dragging on the ground until it was put out of its agony by a bullet.

The prayers and lamentations, the curses and hopes filled the minds of the people, while the children took an interest in blood and destruction.

#### THE GERMANS

It was night time when a German torch and dagger pierced the top hole of our cave, but the cries of the frightened dwellers soon revealed to the Germans that it was merely a shelter of refugees, and they smilingly and in broken Russian language said, "Good evening mother, have you any bacon, butter or milk?" Surely their needs were attended to, and they informed us that Russians "Caput," i.e., "finished."

The next day was still, and we all anxiously watched the advancing Germans, who to our surprise appeared to be just like other people, and much more gentle than Russians.

"Eggs, Butter and Bacon" were the only



words dear to Germans. They dug many graves of animals and men, thinking they could find hidden treasures, but very rarely did they succeed in finding any. The only cause of worry was that the Germans were too much infatuated with our young women, and used brutal force and killed those who came to defend them.

#### THE RETURN OF RUSSIANS

It was late in Winter 1915, when once more the roar of cannon was heard, and the people abandoned their pit dwellings and built new huts of mud and grass. The Germans were very keen that no one should possess any silver, gold or valuable things, and consequently they raided the poor dwellings day and night, tormenting people to reveal any riches.

I remember very clearly, one December morning, without any sane reason, all Germans disappeared and warned us not to leave our huts as poisonous gas was used by Russians. The effect of the gas, however, was weak, and only crows sitting high on the trees died. None others suffered, but Germans never appeared again until night fall.



Ruins, after the War, of one of the finest school buildings of Agriculture, built by the Lithuanian National Fund before the War.

As it was once more quiet my mother asked me to go and see my grand-parents, living in a distant village, across the river. At noon I crossed the bridge and found my grand-parents in a miserable condition. They were sick and robbed of all their woollen clothing by the retiring Germans.

At dusk the Germans subminded the bridge and half surrounded it with several machine guns.

The stream was not completely frozen, and the only means to cross the river was the bridge.

The Russian Cavalry, unaware of the subminded bridge and machine guns, crossed the river by the bridge and intended to camp for the night. Suddenly the Germans blew up the bridge and opened cross-fire of several machine guns. After a few minutes, about three hundred horses and four hundred Russians dropped on the spot, while the Germans undisturbed returned the same night.

During the battle I remained with my grand-parents, but when everything was stilled once more, I was anxious to see my mother and ran home late in the night but was not aware of the destruction of the bridge. I reached the river at the dead of night and had to cross paths full of blood and half-frozen wounded Russians, some of them shouted in hoarse voices for help, some asked to kill them, but being frightened at the horrible sight, I jumped over the dead and wounded who tried in their agony to catch hold of me. When I at last reached the blown out bridge, blocked with hundreds of dead horses and crawling wounded men, I realized that I would not be able to return home across the thin ice-covered river, nor did I intend to see again the sickening sight just passed by me. Trembling from fear and frost I retired under the bridge, watching the field of death.

What seemed to me before dead and frozen recovered from its static condition, and noise and movements were everywhere. Some of the wounded horses shared my shelter. Partly crawling bodies revealed that the heroic death for Fatherland is not a sweet thing, and they preferred to live for the sake of their homes, mothers, wives and children to dying for the "Czar and Fatherland," as inscribed on their badges. In spite of my fear, in spite of my youth—I was then twelve years old—I realized that war never helped anyone, and my heart was suddenly filled with pity for these unhappy wretches.

I bravely stepped forward to help the dying deserted by all. The nearest to me was the

body of a young man of round face and handsome appearance. He was in a half-kneeling position, with his rifle in his hand. I shouted to him, but he did not move at all. I took his hand, but it was already frozen and sticking to gun and ground. There was no blood. The next one lay in a pool of blood with a deformed face, evidently while dropping wounded from his horse. He also was frozen in his own



blood. There were others who were not frozen, obviously they had just died or lost their consciousness. The first man who was able to speak, had his spine broken, and asked me to kill him. The only help I could render him was to take from his bag a letter to give it in his hand. He kissed the letter and soon froze in peace to death.

Jumping over the fallen bodies, I brought water to me, but he was frozen to death on my return. Before sunrise I felt that my hands and feet had become frost-bitten and I collected saddles and woollen caps and warmed myself. They all died much before sunrise, if not from wounds, then from frost.

This was not only the most terrifying night in my life, but also in my psychology, turning me to philosophical outlook, that not everything is nice and good what elderly people think, do or preach.

At sunrise, on the opposite side of the river, appeared the Russian vanguard. I shouted to them informing them as to what had happened. They encouraged me to cross the river over the ice, which had become firm during the night's frost.

I returned to our cave in a dazed and speechless condition. Only on the third day I recovered from my stupor. From this day I was no longer amused by long rows of good trained soldiers, nor did the flames of the burning houses interest me, nor did I any more imitate the buzz of flying shells or bursting of bombs. On the graves of the Musha Bridge, where I passed my fearful night, I used to make with my pocket knife miniature crosses to plant them on these deserted graves. Hundreds of young gay faces came to my memory, frozen into beautiful marble carvings, and long after I yearned to walk in nights solitary amidst the graves until they were finally removed in 1917 to the common Military Cemetery, total numbering some 316 men.

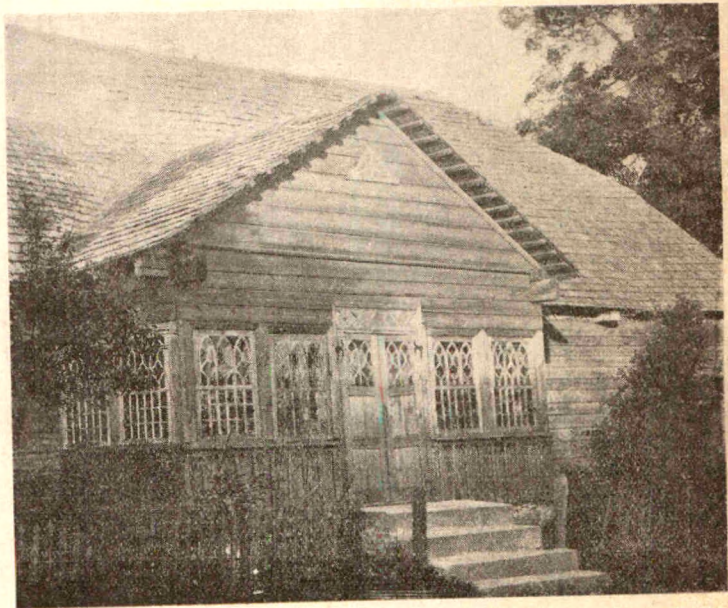
#### THE GERMANS AGAIN

At the end of January 1916 the Germans advanced again and entrapped the Russians once more.

The second invasion showed real German cruelty, as they soon learnt that the Lithuanians preferred Russian rule to that of German, and they did not spare any man, woman or child suspected in any way. One of the Germans was betrayed by one of our neighbours to the

Russians, and when the Germans became aware of it they ordered the family to dig a grave in their own courtyard, to say their last prayers and executed them all, including even relations.

German punitive expeditions used to frequently visit our huts and caves, and if they found a man between 18 to 50 years of age, he was taken away, and if he resisted was executed on the spot. Sometimes they took a member of a family and exchanged him for a deserted Russian soldier. But the Russians invariably took revenge on us for such a betrayal by wiping out the whole family. So we preferred to lose one member to all of us perishing at the hands of the Russians. The Russian war prisoners



A typical Lithuanian wooden house, which escaped complete destruction, but the walls are like a sieve, due to countless bullet holes.

turned into regular dacoits and terrorized the people even long after the War was over.

#### DAYS OF UNCERTAINTY

We soon realized that the only safe course was to greet everyone with a bullet. If our own people approached us they called us by name, but if a German or Russian tried to enter our caves or huts, he was greeted by lead.

After a great resistance, our villagers were compelled to surrender all arms to the Germans, and a whole family was menaced if even a child of three used as a toy a live cartridge.

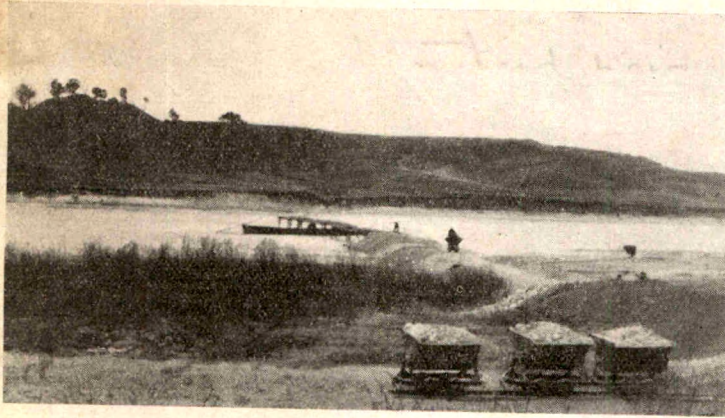
Due to a mistake in the translation from German into Lithuanian Language, the poster ordering the surrender of arms was misunderstood by us. According to us, we understood that



only old arms are to be surrendered, and owing to this mistake we lost several lives.

To prevent inter-communication, the Germans used to nail posters outside dwellings, containing names, age and sexes of the residents. If any unregistered person happened to be found inside any dwelling, he was at once arrested and hardly escaped transportation to the German Coal Mines.

The worst humiliation was with regard to our women, because they were always exposed to the rudeness and brutalities of these endless inspections. Those of us who wanted to move to the next village, had first to obtain permission. In addition to the pass-port given with our finger-prints everyone was ordered to carry a board on which the name, village and division were written.



This picture was taken during German occupation. The Germans built temporary docks for carrying away food-stuff and other things to Germany

#### RECONSTRUCTION

After many casualties, the Germans realized that the sympathy of the people cannot be won by force, so they changed their policy. They agreed to sell timber and other requisites, like salt, sugar, matches etc., at reasonable rates, if paid in golden Russian coins. The confiscated forests, land, estates, farms were sold for gold at very low prices.

The Germans printed special paper currency "Ostmark," and we soon exchanged our gold for it. Due to this policy new houses sprung up on the ruins of the old, and the buried treasures were dug out and sold to the German for their paper currency.

The work started in full speed. The Germans built new bridges and railways to export Lithuanian timber, purchased all brass and showed great activity among the War ruins. They hired workers for abandoned farms and estates and tried to cultivate all fields with grass or flax. Everyone was becoming rich in paper

money, but grain was rare and everyone waited to receive seeds from Germany.

When Germans in May 1926 failed not only to supply seeds, but also took away everything from the village, the prices of the food-stuffs arose fantastically. The real famine began in autumn of the same year, when the land was buried under the snow and ice.

#### FAMINE

Just in the beginning of autumn the Germans introduced a perfect Communistic programme: the grain, animals, fodder, and other village products were declared as State property. To grind a single grain required special permission, to kill an animal another permission. The consumption per head per diem allowed was one pound of grain. Three-quarters of the flesh of a slaughtered animal must be surrendered to the gendarms. To control illegal slaughter of animals severe monopoly of salt was introduced because no meat can be preserved without salt. The people were compelled to devise different methods to conspire, on account of which serious loss of life occurred.

Due to some unfavourable situations in the War fronts, the Germans confiscated all animals, all grain, cloth, practically everything that had some or a little value. The people again resisted, preferring to bury or destroy their wealth rather than allow the Germans to take it away. Special attention was directed to collect all brass, not only from private houses, but even

Churches were deprived of all brass utensils, bells etc. The villagers preferred to lame or else cause some defect to their animals in order to save them being taken away. Pigs were hidden in under-ground caves, hay stacks, marshes or forests. As Winter advanced difficulties became acute. The town people actually starved to death for want of food. December 1916 was one of the darkest in Lithuanian history. More than half of the total population died due to famine, influenza and typhus.

Out of sixteen farms in our village, twelve were totally destroyed. In addition to twenty-four men mobilized by Russians, eleven were executed by Germans for various reasons, fourteen families were completely lost in Russia. Out of one hundred and five total inhabitants at the end of 1916 remained only fourteen. My two brothers and sister died in this terrible Winter. Each day our village Churches were filled with funerals. In a single month seven hundred people died in our district consisting of eleven villages.





Those who drove away all kinds of occupants. Village boys forming the finest cavalry of its kind in Europe

#### CLIMAX OF KULTUR-TRAEGER

It was in Spring 1917, one part of the German Regiment retired for rest behind the front and was amply supplied with intoxicants, as is usual with drunken German soldiers, and started in search of women; several victims were by force brought to their camps and were tormented unto death. The villagers resisted but were severely punished by setting fire to their huts and opening shooting competition on the running women and children. Seven out of fourteen were wounded, and three died immediately. It was on this day that I was shot through my chest. The reason for this total extermination of our village was that one of our women managed with a razor to mutilate one high German Military official.

#### TERRORS OF FAMINE

For ages no one even dreamt of a famine occurring in Lithuania, but days came when saw-dust and powdered dry grass were used as substitutes for wheat or rye flour.

Early in May 1917, children hunted in marshes and bushes for frogs and bird-nests. Dogs and cats had long ago disappeared. Such social and merry people as Lithuanian villagers became selfish individuals, suspecting each other as to what one ate.

In spite of the fact that people were daily dying of hunger, the Germans imposed fresh demands for foodstuff and men. Many people left voluntarily for the Coal Mines in Germany in order to escape starvation unto death, but died there desperately.

The previous Winter's experience taught the people how to prepare for the next Winter. The

people collected bark, which was recently discovered as edible, stored green grass under the ground, collected hundreds of wild roots etc. No one ran the risk of sowing the fields during day time. Every thing was quietly done in the nights, not to arouse the suspicion of the Germans.

Germans were surprised to see the sown fields and wondered from where they had found the seed. By tormenting the people they discovered that old straw roofs of the houses contained not fully thrashed seeds and that these had been removed, re-thrashed and sown.

Requisitions were frequent, but unsuccessful. If stray Germans happened to visit a village during night time, by morning they were buried in the fields. Very strong resistance was shown to the Germans in every corner.

Even for the strong Central German Military Authorities it was too difficult to control the occupied lands without the sympathy of the people. To once again quieten us, the Germans proposed certain form of self-government, headed by Prince URACH, and wanted to incorporate Lithuania into Prussian State. Lithuanians applied to Kaiser Wilhelm for protection and were afforded certain relief.

#### "THE DAWN OF INDEPENDENCE"

Prohibited patriotic literature was distributed in the shape of Annuals and Calendars, and the Lithuanian youths were called to be ready for any emergency to protect the rights of the country. The enthusiastic youths every night secretly posted posters and National flags on the doors of gendarms. Bullets were freely exchanged between Lithuanian boys and Germans.

Enthusiastically were formed groups of



volunteers, only waiting for a call. I was the leader of a three boy "army" in our village. We possessed a considerable amount of live shells and cartridges found in battle fields.

#### "THE CALL"

The welcome news of the defeat of Germany was hailed in our villages and old Lithuanian veterans succeeded to declare to the world on 16th February 1918 that Lithuania is an Independent Nation forming its own Government and Army. The old villagers only shook their heads disapproving this latest move, but the youngsters were ready to die with joy for their country, and so we four were called to protect the authority of the Village Committee against the Germans.

According to the order from our new Government, the Germans were paralysed in a few hours and they had to return to Germany on foot owing to the blowing up of railway lines. The retiring Germans exchanged or sold their arms and ammunition for bread and food-stuffs.

#### "PEACE"

"Peace! Peace! Peace!" once more sounded mystically, but everyone doubted if such a

blessing was possible to our tired and worn-out land.

It was not real peace. We had to face four more dreary years of blood-shed and worries, but now to defend our own land and Government against invaders from West and East, South or North.

Those who were left alive out of these eight years of bloody drama are sufficient guarantee of our freedom. Hardened and tempered in blood and fire, they are now capable of the most difficult tasks, but to take arms again—never.

What is the use of all schools, hospitals, farms, animals, machines, which man builds, works and seeks during centuries, if in a moment of madness he destroys and kills.

Lithuanians have come to understand that the sparkling and smart uniforms of the Military only indicates that they are not common bandits, but wholesale murderers; that the Military flags, band and all the paraphernalia of arms are only meant to deceive and entangle youth into the trap of death; and that literature, empty-headed speeches, and these primitive, womanish shining toys and blood-stained mantles are only meant to urge the youth to run amuck to destroy, kill and be proud of that which in normal conditions is considered criminal.

## OVERFLOW IRRIGATION IN BENGAL

By RAI GOPÁL CHANDRA CHATTERJEE BAHADUR, M. B., F. R. I.

**A**S consideration of the subject by us is purely from the malaria point of view (we leave aside the consideration of improvement of navigation, for which the reader is referred to Reak's Hooghly Survey; and for the improvement of agriculture the reader is referred to the paper by Mr. A. N. Mitra) it is necessary to remember three salient points:—

First:—Though causation and method of prevention of malaria have been discovered fully thirty-six years ago, Bengal is still the biggest sufferer from malaria on the face of the earth.

Secondly:—Bengal has got the greatest rainfall on the face of the earth.

Thirdly:—Bengal is a delta, and as such is intersected by numerous distributories of sweet water rivers and tidal creeks containing brackish water before the size of some of which most of the rivers of the world, with only a few limited exceptions, pale into insignificance. The Nile's highest flood water discharge is 464,000 cusecs, that of the Mississippi measures 1,360,000 cusecs at New Orleans, whilst two of its three outlets into Gulf of Mexico discharge 400,000 and 175,000 cusecs, whereas the discharge of the Ganges is as much as 25,00,000 while that of the Brahma-

putra though not exactly known is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times that of the Ganges. Even the subsidiary river Rupnarain has got 350,000 cusecs discharge and that of the Hooghly below Calcutta is 350,000. The highest flood discharge of the Damodar is 650,000 cusecs. In the tidal outlet of the Hooghly into Bay of Bengal the flood tide flow is as much as 6,000,000 cusecs. The flood tide of the common tidal outlet called the Megna of the three sweet water rivers the Megna, Brahmaputra and the Ganges though not known will exceed by many times the figure for the Hooghly.

Another thing to be remembered is that rain water as such, if kept collected for a period of two weeks and exposed to air without any mixture of water from the rivers, is sure to breed mosquitoes, whereas the flood water due to the presence of silt and also of myriads of fries of carp, whose spawning season coincides with the flood season, will not allow any mosquito to breed in it. Not only that; even when mixed up with extensive collections of rain water in marshes the flood water will prevent the development of mosquitoes there. So, the policy of bringing in as much flood water as possible, from above and through as many water



channels in the upper reaches of the rivers as possible, allowing it to get mixed with all collections of rainwater, big or small, in tanks, borrowpits, *bheels*, *baors* etc., and drain it away through the same rivers in their lower reaches through as many branches as possible to the tidal creeks below, allowing again full scope to the tides to spill over lowlying lands, is the ideal policy to be adopted for prevention of malaria. If in addition we remember that this was the way by which nature was carrying on the work of delta building in the past, without producing malaria, there cannot be any question that, allowing nature full scope here, it must necessarily be the most economical process of prevention of malaria, as no costly engineering projects have to be undertaken to carry it out.

But, allured by the fertility of the rich alluvial soil of the Delta, a large number of people settled here long ago, and had recourse to numerous devices for preventing inundation sometimes dangerous to their dwelling houses and their crops. These together with other factors originating in recent times, such as the railway lines and the roads, have prevented nature's beneficent action taking place and as a consequence the inhabitants of the delta have to pay the penalty of their folly by suffering from ravages of malaria.

As the general topography of the land has not materially changed in spite of this wholesale human interference, origin of which dates back not more than a century and which is even now going on without any interruption, it is possible to bring back to a large extent this old state of things through the help of those very people who have obstructed these health-giving spills of rivers and of tidal creeks; for the factors contributing to this wide-spread malaria had now become known to a large number of them.\* In this we feel encouraged, as we see all around country-wide effort of co-operation in the work of overflow irrigation between the Government and the people. So a knowledge of the configuration of the country is essentially necessary for all parties concerned.

Now, the first point to be remembered is to get an idea of the configuration of the Delta. The Ganges, which has formed this Delta out of the sea, used to empty into the sea, somewhere near the Rajmahal Hills, some millions of years ago and consequently this point has remained up till now the highest flood water level of the Bhagirathi, being fully 80 ft. above the sea level. From this point it slopes down directly southerly and later on in south-easterly directions to the borders of the Bay of Bengal, till it reaches the dead sea level. A little lower down this apex of the delta, the Ganges gives off

its biggest distributory, the Bhagirathi near the village Geria in the Murshidabad district.

Now the Bhagirathi, after receiving on its right side some tributories originating from the Rajmahal Hills and the uplands of Dumka, is joined by two big distributories or spill rivers of the Ganges on its left side, the Jalangi and Mathabhanga (Choori), after which it is named the Hooghly. Flowing past Calcutta the Hooghly is joined by another big tributary, the Rupnarain, originating from the hills of the Manbhum district and emptying into the broad estuary of the Hooghly which, though styled the Hooghly, is really an estuary and so we will call it the Hooghly Estuary. The Bhagirathi, the Hooghly and the Hooghly Estuary form the demarcation line between the Central and Western Bengal.

Now, it is necessary to refer to the volume of water and its chief component part, the silt, which plays the important function of preventing malaria. It goes without saying that, in carrying out schemes of overflow irrigation, the water which will have to be utilized, is the volume of water which fills the upper reaches of the delta during the flood season. It is obvious that the water, flowing through the head water rivers during the dry season, cannot be so utilized, and so is not referred to here at all. During the flood season the head water rivers get filled up with excess water and thus a head is produced, which can be easily led to the lowlying lands of the delta. Secondly, it is in this season only that the silt constituent to which the peculiar property of prevention of malaria is attributed, comes in superabundance. For the above reasons, only the flood water which comes down from the hills, during the rainy season between July and September will be dealt with here. The head, produced at the time of diurnal floodtide in the lowlying tidal portions of the delta throughout the year, is also capable of flushing the low tidal areas and so can be utilized for the prevention of malaria.

Now, in dealing with these two points we cannot help getting into certain technical matters appertaining to Irrigation Engineering for which we hope to be excused. Measurement of the volume of water contained in a reservoir, is a simple matter, in contrast to measuring the volume of water, passing down incessantly through the bed of a river. Engineers use the term *cusec* for this. A *cusec* is the amount of water contained in a space measuring 1ft. high, 1ft. broad and 1ft. long, measuring a cubic foot, which passes down a definite place in a second period of time. A cubic foot of water measures about 7 gallons or 35 seers. It is very difficult for a layman to make an idea of the water expressed in term of *cusecs*, but a rough idea can be formed if we say that one *cusec* per sec. can fill up an acre of land to a depth of 1 ft. within the course of one month, if there be no

\* The Central anti-Malarial Co-operative Society has been responsible for the establishment of more than 2,000 village societies who follow such policy.



interruption to the flow. A better idea of it can be obtained by another example—a 2 inch delivery pipe of a centrifugal pump can deliver not more than half a cusec of water. When we say during the flood season 300,000 cusecs of water pass down the Hooghly, one can form an idea of its volume.

Before we deal with the volume of water, we propose to mention about its silt constituent and biological contents; *viz.*, the fauna, which contributes to the malaria prevention property also. This latter subject has already been dealt with in another paper namely "The biological control of malaria in rural areas of Lower Bengal." [See *The Modern Review* for December, 1933.]

Now without going into the chemical composition of the silt, we may say in a general way that it is a portion of the disintegrated rock which remains in suspension in water and which is brought down by the rivers from the hills. The portion of the disintegrated rocks which is in a state of solution or is in a state of colloidal condition, is termed clay. The portion, which is much coarser than silt and is known as sand, is excluded from the definition of silt. The Mississippi contains silt in proportions of 1 to 1,500, the Irrawaddy 1 to 1,840, the Ganges 1 to 575, the Nile 1 to 670, the Indus 1 to 287, the Hooghly 1 to 480. In the last case, it amounts to about 1 cubic inch of dry silt in 1 cubic foot of water. In one year, the total average quantity of silt brought down by the Bhagirathi is 34 million cubic yards, representing a solid block of 1 mile square and 33 ft. deep.

Besides this silt, sand is also carried down in the river water; but this is not done ordinarily, as being heavier than silt, it is carried down in river water only when there is extraordinary flood.

Now, this silt, which is carried in suspension in the flood water, is deposited on the land, as soon as there is comparative lessening of its current. For millions of years the tremendous amount of silt has been carried down every year by the flood water of the rivers, from their original source, by the rapid hill streams, to the plains of Bengal where there, being comparative lessening of current, a good portion of this silt has been deposited. In this way a vast space of land has been formed and is being created even at present. The result of this we see in the creation of the vast land of this province of Bengal, which has literally risen out of the sea by the action of these rivers.

In the areas which are subject to tide, the silt which passes down to the tidal creeks from the rivers, is carried upwards by the flow tides which spreading over lowlying areas, and thus having spread out, produces a lessening of the current, and deposits silt in this spill area. The clear de-silted water comes with the ebbtide into the creek back again;

but if this spreading out or spilling be prevented, the channel becomes filled with water which contains so much silt that it has often the resemblance of liquid mud. This silt being deposited in its bed, chokes up the channel in no time.

Taking advantage of this phenomenon the owners of land in the Sunderban areas are filling up within the course of a few years, broad and deep tidal creeks capable of accommodating large steamers. The procedure they adopt is ingenious in the extreme. They ought to be complimented for discovering the most economical method of filling up tidal channels, had it not been for its tragic effect on the health and wealth of the country. The owners have put up cross banks across the numerous finer branches of the big tidal creeks cutting off their connection with the creeks, which is very easy to do during the ebb tide. The water during flow tide not being able to go beyond these obstructions, the silt carried, is deposited on the creek side of the embankments. In this way, taking help of nature's method, man is destroying huge number of creeks, thereby increasing their land and at the same time saving the expense of maintaining the ring bunds around their land which are otherwise in danger of bursting due to the action of the waves of the big tidal channels.

We have dealt with the silt. Now, we are going to deal with the amount of water, which is available for overflow irrigation. In this connection, it is necessary to mention that the information about the carrying power of some live rivers only available. But, for carrying on overflow irrigation, as many of the beds of the finer distributories as possible including those which are now out of action, will have to be utilized, like conduit pipes for bringing in flood water from the main supplying rivers, as well as for draining them away into the tidal creeks. But little information is available about the amount of water which these can carry.

As regards Central Bengal, we find it is bounded on the north by the Ganges or the Puddma, on the west by the Bhagirathi-Hooghly, on the east by the Gorai-Madhumati-Baleswar and on the south by the sea. Through the main supplying river, the Puddma, which runs from west to east, pass as much as 2,500,000 cusecs during ordinary flood season, and during extraordinary flood season as much as 3,500,000 cusecs. Through the river Bhagirathi-Hooghly on the western boundary, pass 50,000 cusecs. Again, though the two main spill rivers which traverse this area from north-east to south-west, the Jalangi and Mathabhanga, pass 40,000 and 28,000 cusecs respectively. The amount which passes through the Gorai is not known, but it cannot be more than 100,000 cusecs, so that the total quantity which passes through these four distributories, is not more than 2 lac cusecs,



out of the huge quantity of water measuring 2,500,000 cusecs which pass through the supplying river Puddma. We learn from the engineers that even if three times the amount now passing through these distributories be passed, there will be no catastrophic flooding in this area as there is ample section in the river for the water to pass away. It will relieve on the other hand to a certain extent the congestion in the Meghna by the excessive supply, as is evident from the destruction of several villages and towns in the Noakbali District situated on the Meghna. Moreover this will help to partially relieve the tension on the Sarah Bridge which has become an acute problem at present and on which the Railway Department is spending crores of rupees. We would request the present advisory committee to look to this aspect of the question.

Going over to Western Bengal we find the main river destined to supply the flood water for overflow irrigation, is the Damodar which is credited for bringing 650,000 cusecs during floods. The distributory rivers which are to serve as conduit pipes in the area between the Damodar and the Hooghly, number about 8 or 10. Most of them have been put out of action, or as they say, made dead by an embankment running all along from Burdwan down to its exit in the Hooghly. Hence it is

difficult to give the figures regarding the carrying power of these distributories. A restricted amount of water is however being supplied to these distributories by a narrow channel called the Eden Canal which was constructed in 1881 for sanitary purpose. This latter brings about 6000 cusecs from the Damodar above Burdwan. It is reinforced by a supply from another canal originating lower down at Jamalpur, which has got a carrying capacity of 1,000 cusecs, so that the amount which is brought down at present is an infinitesimally small fraction of the total amount of flood water available in the main Damodar. Moreover, the distributories have been put out of action, having been overgrown with jungles, and crossed by several road embankments, leaving no adequate openings for passage of water. The Saraswati was thus choked. But the neighbouring village anti-malaria societies have worked wonders by clearing them. In spite of the above hindrances they can even now serve the purpose of conduit pipes for leading large amount of flood water from the Damodar to the river Hooghly, if there be a country-wide agitation for the restoration of the spills of former days which used to fertilize the whole of the land (comprised within the Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah Districts) and give also immunity from malaria to the people living in this area.

## THE WORLD AND GERMANY

By RAGNAR MALMESTRÖM

**I**T is not good that the big nation which during the past two millenniums has grown up in the centre of Europe should in recent times be regarded in a false light by the rest of the world, particularly by the other great peoples of Europe, and now, in reflex, from a feeling of being misunderstood has in turn come to have in part an erroneous opinion of these peoples. Out of such circumstances strained situations arise at critical moments to the detriment of Europe and Peace but no less—and this is of particular interest to me—to the detriment of smaller disinterested nations. This great Germany occupies the position—no matter how reluctantly conceded—of a big enterprise within a busy town. If the enterprise flourishes, the whole community benefits. If not, the rest of the town cannot become encysted and expect to thrive nevertheless. If a big factory is idle, all other communal

activities suffer accordingly, or if the other activities were yet maintained, it would follow that the majority would be doing still better if the big factory were busy instead of undergoing a crisis. Wouldn't it be well for the whole civilized world to give some consideration to the deeper reasons for Germany's plight and display a little interest for resultant consequences instead of encouraging isolation pretending an indifference to conditions prevailing there?

In the many years of contact with the German people and their country so full of inestimable culture I have been able to form very clear conceptions and feel it incumbent on me to voice them. At the same time I would refrain from raising side issues which are liable to give rise to international friction to the importance of main issues—as unfortunately so often occurs. Instead I would attempt to render the essentials comprehensible.



The chief reason for developments in Germany since the War being other than in unison with the ideals of the Allies is to be found in the *gaping divergence which existed more or less continuously between the measures decreed by these Powers and the practicable realization of the ideās contained therein.*

The Treaty of Versailles contained more radicalism than was practically feasible and this applies to all subsequent formulations (Dawes and Young Plans). Thus it happened that Germany was invariably made to appear as wilfully defaulting. The quintessence of the Treaty, however, worked its aim. Financial stipulations aimed at preventing Germany's economic recovery and the other measures were enacted to lower Germany's standing in the eyes of the world. These things have been attempted over a period of fifteen years. *Small wonder then that a transformation has taken place within Germany.*

The Peace Treaty signifies the complete *impoverishing* of Germany and everything that has taken place in that country since 1920 represents an uninterrupted series of futile efforts to *escape this fate.* Not that such efforts were attempted in accordance with some preconceived plan but rather developed subconsciously as outward expressions of tremendous inner conflict. All these efforts whether it be the inflation of 1923 or the failure in connection with foreign credits which fairly flooded the country between 1926 and 1930 from foreign financial interests, were all accompanied by calamitous consequences for the German people. The financial crisis of 1931-33 was to Germany nothing but a painful confirmation of the fact that the Allies had not the least intention of or at most were reluctant to revise the sentence to which they had condemned Germany at Versailles. The realization became pregnant that widest sections of the inhabitants were gradually *doomed to extreme poverty.* Unemployment as a permanent feature and an impoverished middle class reduced wage awards to academic significance. The majority was averse to welcoming Bolshevism but the regime of Weimar—also discredited by the Allies—was obviously unfit

to cope with the growing inanition. In such circumstances Hitler's doctrines which in appealing to the National idea demanded material sacrifices from the moneyed classes and provided the destitute with work by introducing revolutionary economic measures hitherto deemed beyond the limits of possibility, became a new source of strength and hope for this cultured people in distress against the decimating forces emanating from Versailles. It is only possible to obtain the right understanding of "National Socialism" which aims at restricting excess profits and distributing the national income more or less evenly along with the amount of work available, when *viewed from the angle of resistance offered to the adversity* of the German people intentionally inflicted by the Peace Treaty.

What applies to national poverty applies in like measure to national debasement. If one had been sincere at Versailles in the question of disarmament the Allies should have led the way with a good example and not Germany whose military strength was already crippled by defeat. The isolation of Germany in complete defencelessness was evidently implemented by way of handicap in order to give *France a considerable start in the armament race of the former Allies.* Is it to be wondered at that pacifism in Germany in any shape or form has come to be regarded as a farce and is doomed to failure at the outset? From this point of view, therefore, Hitler's *peace* pronouncements carried by the weight of domestic unity represent an immense step forward—to say nothing of the distrust lacking all understanding which is attributed abroad to Hitler's diplomatic honesty. The attitude of the German Government in the premises, however, was the reawakening of the idea in Germany that the degradation imposed at Versailles would one day be set aside and an equality of status for Germany among nations be restored.

As a member of a small but proud European people it passes my comprehension that these salient features outlined above still fail to find recognition in responsible quarters abroad or, if recognized, why the logical steps are not taken toward rehabilitating Europe.



# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

THE HOUR OF DECISION : By Oswald Spengler. New York. Alfred Knopf. 1934.

In the work, *The Hour of Decision*, Dr. Oswald Spengler, the noted German historian, the author of *The Decline of the West*, suggests that the hour of decision has come for the so-called superior White people to take the necessary steps for maintaining their world and race supremacy. He feels that this may be the mission of Germany or some other Nordic people. He feels that unless this is carried out, possibly Japan or Russia would master the colored populations of the world (including those of India and China) to establish world hegemony. Therefore, Dr. Spengler's work is nothing more than scientific sanction of the theory of the "Yellow Peril" formulated by the ex-Kaiser Wilhelm. It is to be expected that there must be some originality in the conclusions drawn by the great German historian.

Dr. Spengler is very emphatic in his assertion that people like the Chinese and Indians have no future. He writes :

"Immemorially old *Fellahs* peoples such as the Indians and Chinese can never again play an independent part in the world of Great Powers. They can change masters, drive one out—as, for example, the English from India—but it is only to succumb to another. They will never again produce a form of political existence of their own. They are too old, too rigid and too used up. Even the form of their present rebelliousness together with its aims—liberty, equality, parliament, republic, communism and the like—is without exception imported from Western Europe and Moscow. They constitute objects and war resources for foreign powers, their countries and battle-fields for decisive battles of foreigners, though precisely for that reason they may achieve immense, if transitory importance. Russia and Japan undoubtedly have their eyes fixed on the potential uses of these people and are working in secret by methods which "Whites" neither know nor see. . . ." (Page 65).

This sweeping remark about the future of the peoples of India and China may not be correct ;

because these peoples have survived, in spite of many unfavourable circumstances and undoubtedly they are showing signs of their ability for assimilating some of the very best contributions of the Western civilization. If Dr. Spengler's assertion be true, then the theory of "the awakening of the East" has no special meaning.

Regarding the march of *Colored Racial Revolution*, the German historian has the following to say :

"Here too the White Revolution has since 1770 been preparing the soil for the Colored One. The literature of English Liberals like Mill and Spencer, whose trains of thought reach back into the eighteenth century, supplied the *world outlook* to the higher schools in India. And thence the way to Marx was easy for young reformers themselves to find. Sun Yat Sen, the leader of the Chinese Revolution, found it in America. And out of it all there arose a revolutionary literature of which the Radicalism puts that of Marx and Borodin far into the shade." (P. 215).

There is no doubt that the peoples of the East, specially those of India and China, owe much to the Western ideals of nationalism ; and behind the movements for national assertion, there is the spirit of accepting the best of the West. This is the most hopeful thing regarding the possibility of better understanding between the East and the West. In the re-assertion of the Awakened East, we do not see any inevitability of clash between the so-called White and the Colored peoples. However Spengler sees the serious menace of Colored Race Revolution and asks :

"The great historical question is whether the fall of the white powers will be brought about or not. And this point of overwhelming unity of resolve that has formed itself may well give us something to think about. What resources of spiritual and material power can the white world really muster against this menace ?" (P. 218).

He answers the question to the effect that the White People will have to forget their differences and even class distinctions and face the struggle in a war-like manner. He characterizes this spirit as "Prussian Spirit" which may be found not only in Germany, but in all lands among special types of



individuals ; and they are coming to consciousness (p. 230). The author concludes the book with the prophetic gesture to the effect that possibly during this century there will be an ultimate decision regarding the great problem of "Colored Race Revolution" against the Whites. He asserts :

"In the presence of these the little aims and notions of our current politics sink to nothing. He whose sword compels victory here will lord over the world. The dice are there ready for this stupendous game. Who dares to throw them ?" (P. 230).

To Spengler, life is war and the rise and fall of nations are inevitable things. His conception of the "decline of the West" and "the colored race revolution" forces him to the conclusion of an inevitable struggle. Future history cannot be foretold with mechanical accuracy ; and there is an element of idealism in the history of evolution of man. Therefore one is tempted to disagree with the thesis of Dr. Spengler that struggle for supremacy on "racial basis" is inevitable. We agree with him that "the supreme hour for decision" has come ; and the decision should be for co-operation between the powerful "White Peoples" and the awakening peoples of the East or the so-called "colored races."

TARAKNATH DAS

**THE MESSAGE OF ASIA :** *By Paul Cohen-Portheim.* Published by Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd., 3 Henrietta St., London. Price 8s. 6d. net. Pp. 252.

This is not, as the name might suggest, an interpretation of the mind of Asia, but is a collection of essays on various contemporary problems. The topics discussed include a number of antitheses which the author detects in the 'life of nations', 'life of art' as well as the 'life of the spirit'. The antitheses considered are such as 'Nationalism and Internationalism', 'Zionism and its Opponents', 'Aristocracy and Democracy', 'Impressionism and Expressionism', 'Art and Science', 'Male and Female', 'Life and Death', and 'God and Man', etc. etc.

The subjects are discussed in a learned and lucid manner, and in most cases, an appreciative reference is made to the Asiatic view on the question. Asia is the biggest continent in the world and has been the mother of the largest number of civilizations. Asia, therefore, cannot be credited with *only* one view on any of the questions. But by Asia—the author generally means India and China—Hinduism and Buddhism. On most of the questions discussed, Mr. Cohen-Portheim inclines in favour of the conclusions of Indian thought wherever such conclusions are known to exist or have been suggested by the general trend of Indian thought and culture. That is probably why the book has been given the name it bears. But it is not a systematic exposition of Indian thought ; and, as will be apparent from the titles, many of the topics discussed were not specific problems for Indian thinkers either, e.g. 'Zionism and its Opponents'.

It is a sign of the time that war-worn and industry-laden Europe in her agonies turns to Asia for a message of Hope. And Mr. Cohen-Portheim's appreciation of Indian culture is worthy of praise. But his knowledge of this culture, though sufficient to enable him to form a correct opinion, appears to be somewhat secondhand ; otherwise he would not have spelt the word *Brahma* always with the first

'a' long. This, however, is a minor detail and does not at all detract from the value of his opinion. It is a learned, thought-provoking, and at the same time an enjoyable book.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

**A MIND'S REPRODUCTION :** *By Sir Wasif Ali Meerza, Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, Amir-ul-Omra, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O. 1934.*

Dedicated to the sacred memory of his father, this handy volume of pithy sayings composed by His Excellency the enlightened Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad contains much that will cheer the reader and comfort him in his life's journey. The oriental flavour is unmistakable even in the English garb, and behind the Oxonian accents is the sometimes cynical tone that bespeaks the experience of ages. But it is not at all divorced from the joy of life, for, says His Excellency, "the work of misfortune is but a passing phase of life," and, what needs to be stressed in an age of despondency and cannot be stressed too much, "Imperfection moulds into perfection." Some of the shorter sayings are indeed brilliant, and the suggestion may be hazarded that some of the larger sayings might have been clipped to advantage. The book is a treasure-house of sayings which will touch the hearts of readers from time to time.

**MUSSOLINI :** *By Dr. B. M. Sharma, M.A., Ph.D. KEMAL PASHA, AND LENIN :* *By M. B. L. Bhargava, B.A. The Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Literature Palace, Lucknow.*

These belong to a series called "Rebels Redeemers ?", and do much credit to the enterprising firm. Mussolini, Lenin and Kemal Pasha are great names, men who have revolutionized the world and made it what it has been since the war—the world of the last twenty years—and the authors, both of whom are well-read and experienced writers, and who are clear and concise in their exposition, successfully tell the story of their lives within brief compass so that their work may be easily appreciated by the public. Though there is much scope for improvement as regards correct printing, this series of studies on personalities of far-reaching influence will be read with profit, presenting as they do a clear-cut idea of the men described, together with a critical estimate of their achievement in the concluding chapters. 'Lenin' and 'Kemal Pasha' have each an instructive appendix in which the reader will find an outline of the new constitution in Soviet Russia and Turkey. The price is cheap, varying from Re. 1 to Re. 1-8.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**IN TOUCH WITH UJJAIN :** *By K. B. Dongre, B.A., Gwalior.* Price Re. 1-8.

The author is an inhabitant and officer of the Gwalior State and possessed rare opportunity when in charge of the Ujjain division of that State, for studying the antiquities of this famous ancient town. The results of this long and thoughtful study and personal observation, have been embodied in this small book of 150 pages. It is well worth a perusal by all kinds of readers and will be found a useful guide by those who have to visit the place. It has reproduced some excellent photographs of old sites.

G. S. SARDesai



**MEDIEVAL INDIA :—SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS :** By A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M. (Contab). Published by the Oxford University Press.

This interesting and unostentatious booklet, containing the substance of four lectures delivered in Urdu by the author before the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, draws attention to a number of noteworthy features of social and economic life in medieval India (7th-16th century). There may be difference of opinion with regard to particular customs mentioned herein. Thus the use of swings, which is referred to (p. 29) under the account of the tenth and eleventh centuries, appears to belong to a still earlier period. But the book is well-written and almost every statement is substantiated by a reference to authorities—a number of contemporary Sanskrit dramas, a few romantic and historical works in Sanskrit, accounts of foreign travellers, epigraphic records etc. It is expected that the book will fulfil the desire of the author by rousing the interest of the public in the subject.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

**THE KATKARIS :** By A. N. Welby. The Bombay Book Depot. Girgaon-Bombay. 1934, Price. Rs. 4-8 nett. Pp. 156+14 plates.

The Bombay University must be congratulated for initiating a systematic survey of the castes and tribes within Bombay Presidency through its department of Sociology. The present book is the result of such a survey undertaken by one of the students of the University in the year 1930.

The author has chosen one of the poorest castes of the Presidency, and has brought to bear upon his task a commendable measure of love and human sympathy. He has given us a brief description of the physical characteristics of the tribe, and then a fair account of their economic, social and ceremonial life. It is apparent from his description of the Katkaris, that they belong to the same cultural stock as the low-caste Hindus of Eastern India. This culture, therefore, extended across the upper highlands of the Deccan from one coast to the other. But before a detailed comparison can be made, it is necessary that most of the tribes of the western part of the Peninsula should be carefully surveyed. We hope the Bombay University will continue to encourage the type of work exemplified by the present book.

But something must be said about the character of the book itself. The present book has not been written with as much scientific accuracy as one could desire. The author's personal likes and dislikes have crept in more often in the selection and emphasis of topics than is allowable in a work of this character. The physical investigation is rather scanty and without the necessary details about the anatomical points chosen. But this is perhaps excusable in a description which is primarily sociological. But in the matter of social organization too, one should not have treated genealogical terms or kinship usages with such scanty consideration. Genealogical tables of actual subjects are not merely ornaments, but the only secure foundation on which a social survey can be built up with security.

We believe the author would have done well to follow closely the line of enquiry framed in the *Notes and Queries*, a book which he had apparently the occasion to use. It does not matter if one fails to

give a complete account of any tribe; it is enough if he gives us a part of that picture, provided the picture is sufficiently full and accurate. That is of more use to anthropological science than any slipshod survey which aims at covering all aspects of a tribe's life.

But that does not mean that the present book is as bad as that. It is good enough for a beginner's enterprise. As a matter of fact, it is better than all the accounts of the tribe published so far. But we hope that the author will exert himself more in future in making his work of lasting scientific value. It does not matter if one's purse is lean, or no encouragement is forthcoming from anywhere. It is enough if we still carry on, within the confines set by our circumstances; and refuse to lay down the high standard of scientific precision of objectivity which we set before ourselves.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**THE HIDDEN POWERS IN MAN :** By M. N. Ganes Iyer. 4th ed. Vaman & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 2-8.

**MYSTERY OF DREAMS :** Same Author and Publishers. Price Re. 1.

There is a great show of scientific outlook in the two books dealing with such subjects as Clairvoyance, Hypnotism, Telepathy, Dreams, Magic, Witchcraft and what not. But any one having the slightest scientific curiosity in these matters will absolutely waste his time in going through these volumes of 448 and 319 pages respectively. They contain nothing but tolerable English renderings of popular beliefs and superstitions.

S. C. MITRA

**PUBLIC HEALTH IN INDIA :** By N. R. Dharmavir. Published by Rama Krishna & Sons., Lahore. Pp. 361. Price Rs. 3 only.

The author was a medical officer of health for twenty years in a district of Lancashire, England, and as such had had ample opportunities of being in close touch with public health problems.

On returning to India, sanitary matters here must have appeared to him in their true perspective, and the present book therefore embodies his observations and suggestions for improvement of the public health conditions of our people.

It deals with the public health conditions of our people as he finds them and how he considers they should be.

The book deals with water, food, drink, housing, clothes, sanitation, infant feeding, preventible diseases etc.

Some opinions expressed may seem to be opposed to the current view, but seeing that they are the outcome of the author's lifelong observation and experience, they should receive serious consideration.

We recommend the book to the social, maternity and child welfare workers.

A. K. MUKERJI

**THE WAYS OF WHITE FOLKS :** By Langston Hughes (Allen & Unwin Ltd. : London 7sh. 6d.)

Mr. Langston Hughes is a Negro writer. He writes about his own people in the United States where they form a little over ten millions. What he writes is important enough to be known widely.



The lot of the Negroes in the United States is hard and sad. Outside world generally not brought in contact with it begins to reflect of it once in a way when a story of a lynching is reported and then gets into the attitude of paying little attention to it. But it is a lot involving vast numbers and a continuous drama of oppression and suffering.

Mr. Langston Hughes depicts many phases of this oppression and suffering and in connection with currents of awakening among the Negroes. What the awakened Negroes look for is not patronage, sympathy with over-dose of snobbery worse for development than detachment, condescension, but right for normal living and relations as members of one human society. Mr. Langston Hughes employs for his purpose the medium of short stories, a difficult art, but an effective one, especially for his purpose. The stories are telling and at the same time running with an ease that give them artistic value, beyond projecting the points to be advanced. Mr. Langston Hughes employs the form chosen with much ability.

Perhaps the best story in the book is the last one "Father and Son." It is a tragic story; tragic in its run and tragic in its end. Many of the points made out are not isolated ones. It is the tale of a "white" father bullying one of his "coloured" sons, objecting to the latter's wanting to cross the lines and stigmas of colour with dog whip and other weapons, putting it hard to the boy's unhappy mother as a natural course, and displaying readiness to the last limits to hold the colour line with all its manifestations intact in public. It ends with the father dying after a heated discussion with the son, and the son and his miserable brother getting horribly lynched. The story is stirring, blood-curdling, deeply moving, without anything in the nature of embroidery work, greatly contributing to its success as an artistic production as well. Alone for this story the book is worth reading.

N. N.

**THE LURE OF JAPAN:** By Shunkichi Akimoto. The Hokuseido Press, Tokyo. Pp. 371. Price 5s.

"Which is the best time to visit Japan?" asks Akimoto and answers the question himself: "Anytime." The charms of Japan, continues he, are like those of Cleopatra, full of infinite variety. Japan is rich in picturesque scenes of mountain and sea. Akimoto dilates upon the attractions of the four seasons in Japan. The blossoms of Spring (especially 'Sakura' or cherry blossom) turn the country into one colossal garden, when all are out for "Hanami" (flower-viewing.) The cherry dances of Kyoto, Osaka and Tokyo during the 'odori' season of April, performed by geisha in theatres with elaborate scenery and in all the sartorial gaiety traditional to the Japanese stage, embodying some classic story or some sensation from contemporary history, are highly typical of the Japanese landscape and the spirit of Japanese youth in spring. The lined robe of the vernal season gives place to the wingy kimono of summer at the beginning of Uzuki (April). The month of June ushers in the straw hat. The heat of summer and the gray, drizzling days of 'nyubai' are, of course, not so welcome to the majority as the summer moon." "The beauty of summer," says Sei Shonagon, a poetess of the 11th century, "is in its night, especially when the moon is shining." The views of the glorious darkness of the 7th of July bediamonded with innumerable lights in the

shape of paper lanterns during "Tanabata Matsuri" (the Festival of Stars) the delicious charms of "Ryomi" with its deep spiritual import, the pleasures of a temporary residence at Hakone and Karuizawa, and the firework display on the River Sumida cannot be easily forgotten. The autumn season in Japan abounds in beauties of the moon, the maple, and the chrysanthemum, and the winter season is marked by New Year festivities, some of which demonstrate the blending of the Western and Eastern civilizations in Japan. In the next chapter Akimoto gives a concise description of Japan's great cities, Tokyo, the capital, Osaka, city of smoke, din and exquisite environs, Kyoto, the crowned capital, Nara, the Buddhists' Rome, Nagoya, city of golden dolphins, Kobe, Japan's cleanest and healthiest city, and Yokohama, the Front Door of Japan. The author furnishes us with an extremely interesting outline of the twelve famous Parks of the country under the heading: "The National Parks." He gives a succinct description of the principal Japanese Matsuris (festivals), tells us how we can reach Japan from different places, supplies us with some general but important information about the inner springs of Japan's greatness (251-287), portrays some of Japan's characteristic accomplishments (Noh Drama, Tea Ceremony, Flower Arrangement, Waka, Haiku and Calligraphy), and customs (291-339). The Appendix at the end of "The Lure of Japan" is a short summary of Japanese history down to the 16th century. It is followed by an index which makes the work of reference in this highly instructive "Guide to Japan" very easy.

P. TARACHAND ROY

## PERSIAN—ENGLISH

**TAZKIRAT-UL-ULAMA** (A Memoir of the Learned Men of Jaunpur): By Khairuddin Muhammad of Jaunpur, edited in the original Persian with English Translation, notes etc. by Muhammad Sana Ullah, M. A., Professor of Arabic and Persian, Presidency College, Calcutta. Abul Faiz & Co., Calcutta. 1934. Price Rs. 3.

Khairuddin Muhammad Allahabadi (not Jaunpuri) is well known to students of Indo-Muslim history as the author of *Ibrat-nama*, *Balucant-nama*, *Jaunpur-nama* and *Gwalior-nama*. He was born at Allahabad in 1752, studied at Jaunpur, and kept a *Madrasah* in his native city till the sale of Kora and Allahabad by the East India Company to Nawab Shujauddula of Oudh. Khairuddin was last of the noble race of men of God and of learning, whose sturdy character, saintly life and encyclopaedic learning threw lustre on Muslim rule in India. The author gives a very short account of his own life in the *Khatima* (Conclusion) of this Tazkira. But we learn more of the author from his personal reminiscences in the *Balucant-nama* and *Ibrat-nama*. In his *Balucant-nama* he tells us how one day Rajah Kalicharan, a high Bengali official of Warren Hastings took him into favour by listening to a learned debate in which he discomfited the Rajah's Pandit on points of Shastra and showed wonderful acquaintance with Hindu religion derived from works of Dara Shukoh. Rajah Kalicharan introduced him to some Englishmen whom he accompanied to Benares. Khairuddin was with Warren Hastings on the critical day of attack on the English by the troops of Rajah Chait Singh of Benares. He had a



long talk with false Bhao Sahib imprisoned in the fort of Chunar. Khairuddin served Emperor Shah Alam II and Nawab Asafuddaula of Oudh.

Prof. Sana Ullah's book, though small in size, requires a long notice, because its importance far outweighs its bulk. It reveals an interesting chapter of the literary and cultural history of Muslim India. Learning in those days never cared to go even on invitation to any man, be he the Padshah or Caliph himself; but man went in all humility to learning. Such was the spirit that animated some of the Ulemas whose life-sketches are given in this book. Self-denial and self-abasement in the cause of learning found in them have hardly any parallel in history. Hazrat Shaikh Isa of Delhi expressed his last wish that he should be buried in the place where the students of his Madrasah kept their shoes (p. 27). Some of them regarded marriage as calamitous to scholarship and an impediment in the path of God. Qazi Shihabuddin Daulatabadi resisted the craving of the flesh till old age when he wrote to Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, "Send me such a person as would set foot upon my head" (*ek kas chunan farest ke pa bar sar-m nihad*; Pers. text, p. 14).

This book throws important side-lights on men and things of Muslim India. Khairuddin mentions one history of Mumim Khan (who died of plague in Gaur), under the title *Tarikh-i-Munimi*, no copy of which is known to be extant. He quotes a passage from Jahangir's own writing in which the Emperor speaks of his disinclination to read, and failure of several teachers to teach him the alphabet. At last came Mulla Farrhi from Jaunpur who joined the Prince in his play with *ghalula* (pellets), and within a few days turned his mind from play towards reading and writing. The book from which the above passage is taken is called by Khairuddin *Tuzuk-i-Shahzadgi* or Memoirs of Princehood, identified by Prof. Sana Ullah with the well-known *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. But so far as we remember this incident is not to be found either in its English translation by Rogers and Beveridge, or even in Sir Sayyid Ahmad's edition of its text. Khairuddin gives on the authority of *Subh-i-Sadiq* the story of a debate on philosophy in the Court of Shahjahan in which Mulla Mahmud of Jaunpur defeated Akmaj the blind Persian Ambassador who had put to shame every other Ulema of the Mughal Empire. The historical anecdotes given in this *Tuzkira*, ranging from the time of Firuz Shah Tughlaq to the Timuride Muhammad Shah require notice—it may be for reputation—by students of Indo-Muslim history.

The Catalogues of Libraries in India and Europe give us the impression that the literary products of Medieval India were rarely in Arabic, Muslim India being a sort of appendix in this respect to Islamic countries outside. This little *Tazkira* of Khairuddin tells us that Indian Muslims too cultivated Arabic with fruitful results, and that they wrote authoritative commentaries, and their books received warm applause abroad. Every bibliophile and manuscript-hunter ought to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the *Tazkira* literature of Medieval India in the neglected pages of which lie buried names of many a book, Arabic and Persian, hitherto undiscovered.

It is interesting to read Khairuddin's scheme of a *Madrasah* in Jaunpur submitted in his Memorial to Lord Wellesley appended to the *Tuzkira*. He suggests therein the appointment of five Maulvis of whom four were to be in charge of teaching subjects given in the curriculum. This we may take as a humble

prototype of renowned *Madrasahs* flourishing in the prosperous days of Muslim rule.

We sincerely congratulate Prof. Sana Ullah on his publication of this *Tuzkira*, a mere labour of love; because such books hardly pay their cost. The book, both Persian text and English translation, is neatly printed with hardly any slip. We only draw the author's attention to p. 68, second line from the bottom, where he has omitted to give the word *Sambat* after 1849 which readers may take for A. D. The word "Sambat" is in the original text (p. 61.) We only hope that the learned author would bring to light other works of this nature, as he seems to be eminently fit to undertake work of editing and translating Persian books, literary and historical.

K. R. QANUNGO

## GERMAN

### WELTWIRTSCHAFTS—RENAISSANCE :

By S. A. H. Meerza : H. J. J. Hay. Kellinghusen bei Hamburg. Price R.M. 3.50.

The book deals critically and exhaustively with the present-day problems of world economy and suggests remedies for the manifold evils that have crept into the field of economics all the world over. No movement for the rehabilitation of the economic conditions will be successful, according to the author, unless it is based upon the conception that the various nations of the world form an organism, so that betterment of one nation cannot be brought about by the destruction of or injury to another. This seems to be his central idea, for establishing which the author has plunged into the past political and economic history of many countries, including India, and analysed the steps that had been taken by the British and other industrialists of the West for the capture of the Indian and other foreign markets. This historical treatment of the author, minus the rather tense emotional tone that runs through the whole, is really very interesting and one finds in it many overlooked and perhaps intentionally overlooked facts of Indian History, relating to the early connection of the English and the Indians, clearly stated in all their naked ugliness. The statements put forth are substantiated by quotations from undisputed authorities.

The book contains symbolic illustrations, which I do not think, has enhanced its value. It has been well received in the German academic circles and deserves the encomiums that have been bestowed upon it. One may not agree with the author's evaluations of all the movements that he has considered, but there is no doubt that everyone interested in these problems will find the book a highly interesting one and at the same time suggestive too.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

## SANSKRIT

SATYAGRAHA-GITA : By Mrs. Kshama Row. Royal 1-16. Pp. 133+3. Published by Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris. 1932. Price Rs. 2-8.

The present work written in vigorous Epic verse contains a courageous and faithful account of the Satyagraha Movement. Though the book styles itself as a Gita, its teaching is quite different from that of the Bhagavad Gita as it has been understood by Lokmanya Tilak, Sri Aurobindo and millions of



Indians. But in spite of this the little volume under review will be read with interest even by those who have not accepted the methods and principles of Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the Satyagraha Movement.

**KATHAPANCHAKAM :** By Mrs. Kshama Row. Double Crown 1-16. Pp. 123+2. Published by Sahakari Granthakar Nawakal Wadi Girgaon, Bombay. 1933. Price Re. 1.

The book contains Sanskrit translation (in *sloka metre*) of five of the authoress' English short stories. Though her command over Sanskrit language and Epic verse is quite admirable this translation, we are sorry to say, has not been successful. It might have been better if she chose Sanskrit prose of the ornamental type. The verse rendering of the stories do neither possess the simple charms of the original English nor have they acquired the classic beauty of the Sanskrit *Kavya* literature. But in spite of this defect the five stories will be read with interest for their novel plots.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

#### SANSKRIT—ENGLISH—HINDI

**उपनिषद्सारसंग्रह—(SELECTIONS FROM THE UPANISHADS :** By Rai Bahadur P. Kashinath, M. B. E. Published at the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow. Price Rs. 2.

This book contains selections from the nine major Upanishads, with translation in English and Hindi. The texts selected are well known, but the translation is not always accurate.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

#### HINDI

**STRIYON AUR BACHCHIYON KA VYAPAR :** By Mr. Shivrinarayan Tandon. Published by the Sarada-Sadan, Katra, Allahabad. 1934. Pp. 262. Price Re. 1-8.

This book aims at presenting in a nutshell the findings of the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations in connection with the immoral traffic in women and children all over the world. There are four introductory chapters, and the condition of women and children in 31 countries has been touched upon. This will be an eye-opener to many who are

blinded by the glare of modern civilization. We are reminded anew that truth is stranger than fiction.

**CHITRAKUT-KI JHANKI :** By Lala Sitaram, B. A., *Salvitya-ratna*. Published by the Gita Press, Gorakhpur. Pp. 18+20 plates. 2nd edition. Price As. 2.

This is a very nicely produced and profusely illustrated guide-book of Chitrakut, which is connected with the exile of Ram of the great epic. These glimpses of the place of pilgrimage will not fail to appeal to the Hindus.

RAMES BASU

#### GUJARATI

**JAIN SAHITYA KO SAMSKSHIPT ITIHAS :** By Mohanlal D. Desai, B.A., LL.B. Advocate, Bombay. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 1080. Price Rs. 6. (1934). With 60 illustrations.

This short history of Jain literature, which is a chronological sketch of Jain Shwetambar Literature from Lord Mahavir's time to Samvat year 1960; though called short is not so. It is written in great detail and it took the author 12 years to write it. So far as present available materials go, it can be said to be complete, because it must be acknowledged that Mr. Desai has neither spared time, money nor energy in collecting, collating and sifting the very large number of MSS. to be found in Gujarat and outside to make his work as comprehensive as possible. This book, along with the two other large volumes on Gurjar Jain poets also from Mr. Desai's pen, makes up a complete picture of the activities of Jain writers in the field of Gujarati literature from the earliest to the present times. The pictures add to the attractive MSS. and utility of the present volume. The subject has been divided into eight periods or sections and the treatment of each writer composed in the section is fine and scholarly. The one fact that dominates the mind of the reader is the fact that the Jain writers and ascetics have furnished the largest number of composers of prose and poetical works of old Gujarat and that therefore any review as to the activities of the literature of that period would always remain imperfect if it did not take stock of that phase. We think that for a considerable time to come this work will stand alone for its comprehensiveness and wideness.

K. M. J.





## INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH POETS ON RABINDRANATH

By KANAK BANDYOPADHYAY, M.A.

THE most varied and striking developments in the Bengali literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have come from its contact with the forms and ideas of English literature. All through the period English literature has exerted its influence on the themes, temper and fashions of Bengali poetry. The influences and tendencies of the romantic age of English poetry have ushered in the modern age in Bengali poetry by stimulating the imaginative and creative vitality of Bengali literature. The imagination of Rabindranath was powerfully affected by the English romantic poets.

It is not a matter of critical investigation to trace the influence of English poets on Rabindranath, because English influence on Rabindranath is an admitted fact. Fortunately Rabindranath has given us hints of it in the body of his poetry itself and in direct pronouncements in his *Reminiscences*. In his *Reminiscences* Rabindranath says,

".....Our minds from infancy to old age are being moulded by English Literature alone. The excitement of the pursuit of English Literature came to sway the heart of the youth of our time, and at mine the waves of excitement kept beating from every side."

In another place the poet says,

"The condition of my immature mind was fostered by both the example and precept of the time, and I am not sure that the effect of these are not lingering on to the present day. Glancing back at the period, it strikes me that we had gained more of stimulation than of nourishment out of English Literature. ....Our restricted social life, our narrower field of activity, was hedged in with such monotonous uniformity that tempestuous felings found no entrance; ...all was calm and quiet as could be. So our hearts naturally craved the life-bringing shock of the passionate emotion in English Literature. Ours was not the aesthetic enjoyment of literary art, but the jubilant welcome by stagnation of a turbulent wave, even though it should stir up to the surface the slime of the bottom."

The poet's aesthetic enjoyment of literature began when he had completely assimilated English literature and fully understood the spirit of that literature. Rabindranath has written in *The Calcutta Review* (January, 1933; p. 13) that

"It is the power to assimilate the cultural influence from outside which proves the creative vitality of Bengali literature. Originality in literature lies in its capacity to absorb the

universal in all literatures and arts and give it a unique expression characteristic of its particular genius and traditions."

Rabindranath has thus, in more than one instance, pointed out the influence of English literature on himself and on Bengali literature. "The Sanskrit poets", says Dr. Thompson, "gave him a sound body of traditional Indian art, to keep his work essentially vernacular. But the English Saraswati may fairly claim from her Bengali sister a good deal of the credit of his training."

Rabindranath's English education began when he was of a very tender age. Much of his education was obtained at home, because he had a regular dread of schools. Akshaychandra Choudhuri, an intimate friend of his brother Jyotirindranath, interested him in English literature. Akshay Choudhuri's profound knowledge of literature was one of the most formative influences on Rabindranath's poetic genius. Besides Akshay Choudhuri Rabindranath had another literary friend, Priynath Sen. Mr. Sen's literary opinions, suggestive criticisms and discriminative appreciations of English and French literatures were of great value to Rabindranath.

Some of Rabindranath's earliest works include translations of pieces from Moore, Byron, Burns, Mrs. Opie, Shakespeare, Shelley, Tennyson, Christina Rossetti, Elizabeth Browning, Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, etc. Through these he acquired an intimate acquaintance with English poetry.

Rabindranath's mind has many affinities with the English poets. But in tracing the affinities between English poets and Rabindranath we must remember the fact that the human mind being one, parallel developments of thought and imagination, of mood and technique, along similar lines, can very naturally be traced in different poets. That is not always suggestive of mutual influence, but denotes independent pursuit and realization of truths that are universal. It is in this way that the highest realization of great minds often present a remarkable harmony of kinship even though they may be widely separated by distance and time. So there is truth enough in Victor Hugo's saying that "the poets are a long line of gentlemen with their hands in each other's pockets".

Similarity of sentiment and imagination can be traced between Rabindranath and even some of the Georgian poets as Alfred Noyes, W. H.



Davies, Walter de la Mare, or James Elroy Flecker. The following lines of J. E. Flecker, (1884-1915),

"I who am dead a thousand years,  
And wrote this sweet archaic song,  
Send you my words for messengers  
The way I shall not pass along.

\* \* \*

O friend unseen, unborn, unknown.  
Student of our sweet English tongue.  
Read out my words at night alone:  
I was a poet, I was young.  
Since I can never see your face,  
And never shake you by the hand,  
I send my soul through time and space  
To greet you, you will understand."

suggests at once Rabindranath's "Bhābi Kāl" (in *Puravi*), and the following beautiful lines of "1400 Sāl" (in *Chitrā*):

"Who are you reader, reading my poems an hundred years hence?

I cannot send you one single flower from this wealth of the spring, one single streak of gold from yonder clouds.

Open your doors and look abroad.

From your blossoming garden gather fragrant memories of the vanished flowers of an hundred years before.

In the joy of your heart may you feel the living joy that sang one spring morning, sending its glad voice across an hundred years."

—(Poet's own translation from the original.)

This shows that Rabindranath's mind is essentially modern.

The poetry of Rabindranath reflects along certain lines some peculiar and significant tendencies of the nineteenth century English literature. In him we find the romantic treatment of man and nature and also an attempt at a harmonization of faith and reason, which is the characteristic feature of Victorian poetry.

The austere beauty of Wordsworth, the intellectual mysticism, idealism and lyric grace of Shelley, the aestheticism and felicity of Keats, the passion and intellectual subtlety of Browning, and the word-painting and artistry of Tennyson greatly influenced Rabindranath. Rabindranath has thus tuned his literature to the spirit of the age.

The influence of the English romantic poets on Rabindranath is supreme. It is not needful, nor is it possible to define Romanticism. But some of its features, namely, 'Dominance of imagination,' 'Return to nature,' 'Lyricism,' 'Renaissance of wonder' may be mentioned as being the most significant aspects of Romanticism. Beginning from his earliest works up to his *Puravi*, *Nataraj*, *Mahua* or *Vanavani* those characteristic features of Romanticism can be felt. How are we to define the weaving of imageries after imageries, freedom and careless joy, and the forgetfulness of the outer world through intense lyric emotion which we notice in many of Rabindranath's works, beginning

from *Nirharer Swapna-Bhanga* ('Awakening of the Waterfalls')? Is it lyricism; 'subjectivity,' or 'Renaissance of wonder'? In 'technique' and spirit Rabindranath's poems are perfect types of all those features of Romanticism.

It is with the spirit of the Romantic age which was inaugurated by Burns, Shelley, Keats and Wordsworth that Rabindranath has identified himself. When Rabindranath writes:

জাগিয়া উঠেছে প্রাণ  
ওরে উথলি উঠেছে বারি,  
ওরে প্রাণের বাসনা প্রাণের আবেগ  
রুধির রাখিতে না দি।  
থর থর করি কাঁপিলে ভূধর,  
শিলা রাশি রাশি পড়িলে খসে।  
ফুলিয়া ফুলিয়া কেনিল দলিল  
গরজি উঠিলে দারুণ রাগে।  
মহা উল্লাসে ছুটিতে চায়,  
ভূধরের হিয়া টুটিতে চায়,  
প্রভাত কিরণে পাগল হইয়া  
জগৎ মাঝারে লুটিতে চায়।

"The spirit has waked up,  
Oh the water overflows,  
Oh the heart's desire and the heart's emotion  
I cannot hold in check.  
The mountain trembles, the stones  
In vast screees clattering pour;  
The waters, swelling and foaming,  
In anger and tumult roar;  
In their mighty exultation  
They would rend the mountain asunder;  
Mad with the morning's rays,  
Through earth they would crash and thunder."

—Translated by Dr. E. J. Thompson.

he strikes one of the most pronounced notes of the Romantic age. Man's freedom—his capacity to rise above his immediate surroundings, has received a very great emphasis in this poem of Rabindranath.

The central note of English poetry is its 'spirit of balance,' or in other words, idealism adjusted to reality. English literature does not seem to favour "art for art's sake," or "poetry for poetry's sake." "Poetry" in English literature "is a criticism of life." In English poetry we find a harmonization of idealism and realism, of intellect and emotion. English poets have always realized that ideas to have a permanent value must refer to objects. Wordsworth affirms that the object of poetry is "truth not individual and local but general and operative." He especially aims at appealing to the "primary laws of human nature" and to the "elementary feelings" found to co-exist with people in humble and rustic life. Rabindranath's poems also seem to sound this characteristic note of English poetry. Rabindranath fully realized that poetry is the image of nature and man.

English literature has always protested against the "doctrine of liberty and supremacy of



individual imagination," which was the guiding principle of Shelley. It is true that the influence of Shelley on Rabindranath is great. But Rabindranath has not altogether ignored life in his idealizings. It is only in his early works and in his "Evening Songs" that his poetry "lacked the backbone of worldly realities." The "Evening Songs" were composed at a time when the poet's life had little acquaintance with the world outside, when he was busy in wandering on the wings of fancy. But in the "Morning Songs" Rabindranath's poetic genius dawned. Henceforth he could peer into the hidden depths of eternal joy and could see in objects small the rhythmic dance of humanity. In his 'Awakening of the Waterfalls', *Nirjharer Swapna-bhanga*, when Rabindranath writes :

"আমি ঢালিব করুণা-ধারা  
আমি ভাঙিব পাষণ-কারা,  
আমি জগৎ প্লাবিতা বেড়াব গাহিয়া  
আকুল পাগল পাতা ।  
কেশ এলাইয়া, ফুল কুড়াইয়া,  
রামধনু জ্বালা পাখা উড়াইয়া  
তবির কিরণে হাসি ছড়াইয়া দিব রে পদ্মপাণ ঢালি ।  
শিশুর হইতে শিকরে ছুটিব,  
ভূবর হইতে ভূধরে পুটিব,  
হেসে পলখন গেয়ে কলকল তালে তালে দিব তালি ।"

"And I—I will pour of compassion a river ;  
The prisons of stones I will break, will deliver ;  
I will flood the earth, and, with rapture mad,  
Pour music glad  
With dishevelled tresses, and gathering flowers,  
With rainbow wings widespread, through the hours  
I shall run and scatter my laughter bright  
In dear sunlight,  
I shall run from peak to peak, and from hill  
To hill my leaping waters spill,  
Loudly shall I laugh and with claps keep time  
To my own steps' chime."

—Translated by Dr. E. J. Thompson.

he evidently advocates the "reconciliation of realism and idealism which accords with one of the most prominent tendencies of English poetry. In Rabindranath's *Ebar phirao more, Marichika* and *Prakritir pratishodh* ('Nature's Revenge', this same note is apparent. Here is a passage from *Ebar phirao more*—

"এবার ফিরাও মোহে, লয়ে যাও সংসারের ভারে  
হে কলনে, রঙ্গময়ী, দুলায়ো না সমীরে সমীরে  
তরঙ্গে তরঙ্গে আর, ভুলায়ো না ঘোহিনী মায়ায় ।  
বিজন বিষাদবন অন্তরের নিকুঞ্জ ছায়ায়  
রেখো না বসারে ।.....  
হৃষ্টছাড়া হৃষ্টমাঝে বহুকাল করিয়াছি বাস  
সঙ্গাহীন সাত্ত্বিন, তাই মোর অপরূপ বেশ,  
আচার নৃতনতর, তাই মোর চক্ষে স্বপ্নাবেশ,"

\* \* \*

"Now rein me back and take me to the shore of the world. O ye sportive fancy, do not any more

rock me with every wind and every wave. Do not delude me by your witchcraft. Do not imprison me any more in the lonely, dismal shade of my inner self... .."

For days and nights have I lodged in a strange land. Hence my strange appearance and stranger my manners and customs. So dreams alight on my eyelids....."

—Translated by Mr. Amulya Charan Aikat.

The following lines are fraught with the same sentiment :

মরিতে চাহি না আমি হৃদয় ভুবনে  
মানবের মাঝে আমি বাঁচিবাই চাই ।

"In this beautiful Universe I do not want to die ;  
I want to live among men."

—Translated by Rai Bahadur L. M. Chatterjee.

Rabindranath's dramatic lyric, *Nature's Revenge*, tells how a hermit strove to cut away all bonds with the world with a view to coming to the possession of Truth ; and how a girl brought him back into the world and into the 'bondage of human relations.' The central thought of this play is the keynote of all his creations. The hero of Tagore realizes that "the great is to be found in the small, the finite within the bounds of form, and the eternal freedom of the soul in love, it is only in the light of love that limits are merged in the limitless." In one of his famous songs he strikes this same note :

"সীমার মাঝে অসীম তুমি  
বাজাও আপন হৃদয়,  
আমার মধ্যে তোমার প্রকাশ  
তাই এতো মধুর ।"

"Within the finite you are the infinite and sing your song. Therefore your manifestation in me is so sweet."

—Translated by Dr. Jayanta Kumar Das Gupta.

It is interesting to note the similarity of sentiment between *Nature's Revenge* and Browning's *Pauline*, *Paracelsus* and *Sordello*. The Sannyasi in *Nature's Revenge* resembles Browning's *Paracelsus*. *Paracelsus* aimed at conquering the world with knowledge with a view to serving humanity. But in spite of his mastery over knowledge he could not use it. The Sannyasi, *Paracelsus* and *Kacha* (in the *Curse at Farewell*) exalted knowledge over love and were failures. In *Paracelsus* Aprile shut out knowledge in search for eternal beauty. He was baffled. Then one day in the world of natural beauty he came to understand that what he had hungered for was God only—God the eternal love. He said,

".....I believe in God, and truth,  
And love ;....."

The Sannyasi in *Nature's Revenge* says :

"যাক, রদাতলে যাক দল্যাদীর ব্রত !  
নূর কর ভেঙে ফেল দণ্ড কামণ্ডলু !



হে বিশ্ব, হে মহাত্মী, চলছ কোথায়  
আমারে তুলিয়া লও তোমার আশ্রয়ে—

কোটি কোটি যাত্রী ওই যেতেছে চলিয়া  
আমিও চলিতে চাই উহাদের সাথে।—

জগৎ, তোমারে ছেড়ে পারিনে যে যেতে,  
মহা আকর্ষণে বাধা আছি মোরা।”

“Let my vows of Sanyasi go. I break my staff and my alms-bowl. This stately ship, this world, which is crossing the sea of time.....let it take me up again, let me join once more the pilgrims. O World, we cannot leave thee and go away, we are bound to thee by irresistible attraction.”

—Translated by the poet himself and  
Rai Bahadur L. M. Chatterjee.

This exclamation sounds like that of Sordello, who finally chooses humanity's side—

“Here is the crowd, whom I with freest heart  
Offer to serve.”

The creed of both Rabindranath and Browning thus undergoes a like process of evolution—an evolution from intense subjectivity to realism. From the purely idealistic vein Rabindranath has repeatedly tried to return and wants to identify himself with the actual world, until he has written some purely realistic poems entitled *Palātākā*, in which his poetic power seems to have reached maturity. The period before the publication of *Palātākā* exhibits a great struggle between the ideal and the actual, spasmodic efforts to mix with the crowd, take an active part in the vital problems of national life. At the root of this tendency in Rabindranath's poetry, there is the influence of English poets.

Rabindranath has been called the ‘Shelley of Bengal.’ The influence of Shelley is specially marked in his earlier works. Rabindranath's early works are highly idealistic. Up to his “Evening Songs” Rabindranath is dreamy and vague like Shelley. Dr. Thompson has remarked that “at first it was a poorer Shelly that ruled him; the Shelley of the ‘West Wind’ was a later influence.” Shelley yearned for pure joy and beauty that were distant and beyond the gross earth. But Wordsworth has opened the eyes of men to the poetry hidden in the common things around us. Matthew Arnold and Browning have also trodden on the footsteps of Wordsworth and have sought their ideals in insignificant objects of nature. Rabindranath too has distinctly given expression to this modern characteristic of poetry. Like the English poets Rabindranath has discovered beauty and significance in little things:

বন্ধু তুমি জান দূর বাহা  
দূর তাহা নয়,—  
নতঃ যেথা কিছু আছে  
বিশ্ব সেথা রয়।

এই যে মূদে আছে লাজে  
পড়িবে তুমি এরি মাঝে  
জীবন মৃত্যু মৌজ ছায়া  
ঝটিকার বারতা  
আমার লজ্জাবতী লতা”

“Friend you know (addressing Sir J. C. Bose) that the small is not really small; wherever there is truth there is the symbol of the whole universe, look at the plant folded, through bashfulness, you will be able to read in it the tale of life and death, of sunshine, shade and storms—such is my sensitive plant.”

—Translated by Mr. Amulya Charan Aikit.

A kind of sadness and pain, langour and despondency runs through the earlier poems of Rabindranath. This feature lingers up to his ‘Evening Song.’ This is also marked in the poems of young Shelley. ‘Kavi Kahini’ (A poet's story) is one of the earliest works of Rabindranath. His ‘Kavi Kahini’ is an Alastor in Bengali literature. The ‘Kavi Kahini’ is didactic. Its theme, the value of human relationship and the folly of despising it, is emphasised in many of his later works. It anticipates two of his most important dramas, ‘Nature's Revenge’ and ‘Māyār Khelā’ (The Play of Illusion). In ‘Māyār Khelā’ the same Shelleyan note can be traced:

‘বিদায় করেছ যার নয়ন জলে  
এখন ফিরাবে তারে কিসের ছলে।”

“On what pretext will you call back one whom once you turned away in tears?

—Translated by Rai Bahadur L. M. Chatterjee.

In his ‘Broken Heart’ (Bhagna-hriday) and in the allegorical storiettes ‘Siddhi’ and ‘Parir Parichay’ of “Lipika” this same note is apparent.

The influence of the ‘Hymn to Intellectual Beauty’ is felt in Rabindranath's ‘Echo’ (*Pratidhvani*). The poet is in love with an Echo. It comes to him in everything, comes as a song of the bird and sigh of the forest, as the sweet voice of children, as the plashing of waterfalls. He seeks it as Shelley sought intellectual beauty and said:

“The awful shadow of some unseen power  
Floats, though unseen, among us; visiting  
This various world with as constant wing  
As summer winds that creep from flower to flower.”

The influence of one of Keats's poems has been more abiding on Rabindranath's imagination than Shelley's ‘Hymn to Intellectual Beauty.’ In a talk with Dr. Thompson Rabindranath expressed his admiration for Keats's ‘Ode on a Grecian Urn.’ “The idea,” the poet said, “appeals to me.” The idea of Keats's ode has enabled our poet to weave a rainbow of ineffable beauty in his magnificent poem ‘Urvasi.’ Urvasi's beauty is “dissociated from all human relationships.” In this poem the poet's love of an eternal or ideal beauty finds its most glorious expression. Keats's genius in the poem ‘Ode on



a Grecian Urn' also seized on the imperishable forms of beauty.

In Urvasi we find a poetic exposition of aesthetic philosophy and an instance of a synthesis of oriental mysticism and occidental sensitiveness. The following well-known lines on beauty written by English poets come to one's memory when going through 'Urvasi.'

"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever."—Keats

"Beauty is a witch  
Against whose charms faith melteth into blood."

—*Love's Labours Lost*.

"Beauty is a vain and doubtful good."—Shakespeare  
"I saw wherever light illumineth  
Beauty and anguish walking hand in hand  
The downward slope to death."

—Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*

On Tagore's 'Urvasi' there is also a definite influence of the Chorus on the Birth of Love in Swinburne's 'Atalanta in Calydon.' Tagore writes :

"বৃন্তহীন পুষ্পসম আপনাতে আপনি বিকশি  
কবে তুমি ফুটিলে উর্ধ্বশী ।

আদিম বসন্তপ্রাতে উঠেছিলে মস্থিত মাগরে,  
ডানহাতে স্বপ্নাপাত্র, বিবর্তণ লয়ে বাম করে,  
পড়েছিলো পদপ্রান্তে, উজ্জ্বলিত ফণা লক্ষ শত  
করি অবনত ।

কন্দুভ নগ্নকান্তি হরেন্দ্র-বন্দিতা  
তুমি অনিন্দিতা ।"

"Like some stemless flower, blooming in thyself,  
When didst thou blossom Urvasi ?  
That primal spring, thou didst arise from the  
Yeast of the ocean,  
In thy right hand nectar, venom in the left,  
The swelling, mighty sea, like a serpent tamed  
with spells,  
Drooping his thousand, towering hoods,  
fell at thy feet !  
White as the Kunda-blossom, a naked beauty,  
Adored by the king of Gods,  
Thou stainless one."

—Translated by Dr. E. J. Thompson.

Urvasi resembles the "Perilous Goddess born of the sea-foam." She stands with a pot of ambrosia in her right hand and a pot of poison in the left. Swinburne has worshipped such beauty in his "Birth of Love":

"Before thee the laughter, behind thee the  
tears of desire  
A better flower from the bud  
Sprung of the Sea without root,  
Sprung without graft from the years."

Rabindranath's imagery used in the poem 'Urvasi' resembles Swinburne's. "Hymn to Proserpine"

The Keatsian worship of beauty is noticed even in his lyrical drama "Chitra." A perusal of the drama convinces us that the hero con-

ceived like Keats "Beauty is truth, truth beauty... a thing of beauty is a joy for ever."

Rabindranath's "Year's End" (Barsha-Ses) shows the influence of Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind." Our poet remembers Shelley's "Pestilence-stricken multitudes" of hectic bright leaves driven before the blast, and that poet's soul like a "dead leaf thou mightest bear." Rabindranath cries to the stormy wind and to his song :

"বীণাতন্ত্রে হান হান বরতর বহুর বহুনা,  
তোল উচ্ছুর ।

হনয় নির্দয়ঘাতে কর'রিয়া কর'রিয়া পড়ুক  
প্রবল প্রচুর ।

গাও গান প্রাণভরা ঝড়ের মতন উজ্জ্বলবেগে  
অনন্ত আকাশে ।

উড়ে যাক দূর যাক বিবর্ণ বিশীর্ণ যত পাতা  
বিপুল-নিঃশ্বাসে ।"

"Strike the chords with hard, ringing strokes, let  
the notes rise high.

Let the cruel thrust shiver the heart till it falls  
in copious showers.

Let the song burst from thy full heart like a storm  
rushing up into the boundless sky.

Let the dry and discoloured leaves fly far before  
its mighty breath."

—Translated by Rai Bahadur L. M. Chatterjee.

In this poem the poet says good-bye to the old year and to his old poetry. Shelley also wrote :

"Make me thy lyre, even as the forest is ;  
What if my leaves are falling like its own ?

...  
Drive my dead thoughts over the universe,  
Like withered leaves, to quicken a new birth ;"

Rabindranath's emotional response to nature and his mysticism in the treatment of nature are influenced to a large extent by English poets. It will not be out of place to quote here the following sentence of Sir Brajendra Nath Seal on the question of English influence on Bengali literature.

"Like Wordsworth, we make love to nature and extract philosophy out of it. Like Shelley, we invest it with mystic metaphysics. Like Byron, we make it a cue for pouring forth passionate rhapsodies."

Nature-poetry has been treated in a fashion strangely echoing the mysterious expressions of nature in different seasons and places. Rabindranath is like Wordsworth in finding spiritual meaning in nature and like Shelley in his subjective idealizings. In the manner of English poets Rabindranath has personified nature and has also given concrete presentations of nature.

The following lines of Rabindranath, quoted from his 'Chinnapatra' written in October 1891, show that like Wordsworth, he realized the influence of nature on the human soul :

"রুগ্ন ছেলের দিকে মা যেমন করে' তাকায় প্রকৃতি সেইরকম স্তব্ধ  
এবং নিষ্কৃতি বিষাদের সঙ্গে আমার মূর্খের দিকে চেয়েছিলো ।"



"Nature looked at my face with the profound calm and tender melancholy of a mother gazing at her ailing son."

—Translated by Mr. Priyaranjan Sen.

And again in the introduction to one of his most recent poetical works 'Vanavani' we find that a personal relationship is established with nature :

"আমার ঘরের চারিপাশে যে সব আমার বোবা বন্ধু আলোর প্রেমে মত্ত হয়ে আকাশের দিকে হাত বাড়িয়ে দাঁড়িয়ে আছে, তাদের ডাক আমার মনের মধ্যে পৌঁছালো। তাদের ভাষা হচ্ছে জীব-জগতের আদি ভাষা, তার ইনারা পৌঁছয় প্রাণের প্রথমতম স্তরে। হাজার হাজার বছরের ভুলে যাওয়া ইতিহাসকে নাড়া দেয়, মনের মধ্যে বে সাড়া ওঠে সেও ঐ গাছের ভাষায়,—তারও কোন স্পষ্ট মানে নেই অথচ তার মধ্যে বহু যুগবৃগাস্তর বনিয়ে ওঠে।...ঐ গাছগুলো বিশ্ববাইলের একতারা, ওদের মজ্জায় মজ্জায় সরল স্বরের কীপন, ওদের ডালে ডালে পাতায় পাতায় একতারা ছন্দের নান। যদি নিস্তব্ধ হয়ে প্রাণ দিয়ে শুনি তাহলে অন্তরের মধ্যে মুক্তির বাণী এসে লাগে।"

"To my inmost heart reaches the call of all the dumb things that stand round me with arms stretched out in yearning love towards the light. Their voice is the primeval voice of the living world, its significance penetrates to the first stratum of life. It stirs afresh the forgotten history of thousands of years—and the mind responds in a speech that is akin to the speech of the vegetable world, for, while it has no clear meaning it yet holds the secret of past epochs...these trees are the one-stringed lyre of the world-minstrel; their inmost fibres are a-thrill with the notes; on every bough, on every leaf is the dance of their simple rhythm. Keep still and listen with your soul and you will feel the secret that loosens all bonds."

—Translated by Rai Bahadur L. M. Chatterjee.

The communion of man with nature is developed in many of Rabindranath's poems. 'Matir Dak' in "Puravi" is an example :

"আজকে মাঠের ঘাসে ঘাসে  
নিঃশব্দে মোর ববর আসে  
কোথায় আছে বিশ্বজনের প্রাণ।"

"Blowing over the grass of the meadows comes today the secret of the world's life."

—Translated by Rai Bahadur L. M. Chatterjee.

In Rabindranath we find examples of interpenetrative affinity between Nature and the Poet. This feature has brought about a revolution in European Literature in the nineteenth century by developing one of the most prominent characteristics of Romanticism. Rabindranath writes in his 'Basundhara' :

"ওগো মা মৃদুয়া,  
তোমার মৃত্তিকা মাঝে ব্যাপ্ত হয়ে রই,  
দিগিদিকে আপনারে দিই বিস্তারিয়া  
বসন্তের আনন্দের মতো, বিদারিয়া  
এ বক্ষপঞ্জর, টুটিয়া পাখ্য-বন্ধ  
নক্ষীর্ণ প্রাচীর, আপনার নিরানন্দ  
অন্ধ কারাগার,—হিলোলিয়া, মর্দুরিয়া,

কম্পিয়া, স্থলিয়া, বিকিরিয়া, বিক্ষুরিয়া,  
শিহরিয়া, সচকিয়া আলোকে পুলকে  
প্রবাহিয়া চলে বাই সমস্ত ভুলোকে  
প্রাপ্ত হতে প্রান্তভাগে।—"

"Oh mother Earth,

In thy dust let me stretch along;  
Spread me out in all directions  
Like Vernal bliss, rending asunder  
The cage of this heart, breaking the stone-bound  
Gloomy vault,—rising falling like a wave, murmuring  
Trembling, dropping, throwing out, radiating,  
In a tremor and shock; in joy and light  
Let me float on, on, through the world  
From end to end."

—Translated by Mr. Priyaranjan Sen.

In his *Basundhara* Rabindranath has also said :

"আমার পৃথিবী তুমি বহু বয়সের—"

"O Earth, thou that art mine today hast been for many years".

—Translated by Rai Bahadur L. M. Chatterjee.

The same idea has been developed in "Ahalyā," "Pravāsi" (in 'Utsarga') and "Samudr Prati" (in "Sonār Tari"). In these poems Rabindranath seems to have realized like the English Romantic poets that it is nature who communicates like a person, her mood to the poet. This is perhaps the most beautiful of all the ideas which Rabindranath has introduced into the poetry of nature. At the root of this characteristic feature of Rabindranath's poetry, English influence has worked. These poems remind us of Shelling's doctrine of Identity.

We are delighted to mark a Miltonic felicity in the following lines of Rabindranath's "Manas Bhraman" :

"বড় মেঘগণ  
মাতৃদুগ্ধপানরত শিশুর মতন  
পড়ে আছে শিখর আকড়ি।"

"Like babes, sucking their mother's breasts patches of clouds lie clasping the peaks".

—Translated by Rai Bahadur L. M. Chatterjee.

This suggests the following beautiful lines of "L'Allegro" :

"Mountains on whose barren beast  
Labouring clouds do often rest".

Rabindranath has spiritualized nature with a mystic strain like the English poets. The following lines may be taken as an example :

"হায় কবি হায়, সে হ'তে প্রকৃতি হয়ে গেছে সাবধানী,—  
মাথাটি খেরিয়া বুকের উপরে আঁচল দিয়াছে টানি।  
যত ছলে আজ যত ঘরে মরি জগতের পিছু পিছু  
কোন দিন কোনো গোপন খবর নুতন মেলনা কিছু।  
শুধু গুঞ্জে কুজনে গঞ্জে সন্মহন হয় মনে  
নুকানো কথার হাওয়া বহে যেন বন হ'তে উপবনে।  
মনে হয় যেন আলোতে ছায়াতে রয়েছে কি ভাব ভরা  
হায় কবি হায় হাতে হাতে তার কিছুই পড়েনা ধরা।"



"Alas for the poet, from that day Nature has become careful; she has veiled her person. However closely you follow her footsteps on one pretext or another, no new secrets can be discovered. Only the murmurs and the songs and the scents seem to hint at some secret blown with the winds from grove to grove; light and shade seem charged with a meaning which, alas, Poet, can never again be captured".

—Translated by Rai Bahadur L. M. Chatterjee.

Rabindranath's personification of nature with a mythopoeic element in them is fine, as in the following :

"শরতে সে শিউলি বনের তলে  
ফুলের গন্ধে ঘোমটা টেনে চলে  
ফাল্গুনে তার বরণমালাখানি  
পরাল মোর শিরে।"

"In Autumn, under the sephali grove,  
She passes on, veiled in with flowers' bloom.  
In Phalgun with her choice garland  
She decked her head".

—Translated by Mr. Priyaranjan Sen.

This is in the manner of Keats and Swinburne. Like these two poets Rabindranath has deified nature in some places.

Rabindranath's delineation of nature in some places affords an instance of what Mr. Stopford Brooke calls "the echoing landscape." Rabindranath's "Sab Peyechir Des" (*Land of All-I-Have-Found*) may be taken as an example. This poem seems to echo the tranquil joy which reigns in the poet's heart.

In his treatment of love Rabindranath is influenced by English poets. Love is shy in English poetry. In English literature we mark a reticence in the treatment of love. Rabindranath's love poems are not remarkable in their sensuous aspects, they are mostly embodiments of divine and transcendental passion.

The influence of English poets can be seen both in his poetic and dramatic creations. The famous remark of George Moore that "an original author assimilates and the influence disappears" and also the remark of the famous Irish dramatist Synge that "all art is collaboration," are quite true in Rabindranath's case. Forms and ideas of English poets have been ingrained in the literary genius of Rabindranath.

## NAMELESS

By. S. SOLOMON

On the wings of the winds I sweep through  
the stars,  
And I sleep in the web of the cruellest wars;  
I live in the errors the wisest men preach,  
In the dim truth of Death where men cannot reach,  
In the grimness of corpse, in the breath of  
the rose,  
In the loving of friends, in the hatred of foes,  
All naked and pure, I burn through the fire,  
In the spur of the beast's consuming desire,  
In the flash of the lightning that strikes  
through the world,  
In the smile of the child at mother-breast curled.

Through curses and groans of those dying  
in pain,  
In patter and scent of the myriad-orbed rain,  
Through crashes of thunder, in magic of word,  
In sweeter than music that ever was heard,  
Through moon and through star, through star  
and through sea,  
That rise and that fall eternally,  
Never the same and ever the same,  
Through Christ, Buddha, Jahveh, all names  
and no name,  
Through giant men's thoughts that pierce the  
veiled sky  
I rush, without stair—It is I! It is I!





## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### The Problem of Peace

Various disinterested efforts have been made from time to time to maintain international peace and security in the fear of our world being visited by an appalling war. The policy of 'war to end war' which was tried in the last great world catastrophe, shows the inherent rottenness of European statemanship. It cannot prove successful. Mr. Sidney Spencer suggests in *The Inquirer* :

The policy of military sanctions means in effect that we are to use war for the sake of ending it. It is well to bear in mind that the method has already been tried. In 1914 the endeavour was made by military measures to overthrow German militarism. It cannot be said to have proved conspicuously successful. The military victory was complete; German power was utterly crushed—and yet today the militarism which our leaders thought they had finally destroyed is alive and vigorous again. Suppose tomorrow Japan launches fresh attacks on China. Suppose we then unite against her and overthrow her power: can we by any repressive action permanently check her imperialism? Can we by violence destroy the seeds from which imperialism springs? I suggest that we cannot. The way of arms is not, in truth, the way of peace. We cannot abolish war from the world by combining our forces against an aggressor State. There is only one way in which we can abolish war—by undermining the forces from which it comes. We think today of the peculiar guilt of such a State as Japan. But what of our own record in India in recent years? It is true that we have not set out to conquer India by military force, as Japan set out to conquer Manchuria. It was not necessary, as we already possessed the country. But we are bent on preserving the power we have won (the present proposals for reform secure for us the essentials of power), and not of further extending the bounds of our Empire. But in ultimate principle the two things are the same. And it is in that ultimate principle that war has its root. War springs everywhere from the struggle of the nations for power. They arm and go to war, not because they delight in armaments or desire war, but because they desire power—the power to impose their own will, to rule the destinies of other peoples, to exploit the economic resources of distant regions of the earth.

We cannot get rid of war by any mere pooling of national armaments, or any combining of States which are "satisfied" to repress those whose ambitions are not yet attained. The task of peace is an arduous one; the effort of peace is the great constructive, creative, revolutionary effort of changing the whole prevailing order of the world. In the fulfilment of that effort the best service that we can render as a nation is to set a courageous example—to have the courage to renounce once for all the foul atrocity of war, to renounce the pursuit of national power, to

build up a new structure of life based genuinely on the service of the common good; and in doing that to stretch out our hands across the frontiers to all who are engaged in the same great task; and to form with them in the course of years a great and increasing union of peoples determined to build their life anew, and to prepare the way for the reign of universal brotherhood.

### International Organization

*World Events* publishes the following news :

The total budget of the League of Nations for 1935 is only \$6,128,000. This budget is worked out by units, of which Great Britain will pay 105, France 79, Russia 79, Italy 60, India 55, Canada 35. However the cost to the British government, which, exclusive of dominions, pays the heaviest share, is less than the interest which the cost of a single battleship would yield if invested at three per cent; or less than the Admiralty spends on stationery.

### The Saar and Manchuria

*The People's Tribune*, after drawing an analogy between the Saar and Manchuria, the much-talked of land of riddles, observes :

The Saar plebiscite has been held, and its results are history. The people of this area have decided, by an overwhelming majority, that they wish to be a part of Germany. A number of minority—Socialists, Communists, and Jews—are leaving the Saar, but it is clear that the vote which has been taken expresses the will of the great mass of the population. The plebiscite, held under neutral auspices, has been fairly and successfully carried out, permitting the people to determine their own allegiance—a vitally new principle in history.

This matter having been disposed of, and the possibility of a successful plebiscite of this nature made clear, next in order would seem to be a similar plebiscite in Manchuria,—the north-eastern provinces of China which are now under Japanese occupation, and designated by them "Manchukuo." The "Manchukuo State," the Japanese and their friends never weary of assuring us, was created as an independent movement by the "Manchus"—i.e., the people of Manchuria—themselves. It has the support, they tell us, of the great mass of the population. It has brought, they tell us, peace and order and prosperity and all sorts of other wonderful things to the thrice-blessed populace of the country. If all this is true, the Japanese could naturally have no hesitation about the outcome of a plebiscite among the population to decide whether they wish to remain under the present "Manchukuo" regime or to be re-united to China.



The Japanese army now being in military occupation of the territory in question, there should be no difficulty about their arranging such a plebiscite. If Japan does not regard the League of Nations as a satisfactory body to supervise the elections, perhaps the services of her fellow-signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty could be utilized. Japan's old ally and friend Britain, which has taken much of the responsibility for the successful plebiscite in the Saar, might supervise a similar plebiscite in Manchuria Japan could hardly object to this.

There are, to be sure, differences in political experience between the people of the two areas. If the Japanese considered that, in view of the high percentage of illiteracy among the population of the "Manchukuo Paradise," it was necessary to restrict the vote to those who could read and write, it might be arranged with this qualification also. It would probably make little difference in the voting.

It is to be hoped that the Japanese will not miss this opportunity to demonstrate to a distrustful world the real desires of the people of Manchuria. The Chinese Government would undoubtedly be willing to extend its full co-operation in the matter. And with this matter disposed of, the Far Eastern security about which the Japanese are so anxious would be on a far firmer basis than it could ever be otherwise.

#### Eastern Eyes View Crusaders

Mr. John W. Kitching thus concludes his study in *Oriental-Occidental relations in the World Unity*:

A book which gives a remarkable picture of the Crusaders as they appeared to the eyes of the eastern people is "Memoirs of Usamah Ibn-Munqidh (Kitab Al-I Tibar)".

Usamah was an Arab-Syrian gentleman and warrior in the period of the crusades.

The book in question has been translated from the original Arabic manuscript by Philip Khuri Hitti, of Princeton University.

#### Usamah Speaks of Their Medicine

"A case illustrating their curious medicine is the following:

"The lord of Al-Munaytirah wrote to my uncle asking him to dispatch a physician to treat certain sick persons among his people. My uncle sent him a Christian physician named Thabit. Thabit was absent but ten days when he returned. So we said to him, 'How quickly hast thou healed thy patients!' He said:

"They brought before me a knight in whose leg an abscess had grown, and a woman afflicted with imbecility. To the knight I applied a small poultice until the abscess opened and became well, and the woman I put on diet and made her humor wet. Then a Frankish physician came to them and said 'This man knows nothing about treating them.' He then said to the knight, 'Which wouldst thou prefer, living with one leg or dying with two?' The latter replied, 'Living with one leg.' The physician said 'Bring me a strong knight and a sharp axe.' And I was standing by. Then the physician laid the leg of the patient on a block of wood and bade the knight strike his leg with the axe and chop it off at one blow. Accordingly he struck it—while I was looking on—one blow, but the leg was not severed. He dealt another blow, upon which the marrow of the leg flowed out and the patient died on the spot. He then examined the

woman and said, 'This is a woman in whose head there is a devil which has possessed her. Shave off her hair.' Accordingly they shaved it off and the woman began once more to eat their ordinary diet—garlic and mustard. Her imbecility took a turn for the worse. The physician then said 'The devil has penetrated through her head.' He therefore took a razor, made a deep cruciform incision on it, peeled off the skin at the middle of the incision until the bone of the skull was exposed and rubbed it with salt. The woman also expired instantly. Thereupon I asked them whether my services were needed any longer, and when they replied in the negative I returned home, having learned of their medicine what I knew not before."

#### Industrial Progress of Mysore

Mr. C. Ranganatha Rao Sahib after a brief survey of education in Mysore passes on to dwell upon the different aspects of industrial progress. He says in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

Education up to the middle school standard is free, and nearly 80 per cent of the pupils in the public institutions belong to the backward and depressed classes. It is a noteworthy feature of the times that girls freely seek admission into boys' schools. Girls are entitled to admission into High Schools at half the standard fee.....

Sandalwood has been almost a monopoly of Mysore from time immemorial. Until the war the wood collected and prepared by the Forest Department was sold by auction and was purchased for export, mostly to Germany, for distillation. The outbreak of the war put an end to the trade, and a source of revenue which yielded Rs. 22½ lakhs in 1913-14 was completely dried up. Sir Alfred Chatterton, who was Director of Industries at the end, took up the matter at the instance of Government. The experiments undertaken on his motion at the Institute of Science showed that it was possible to install a plant for the distillation of the oil of a quality equal to that produced in Europe.

The Government sanctioned the proposal to erect a factory. As it was impossible to import the machinery from Europe, the whole of the plant was manufactured in India under the supervision of the Director.

The factory commenced distillation in 1916-17, when 462 tons of wood were distilled and the oil produced was readily sold in Europe. The factory has been phenomenally successful since the start.

The output of sandalwood in Mysore, where the cultivation is under the special care of the Forest Department, is about two-thirds to three-fourths of the output in all India, which may be estimated at 3,000 tons per annum.

#### The Harijan Movement in India

In *The International Review of Missions* Mr. P. Oommen Philip critically surveys the anti-untouchability movement, inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi in relation to Christianity and observes:

One notable result of the growth of nationalism in India has been an awakening of conscience in



regard to the social evils peculiar to the country. It would not be historically true to say that before India came under the impact of influences from the West there had not been movements which made for social righteousness and equality. Who can recall the thrilling stories of the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century before Christ and the great ideals of equality and service for mankind for which it stood and laboured, and of the coming at different periods of Indian history of religious teachers and reformers such as Ramanuja, Chaitanya, Kabir and Tukaram without realizing that they were definitely on the side of breaking down the walls of partition that custom and tradition had built up between man and man and between man and God.

According to the census of 1931 there is in the various Provinces of British India and in the Indian States a total of 50,195,770 persons who are classed as belonging to the 'exterior castes,' or castes outside the recognized higher castes of Hinduism. With the spread of progressive ideas from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the more educated among the higher castes began to realize something of the depths of social and economic degradation to which the exterior castes had been reduced, and scattered efforts were made to improve their condition. But the generality of higher caste Hindus remained almost unmoved by such influences and activities, and maintained their traditional attitude of looking upon and treating them as untouchables. In recent years, however, unprecedented developments have taken place, seriously challenging this indifference of the higher castes.

The leaders of the national movement realized as never before that with more than fourteen per cent of the total population of India condemned by the sanctions of religion and tradition as untouchables, India had little chance of becoming a self-governing country. It became therefore a work of urgent national importance to reclaim these fifty millions and restore them to the dignity that belongs to men.

With the reforms already introduced in the governance of India and more reforms anticipated in the coming years, larger numbers of the exterior castes, like groups of other Indians, are being admitted to the privileges of the franchise. Political leaders drawn mostly from higher caste Hindus greatly value and seek the votes of the once despised lower castes. In such a situation they have to set aside or explain away the demands of religion and custom and earnestly strive to get the old code of conduct and relationship to the exterior castes revised. Otherwise they run the risk of losing the support of a large section of the population in the conflicts for political power already in progress between communities organized on the basis of religion. This communal conflict is an unfortunate feature of the growth of representative government in India, at any rate for the present, and as long as this state of affairs continues we have to reckon on efforts being made to keep the exterior castes within the Hindu fold and not allow them to swell the number and importance of the Muslim or the Christian community.

Ever since Mr. Gandhi entered public life in India about sixteen years ago, the removal of untouchability has been one of the important items in his programme of work for the country. He took up the work at the point reached by social and religious reformers of an earlier period and brought to bear on it the driving force of his own tremendous moral earnestness and enthusiasm. In spite of the fact that he has not been able to devote undivided attention to this matter

in the midst of his political activities, it has to be admitted that he has succeeded in rousing the people to a keen sense of the social and economic wrongs inflicted on the depressed classes.

### Ancient India's Teaching

In an illuminating article in *Asia* Prof. Earnest P. Horowitz has revealed before western scholars India's ancient secret teaching. He observes:

India, though now experimenting with industrialism, is traditionally a pastoral and agricultural land, where the favor of the elements determines welfare. For that reason Indian religion and literature are rooted in nature worship. The whole of nature—sun and sea, spring showers and winter storms—with all her terrific discords and sweeter harmonies was sacred to the Hindu herdsmen of old. Their poet-priests invoked the universal mother and transmuted her manifold manifestations into a crowd of gods and genii. These deities and their wondrous display of force were praised in the Veda, or Wisdom, of a thousand songs. The immanence of one God in nature is a much later conception, and in the course of time divine unity, producing and permeating the variety of visible life, became the new faith of India.

Some scholars believe that at first the established Vedic clergy denounced that hideous heresy, and therefore monism had to be propagated in lonely woods (*aranyas*) and secret societies. Others hold that the Brahmins themselves finally accepted the heretical doctrine, even if they did not originate it, and that they taught *advaita* (non-dualism) to men of the three twice-born castes. In any case the word "*upanishad*," a "sitting near" to receive instruction, came to mean "secret teaching." Indian literature, beginning with Vedic lyrics, next contains piles of sacrificial treatises, highly technical, and then the Upanishads (the earlier collections written in prose), which combat polytheism and idolatry and interpret the many gods in a symbolic fashion—for instance, the sun god as illumination engendered in pure hearts. The work of the Upanishad pioneers was supplemented by that of the Buddha, whose spiritual protest and social reforms reached even further.

The trouble was that, under the politic guidance of the priestly caste, the extensive Vedic organization hardened to a powerful sacerdotalism. In connection with the worship of Vedic gods the indefatigable Brahmins had worked out and recorded in the Brahmana treatises an elaborate ritual of sacrificial ceremonies bearing on the minutest details of private life, and this they enforced on the Hindu laity. Though the blue laughing sky peeps through the solid texture of the Brahmanas and brightens the gloom of dull sacramental precepts with golden fancies of legendary lore, their horizon is overcast with heavy clouds of gray theology, and the Upanishad protest, at first directed against clerical predominance, also opposed frigid formalism and arid dogma. The warrior caste must have had a considerable degree of culture and enlightenment; otherwise it would never have sanctioned spiritual revolt. Indeed, the Upanishads refer to royal sages as gracing the thrones of Hindustan and lending luster and refinement to the various courts.



### Britain's Motive Suspected

In consequence of the progress of the Sino-Japanese rapprochement, a possible financial aid to China by Japan has been contemplated. The British Government is taking the initiative in broaching to Japan and America the question of a joint loan, in order, it is said, to frustrate Nippon's independent action in the matter. In this respect *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* writes:

In regard to the motives which actuated the British Government in taking the initiative in broaching to Japan and America the question of a loan to China, the *Asahi* says that—uneasy at the report of a possible financial aid by Japan to China, in consequence of the progress of the Sino-Japanese rapprochement—the British Government conceived the idea of broaching the question of a joint loan, with full knowledge of the impracticability of the idea, with a view to restraining Japan's independent action in the matter. It also desired to restrain the American Government in a similar way.

The British Government knows well that there are elements in China who take a special interest in frustrating any Sino-Japanese rapprochement, and the paper asserts that London thinks its present efforts will secure the support and co-operation of these elements.

According to the Osaka journal, the Foreign Office authorities intend to shape their future course in due consideration of this supposed sentiment of the British Government. They are acting on the principle of proceeding with their direct negotiations with the Chinese leaders, independently of future negotiations with Britain and America on the loan question.

In Sino-Japanese direct negotiations, the Foreign Office authorities aim at the fundamental readjustment of political and economic relations, while in connection with financial aid to China, they are going to consider plans formulated by China herself, plans which do not neglect, the important consideration of self-help.

In Japan's separate conversations with Britain and America in regard to joint financial aid, the Foreign Office authorities particularly wish to consider concrete plans if they can be produced by these Powers.

### Japan's Imperial Interest

*The New Republic* expresses the American view regarding Japan's possible loan to China when it editorially writes:

Everyone in the world above the age of ten must know by now that Japan intends to dominate all of eastern Asia, including China. She will use guns where she has to, financial and economic pressure where that is sufficient. It is reasonable to suppose that forced loans to the government of Chiang Kai-shek will form a part of that program, despite the recent routine denials from Tokyo that such loans are contemplated. From Washington come reports of an international loan to China in which the United States, Great Britain and perhaps other countries would participate. Whether Japan would be invited to become one of these "other countries" is not known. This plan is only tentative, and we may hope that it will come to nothing. The only thing to be said in favour of such a venture is that it might be better for the Chinese than a loan floated solely by Japan. There is no evidence that either of these loans, made

at this time, would in any way increase the well-being of the great mass of the Chinese people. China is torn by revolution and civil war, it has three governments in various areas, and there is an accumulating amount of evidence that the Nanking regime, to which the international loan would be made, has sold out to the Japanese. The proposal for a loan is not in any way concerned with the welfare of China. The loan would be part of a British-American offensive against Japan, of a piece with the wrecking of the London Naval Conference and the unrestricted shipbuilding race upon which the three countries are about to enter. As such, it would be a prelude to war, and should be opposed by everyone who believes that such a war would be a piece of unredeemed folly.

For several years, the Ethiopians have been coming into closer contact with the Japanese. Japan has recently taken away from Great Britain the lion's share of Ethiopian foreign trade. Japanese merchants and industrialists are coming into Ethiopia in large numbers. Special tariffs have recently been signed favouring Japan over other countries. The Japanese have leased thousands of square miles of Ethiopian land for the purpose of growing cotton, and large numbers of Japanese immigrants are entering Ethiopia to perform the necessary labor. No color line is being drawn between Japanese and Ethiopians, and both governments are encouraging intermarriage.

There can be no doubt that in consenting to Italian aggression in Ethiopia, France and Great Britain had Japan in mind. The world is once again rapidly aligning itself into two armed camps: on one side, Japan, Germany and Poland; on the other, Russia, France, Italy and to a certain extent, Great Britain. The British are now exerting the greatest possible pressure upon the United States to bring us into the second of these groups. If we are anxious to hasten the advent of the next world war, and to make sure that we shall participate from the very beginning, we could not do better than to accept the British invitation—an invitation which, indeed, many people believe we have already accepted, at least in regard to joint naval operations in the Pacific.

### Dominion Status

*The Month* writes editorially:

In regard to the Continent known as India for which the Bill instituting a new form of Government passed its second reading on February 11th, the dispute about the term "Dominion status" seems somewhat unreal. India can never become a Dominion in the same sense as the other more or less homogeneous communities which form the Commonwealth. There is nothing there at present to replace the unifying capacity of the present British Raj, and the fact that serious and responsible men have determined to reduce this influence to a shadow of its former power, is a striking testimony to the force and extent of Indian "nationalist" aspirations. Undoubtedly, a change so full of risk and uncertainty would never have been proposed except under pressure of a much worse alternative. The Commonwealth cannot now be held together except by goodwill and self-interest, wherefore the task of statesmen is to show India that her rights and interests will be better protected within the Commonwealth than if she were a wholly independent Federation. The British Raj can point back in that land to splendid achievements in the



material order, yet although the country produces abundance of food for all its inhabitants, the "Manchester economics" applied by the Government caused about a score of famines during the nineteenth century, which carried off 33 million people. It is to be feared that, unless what is granted now in the way of self-government is granted freely, not as a favour but as a right, past benefits will be forgotten and only past hardships borne in mind.

### In Throes of War

As the storm clouds lighten somewhat in the Far East, they are gathering in Europe. Germany has defied the Treaty of Versailles and introduced conscription. Likewise France intends to double the period of service for her conscripts and if Germany is permitted to carry out her plans, U. S. S. R. would increase her forces. Great Britain too, has made tentative plans for a large increase in her militia. The dogs of war are barking faintly and so *The New Republic* observes on the Far Eastern affairs:

It means, perhaps, that the Japanese now see the dangers of the alignment of the European nations into which they have drifted. In a war between Japan, Poland and Germany on one side and France and Russia on the other, it now looks as though England and Italy would both be found fighting in the second group. From the probable result of such a war, Japan would have much to lose and little to gain. That Italy and France now understand each other is further shown by a development of the past week, the Italian gesture of conciliation toward Jugo-slavia. Who can suppose that Mussolini would have taken an initiative of this sort, except at the prompting of the French? Meanwhile, we record with regret that while the relations between Japan and Soviet Russia seem to be notably improving, that is not the case as between the Japanese and ourselves. The American government is aiding Pan-American Airways in establishing a series of commercial aviation fields in our territories scattered through the Pacific—on Guam, Midway and Wake Islands. These bases are being set up as a preliminary to regular trans-Pacific aviation service for passengers and freight. The Japanese, however, point out quite correctly that there is hardly any difference between the construction of a commercial and a military air field, and they profess to view the development with the liveliest apprehension.

### Enter Japan

The following extracts from two articles in *The Living Age* show how Japan penetrates two spheres of Britain's imperial interest, Abyssinia and Afganistan. The authors are A. Doherr and H. C. Nebel respectively:

#### JAPAN ENTERS ABYSSINIA

Japan's policy of expansion goes forward under the pressure of a constantly growing population. It not only annexes and colonizes sources of foodstuffs and raw materials, but it tends more and more to export human beings as well as goods. In addition to the

emigrants who have settled on the banks of the Pacific in Lower California and South America, Japan's export industries are promoting a combined spiritual and economic imperialism. This sphere of Japanese influence extends farther every year thanks to complete rationalization of industry, lower wages, longer working hours, cheap labor by women and children, and sixty-per-cent devaluation of the yen.

In addition to the markets of Europe, Japan is also turning to the growing and larger markets of South America, Oceania, and Africa. Thus it becomes not only an economic danger to the European exporting countries but to European political and intellectual concepts. For the colored races, who were once convinced of white superiority, are now undergoing a planless but none the less real awakening. This tremendous development takes form in the flaming national consciousness of the Malayan inhabitants of Sumatra, in the efforts of the Mohammedans to gain independence, in Ibn Saud's struggle for a Greater Arabia, in the all-too-much ignored demands of the Egyptian Nationalists to give Japan free rein in the cotton plantations of the Nile Valley, from which it was previously barred.

Japanese penetration of Abyssinia thus goes beyond mere economic influence. It also includes penetration by Japanese immigrants as pioneers of Japanese culture and pan-Asiatic doctrines. It constitutes a considerable threat to the British railway line from the Cape to Cairo as well as to the Sudan, which is to become the British Empire's future reservoir of cotton. The broad stream of surplus Japanese labor power has been flowing in greater volume toward the east coast of Africa since Japan quit the League of Nations and since the Pacific colonizing areas were forbidden to Japanese settlers.

Abyssinia, a country with every variety of climate from that of the Alps to tropical swamps, possesses rich untapped reserves of coal, iron, sulphur, copper, gold, and platinum. If loans were extended to finance its industrial development and to improve its primitive agriculture, if wheat, cotton, oil, iron, rubber, and tobacco were systematically exploited, it would possess more possibilities than almost any country in the world. Already Abyssinia has developed a by-no-means insignificant export trade in hides, coffee, wax, and ivory. The country is also as rich in nut trees, wild-coffee bushes, and great herds of cattle as it is in mineral wealth. But the political value of Abyssinia lies in the fact that it controls the sources of the Nile on which England's position in the cotton market depends. These waters overflow Egypt every year and determine the fertility of the Nile Valley. It is to British interests to control Abyssinia's water supply. The country is so closely bound up with the economic life of the Sudan and Egypt that England has left no stone unturned to make Abyssinia a British economic colony.

Abyssinia has succeeded nevertheless in escaping the toils of British economic imperialism by playing the interested Powers off against each other. Empress Zeoditu and her fellow regent, Ras Tafari, the present Emperor, gave an American company the hotly contested concession to build the still uncompleted dam on Lake Tsana, which regulates the Sudan's water supply and which enables Abyssinia to control the water supply of the Nile Valley, where England is established.

#### JAPAN ENTERS AFGHANISTAN

For both Russia and England, Afghanistan used to be nothing more than a strategic zone, an outer area



without sufficient economic importance to be assimilated by either country. But Afghanistan is by no means satisfied with this role. The present ruler, young Zahir Khan, is a well educated man and has clearly stated that he is eager for his country's welfare and is therefore showing extraordinary skill in playing ball with anybody that chance throws his way. Three years ago he married his cousin, who bore him his first son and thus provided a successor to the throne. Angora and Moscow both informed Teheran that it was of great importance for Persia to establish as close relations as possible with Kabul.

But Afghanistan decided to ally itself with Islamic nations only. Persia then cleverly killed two birds with one stone by having Afghanistan and Iraq sign a treaty of friendship in Teheran. Thus, King Feisal's ambitious son and Zahir Khan obligated themselves to each other. They made it evident to the Turks and Soviet Russians what was under way in Kabul and Baghdad, snapped their fingers at England, which was in no position to raise objections to such Islamic alliances, and caused Ibn Saud to prick up his ears in amazement. A telegraph line connecting Kabul and Teheran is now under construction.

The Japanese have followed events in Afghanistan for years. They have observed the efforts of the young King to establish sugar, match, and lumber industries. In April of last year an imposing Japanese trade delegation visited Kabul. Its task was to establish political and economic relationships between the Mikado's Empire and Afghanistan. This delegation was aided by a distinguished Japanese Moslem of the Sunni sect, who visited the chief mosque with the leading Afghans, who were beside themselves with enthusiasm.

The whole country poured out its heart to the Japanese. For the first time, the Afghans had the feeling that at last one Great Power would really help them develop their natural wealth and build up something great and formidable for the future. During a three weeks' stay the trade delegation was able to propose a tremendous plan of industrialization that had been carefully prepared in advance and return home with valuable concessions and the draft of a treaty. Great Britain perceived too late that Japan was endeavoring to supplant it in Afghanistan. Economic experts were therefore sent from India to Kabul, arriving there just after the Japanese had left. Even the English had to admit that the Japanese had scored a success.

Big Japanese concerns and Japanese banks are establishing branches in the larger cities of the country. Japanese geological expeditions are penetrating everywhere, boring wells. Clearly a methodical, integrated plan is being executed. The wealth of the soil is to be exploited under Japanese leadership and the fields and extensive forests are to be turned to account. The

Japanese will construct Afghan industries that will increase the country's importance. An Afghan-Japanese Chamber of Commerce has been founded. Leading Afghans are being invited to Tokyo. Japanese engineers, officers, scholars, and schoolmasters are busily bringing all the blessings of technology that the King of the Afghans desires for his people. In the capital huge office buildings, modern garages, hangars, slaughterhouses, reservoirs, electrical plants, and big new machine factories are rising. The Japanese are not only men of action, they are also skilled psychologists.

In June His Excellency Mabsama Tolitav entered Kabul. He had just been appointed ambassador to the King of Afghanistan by the Mikado. The extension of Japanese influence will unquestionably continue seriously and energetically. Thus a new factor of great importance is asserting itself in that part of the world.

### Social Insurance in U. S. S. R.

The following extracts are quoted from Mr. A. Abramson's article in the *International Labour Review*:

The evolution of the Soviet system of social insurance from the October Revolution to the present time reflects with extraordinary accuracy the political, social, and economic history of the U. S. S. R. In very few countries has insurance legislation undergone such profound changes during so short a period, and perhaps no other system has been the subject of so many alterations undertaken to adapt it to the changing needs of the national economy.

From 1917 to 1935 each new stage of Soviet evolution—civil war and period of "War Communism," the New Economic Policy, the first Five-Year Plan, the beginning of the application of the second Five-Year Plan—has in fact been marked by a reform of the social insurance system, affecting in general the scope, financial resources, benefits, and in particular the administrative organization of the system. It is the last of these aspects of the problem that the following article takes for its subject. It does not set out to give an analysis of the social and economic functions of the Soviet System of insurance, but rather to study the successive transformations undergone by insurance institutions in the U. S. S. R., and to examine the essential features of the new organization, which is characterised by the abolition of the People's Commissariat of Labour of the U. S. S. R. and the transfer to the Central Trade Union Council of the administration of social insurance.





# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Advice to the Students

In *Visva-Bharati News* appears a talk given by the poet Rabindranath Tagore to the boys of Santiniketan on their life at the Asrama. Part of it is given here :

The Asrama should be made the creative centre of a richly diverse completeness of life offering scope for the educational training of its students. Provision should be made here, as far as possible, for the fullest development and application of their potentialities and opportunities given for training in different branches of knowledge.

Training in the use of limbs, development of the spirit of questioning, thinking and observation ; cultivation of interest and enjoyment in trees, birds and beasts and the varied phenomena of nature ; experience in the making of articles of daily use ; habit of keeping one's living room and surroundings clean, healthy and beautiful ; practice of cleanliness extending to the body, dress and personal behaviour through adequate observance of bath, wholesome discipline in eating, physical exercise and rest and careful maintenance of bodily and mental strength,—these are essential to the life of this Asrama.

Students must respectfully observe the rules and regulations, preserve proper manners in their mutual dealings as well as in their dealings with superiors, guests, officers and menials ; cultivate social instincts and introduce such festivals and occasions for entertainment, etc., as are favourable to their development.

Experience in helping others in distress and readiness to serve neighbours in every way ; many-sided knowledge about one's own country and development of proper responsibility towards it ; proper regard and love for peoples of other countries and unfoldment of sense of kinship, of justice, of respectful regard for them in thought, in deed and in word ; keeping up-to-date information about various social service organizations and new cultural experiments in other countries. In short, the aim of our education is that students should in the fullest sense be true to their humanity ; and in their thoughts, feeling and behaviour express this truth.

## Unemployment among Educated Men

Prof. N. K. Sidhanta and Mr. R. R. Khanna have offered some practical suggestions for combating unemployment among educated men in the U. P., in a paper in *The Educational Review*. These are useful also to those belonging to other provinces. We quote some portions from it :

(i) *A College of Secretaries* will find employment for hundreds in the Provinces still. Secretaries are required now by most officials, by Chairmen of Municipalities and District Boards, by commercial concerns, by politicians, by Members of Legislative

Councils and the Assembly, etc. A Secretary should have a good educational grounding capacity to consult current literature in politics, economics, trade journals, industrial magazines, etc., of other countries and study their bearing upon Indian problems. A Secretary should know short-hand. He should be able to type important documents confidentially at short notice. He should be able to maintain simple accounts. For those who have acquired these qualifications, there is still plenty of demand.

(ii) *Journalism*. For those who have a literary bent of mind, there is plenty of scope in vernacular journalism. In this important profession, men of the highest education and talent are needed. With the wide extension of facilities for primary education, the power of usefulness and employment in vernacular journalism is likely to be extensive.

(iii) *The Cinema Industry*. However much we may dislike the baneful influence of sensual and sensational elements brought into our life by the cinema, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the cinema has caught the imagination of the country, specially of the illiterate masses, who can thereby enjoy thrills at wonderfully cheap rates. The Indian cinema industry is yet in its infancy. Cinema acting is an art and it can be acquired. There is plenty of room for educated young men both in the field of acting as also in the subsidiary and technical parts of this industry.

(iv) *Manufacture of Clothes*. The art of tailoring needs same enterprise on the part of educated men. Fashions of dress have undergone a remarkable change in towns during the last ten years. The change will be still more marked in the next ten years.

(v) *Aviation*. Aviation, and travel by air, is going to be a big industry during the next ten years. If Indians are not forthcoming, Europeans will fill the positions of pilots, ground engineers, wireless operators, mechanics, etc., required for this trade.

(vi) *Broadcasting Stations and Reception Services*. Wireless broadcasting programmes and reception arrangements are bound to need a large number of young men both for technical services and organizing work. The Government of India should be requested to place facilities for training at the disposal of University graduates, who have acquired the necessary grounding in the theory.

(vii) *Standardizing and Marketing of Industrial Produce*. At the present moment an Indian manufacturer of industrial goods combines in himself the technician's job, the capitalist's functions and the salesman's art. The net result of these is that he succeeds in none of them. There is plenty of room for hundreds of salesmen, who can devote a year or so to the selection of goods, the best obtainable in the country from anywhere, and then conclude agreements with manufacturers for standardizing quality before pushing on with sales.

(viii) *Fruit Growing, Fruit Marketing and Fruit Canning*. These have enormous possibilities : the soil and climatic conditions are specially suitable for scientific fruit culture. Kitchen gardening in places near large centres of population will prove remunerative.



(ix) *Cattle Breeding*. The size and condition of the cattle in these Provinces are appalling. Our science graduates should be able to learn cattle breeding cheaply in the Rohtak, Hissar and Montgomery Districts of the Panjab, acquire some experience themselves and then visit some of the big cattle breeding centres of Europe and America.

(x) *Prospecting in Small Industries*. Big concerns grow out of small beginnings. New ideas for the development of some small industry are frequently suggesting themselves to various members of the staff in Universities and elsewhere. These ideas require working up with a view to test their possibilities.

(xi) (a) Rural work, if properly organized, can take care of many of our educated young men—schools, dispensaries, hospitals, rural banking, co-operative and credit societies, welfare centres, revival of Indian industries, agricultural depots, organizations for co-operative marketing, etc., can all use large numbers of educated men and women.

(b) Conditions of village life should be improved for the sake of the villages themselves, not merely to prevent the migration from villages to towns. The installation of the wireless in villages will be of great help. Travelling cinemas showing silent films, with oral explanations by an educated young man will produce great results and need not be very costly. A proper system of circulation of these films with fairly cheap lanterns will make these very useful.

### Indian Women and Co-operation

*The Indian Ladies' Magazine* while reviewing *Co-operation in India* says :

The co-operative movement is an agency which ought to spread largely among Indian women.

Women's co-operation so far has been very meagre. It has been worked out best in the Panjab, though even in 1929, the number of societies there was only 130, with a membership of less than 2000. In Bengal, there are only six such organizations ; in the United Provinces the same number ; in Bombay there are only about three. It is obvious that so far only middle-class women have been influenced ; but the real necessity is to extend the movement to the labouring classes. However, the wide-spread illiteracy, the inferiority complex everywhere induced, the conservative nature of women, the customs of exclusion and purdah, the lack of freedom, and leadership, are all difficulties to be surmounted.

It also writes :

The great drawback for the spread of this co-operative movement seems to be the lack of suitable managers, such as secretaries and treasurers. In England, work in this direction was taken up by the Women's Co-operative guild, "a self-governing organization of women, who work through co-operation, for the welfare of the people, seeking freedom for their own progress, and the equal fellowship of men and women in the Home, the Store, the Workshop and the State." The guild has 1,300 branches and 65,000 members, and undertakes the education of women, welfare-work among children and mothers, agencies for health and sanitation. It has extended itself into an International guild, which enquires into the conditions of women in various countries and publishes reports of them. It embraces national organizations, in Austria, Belgium, France, England,

Holland, Ireland, Norway, Scotland, Sweden and Switzerland ; it has committee members in Germany, Czechoslovakia, the U. S. S. R., the U. S. A., and Japan ; it is in contact with Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and other countries.

In order to construct a similar body in India, the All-India Women's Conference should direct its attention to co-operative activities. He [the writer of the book] indicates that a co-operative Committee should be started, which should (1) summon Provincial Conferences to consult ways and means, (2) organize provincial bodies to carry out the same and (3) persuade provincial governments, (a) to organize special branches of their co-operative departments for women, and put them under the care of qualified lady-managers, (b) to appoint a committee of enquiry composed of women, to consider the best lines of work possible. In time, such branches can be linked with existing provincial co-operative institutes as a whole, as well as with the International Co-operative Women's Conference.

### The Psychology of British Rule in India

Dr. B. Pattabi Sitaramaya has contributed a very important paper on the above subject to *The Hindustan Review*. He explains Lord Morley's dictum that "India's rule must be personal and absolute" partly in the following extracts :

And how is this personal and absolute rule to be effected ? That is infinitely easy. When agitation is acute, then put it down by all possible means and then give a plum or pudding. When people are chary about touching it, then drive them into submission. If the country wants Salt Tax to be abolished or reduced, then tell Madras and Bengal that they cannot get a rebate on their provincial contributions under the Meston Award and when they have retained the Salt Tax, pit Madras against Bengal patting the one on the back for its faithfulness and striking the other one for its faithlessness to the Reforms. Praise the Panjab for its martial spirit and Bombay for its commerce and catholicity. Grant an Utkal province because of its co-operation with the Simon Commission and pass over Andhra's claims because their boycott of Simon was complete. Give an executive councillorship to an Indian and straightway deprive an Indian of his Advocate-Generalship. Follow up every *plus* by a *minus* making the insult unchanged. If the merchants and the Moderates have pressed for the abolition of excise duties (3½ p. c. on cotton manufactures and the enhancement of import duties upon foreign textiles, by 4 p. c.) yield and make up the loss to Lancashire so resulting by raising the exchange from 16d to the rupee, so cheapening English goods by 12½ p. c. as against the vantage of 7½ p. c. just given to the Indian goods. If the trick is discovered - which is achieved by a stroke of the pen overnight and which has undone the struggle for years of that Legislature—then undertake to raise the import duties still further from 11 to 20 p. c. but give a rebate to England of 5 p. c. If the agitation is still continuing, raise the duties all round by another 5 p. c. but protect Lancashire cloth by levying a duty on imported cotton of half an anna on the pound weight, which works out against the Indian mills exactly to the 5 p. c. extra charge made against Lancashire.



After giving more instances to the point, Dr. Sitaramaya adds :

Surely Britain has heard of the Karachi Resolution, the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement and Mahatmaj's speeches at the second Round Table Conference. The fact is that all the while the Reforms scheme must have been hatched years ago like the plan of building which is obscured by the multiplicity of the elements that compose the scaffolding. Few people know what Lord Chelmsford has said after his viceroyalty. He stated that when in 1916 he was serving as Major Chelmsford in the Territorial Force in India, and he was summoned to Britain to receive the viceroyalty of India, he found in March 1916 the whole scheme of the Montford Reforms full drafted and ready, in London.

India is in reality made the silent spectator of a tragico-comedy enacted at a distance of six thousand miles with its ever-changing 'Scenes' and never-ending 'Acts.' How often have we not witnessed the common spectacle of a father and his sons falling out and engaging themselves in a mock-fight when we approach them for favour or a contribution? It is all put on for the nonce and even so Sir Samuel Hoare tells us that Churchills and Pagicrofts have to be assuaged, just as Mr. Montagu once told us that Lloyds and Sydenham Clarkes had to be satisfied. Ours is the duty of studying the psychology and the strategy that lies behind the development of such a drama.

### Social Reform Versus Politics

Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D., writes in *The Calcutta Review* :

A wide-minded programme of social reform which will include inter-caste marriage affording a basis for a more eugenic selection, widow remarriage and the abolition of hypergamy, dowry and bride purchase, as well as of regional, sectional and other barriers to inter-marriage within the castes must sooner or later be forced upon the Hindus if they want to live. Political and economic power is to-day largely a matter of mere numbers. In the class struggle of the future the long accustomed aversion of the upper-caste Hindus for manual labour and their dwindling strength will become serious handicaps. In the economics of the fields, the Rajputs of the U. P. have in recent years lost a considerable area of land, while the Lodhs, Muraos, Chamars and Pasis have all gained considerably as they certainly deserve in spite of certain differential treatment meted out to them by the upper-class Hindu landlords and money-lenders. The Rajputs have lost not by a defeat in arms, but through an invasion by other castes and communities which have multiplied because of their freedom from dysgenic customs and practices. The Brahman and the Thakur who own good landed property but disdain to drive the plough are going down in face of the unequal economic competition of lower agricultural castes who are proving superior in land utilization and whose very numbers will in future add to their economic and political advantage. There is not the least possibility of saving Hindu culture and polity from the onslaught of economic and political trends unless the Hindu society musters courage and foresight as of old in over-hauling the caste and marriage restrictions which have obviously outlived their usefulness and now threaten the suicide of the

elite of the Hindu communities. More than the expansion of marriage groupings and liberal laws of marriage, there is the imperative necessity of social, political and religious movements which will bridge the gulf between the elite and the depressed, between the Haves and the Have-nots, so that our political life in the future may be less embittered by rivalry and softened by the intimacies of social intercourse. The communal antagonisms and class struggle which the new Constitution is bringing in its wake must have to be healed by social reform and mass education. These, for some decades, must supplement politics if politics is to unite and integrate and not divide and segregate us in rival camps.

### Reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda

The following talks of Sister Nivedita with Swami Vivekananda published in *Prabuddha Bharat* will prove instructive :

How beautiful those lines are, "Thy place in life is seeking after Thee. Therefore be thou at rest from seeking after it." After all, that is the whole truth. The things after which one may and must seek are so very different.

I have seen Swami today. He told me how, as a child of thirteen, he came across a copy of Thomas a Kempis which contained in the preface an account of the Author's monastery and its organization. And that was the abiding fascination of the book to him. Never thinking that he would have to work out something of the sort one day. "I love Thomas a Kempis, you know, and know it almost off by heart. If only they had told what Jesus ate and drank, where he lived and slept, and how he passed the day, instead of all rushing to put down what he said! Those long lectures! Why, all that can be said in religion can be counted on a few fingers. That does not matter, it is the man that results that grows out of it. You take a lump of mist in your hand, and gradually, gradually, it develops into a man. Salvation is nothing in itself, it is only a *motive*. All those things are nothing, except as motives. It is the man they form, that is everything!" And now I remember he began this by saying, "It was not the words of Sri Ramakrishna but the life he lived that was wanted, and that is yet to be written. After all this world is a series of pictures, and man-making is the great interest running through. We were all watching the making of men, and that alone. Sri Ramakrishna was always weeding out and rejecting the old, he always chose the young for his disciples."

### Gandhiji on Caste

The following note appears in *Sadhana* :

We owe it to Dr. Stanley Jones for having been able to throw light on a much-misunderstood topic, namely, the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi on the vexed question of Caste. It has always been an enigma as to how Mahatmaj wants to bring about the removal of untouchability without at the same time abolishing Caste, of which untouchability is a morbid symptom. In a recent interview which Dr. Stanley Jones and two other friends of his, had with Gandhiji the question has been asked whether the religious equality which he demands by asking for temple-entry and the



removal of untouchability would include social equality, in other words, the doing away of Caste, demanded by Dr. Ambedkar and whether he would do away with Caste. Gandhiji's answer was "I would make it very plain that I would do away with inequalities in the social order, that is, I would do away with any matter of high and low and put all on the same level. The *Varna Asrama* which I advocate is synonymous with *Dharma Asrama*, that is, that a man fulfils his duties, the bent for which is born within him and comes over from a previous birth. That is the man's *Dharma* which he is to fulfil. It is occupational and has nothing to do with high and low. I would therefore do away with caste as something which creates distinctions of high and low, and make it occupational only."

In the comment that has been added by Dr. Jones in his *Fellowship*, he further clarified the position by saying that "Mahatma Gandhi, to all intents and purposes, does away with caste as we know it" and that with him it remains only as an occupational distinction.

### Women's Conference at Karachi

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, B. MUS., writes of the All-India Women's conference at Karachi in *Stri-Dhaoma* partly thus :

About 200 women had gathered from all over India as delegates, two from the Malabar coast, Kamaladevi from Mangalore, two from Baluchistan, 12 from Hyderabad, Deccan, many from Bengal and the Panjab, and some from Gujerat, Baroda, the C. P. and Bombay. It was an interesting point in itself that we invaded and took possession of the New Student's Hostel of the D. J. Sind College as our camp, with two delegates in each of the boy's rooms. Quite comfortable it was, supplemented by a large shamiana tent in its compound as the camp dining room. It was very helpful of the Principal to put the whole College at the disposal of the Women's Conference. The Standing Committee held its sessions for three days in the large College Library, the open Conference sessions were held in the Assembly Hall of the College, which admirably suited the purpose—speakers, office-bearers, standing committee members of the Constituencies on the fine platform, delegates in the body of the hall, visitors in the gallery, while the interesting and admirable exhibition of Sindhi Home industries was in another block of the College buildings. It is a sign of the times that 80 girls are now students of that College though ten years ago there were barely eight.

The President of the Conference was a Parsi, the Chairman of the Committee a Brahmin, the Secretary a Brahmo, the local Standing Committee member a Christian, and there was the strongest and the most influential group of local Muhammadan ladies I have so far worked with in our Women's Conferences. These included Lady Hidattullah, Mrs. Tyabji (daughter of Sir Akbar Hydari) Mrs. Haroon, Mrs. Hamid Ali, Miss. Ferojuddin the first lady graduate from the North-West Provinces and an eloquent orator, Mrs. Hussain of Lahore and many other notable Muslim women. In political questions such as our women's demand for joint and not communal electorates our Muslim sisters hold the trump card in our conference discussions. United we march as far as possible, but when they cry a halt we have to concede or break the unity of our women's ranks, for they plainly state that if we do not concede they will walk out. Our

Conference Statement on the J. P. C. R. as it affects women is the greatest common measure of the unity of the women of the two great communities on the thorny questions of nominations, reservation of seats for women, joint or separate electorates, etc. That we held together amicably despite differences was the triumph of the Conference diplomats. The presence of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at the Conference was a source of great strength. She has the right and beautiful word for every occasion.

### Lack of a Scientific Tariff

In any programme involving economic and financial issues, the revision of Indian Tariff system should be insisted. Mr. Manu Subedar gives the following reasons in *Industry* for holding this view :

In any such programme I would give a very high place to the revision of the Indian tariff system. The schedule of Indian tariffs operating at present has grown up haphazard and without a design. We find traces of every idea, that has struck the Government of the country in that schedule, but what we cannot find, because it does not exist there, is a scientific grasp of the situation in correlation to a definite economic whole. We have cases, where the raw material is imported at a heavy rate of duty, while the finished product gets in free or very low. This is on some excuse or the other, but, in the end, it is calculated to prevent the growth of industry and growth of employment in this country. Thus printed material, which comes in free, damages the manufacturer of paper and of ink and of printing machinery and of stationery, as well as the business of publishers and printers in India, but we are told that there should be no tax on knowledge. It encourages Indians to publish their books abroad. On the ground of favouring electrical equipment, much fabricated steel is allowed to come in at rates, at which it cannot be produced in India. On the ground of cheapening stores for the textile industry, stuff is coming in, competing in the local market in the matter of sizing materials, chemicals and a large number of miscellaneous articles. I find in the schedule of metals that there is little or no difference between the duty charged on ingot, sheet and circle and the final manufactures. This kind of schedule would do credit to a military government, which existed in the middle ages, but any country in the world would be ashamed to have its tariff system in such disorder. If we had a national government, the very first task would be to define some definite economic aims and to see that the tariff schedule is directly calculated to advance those aims. We would have differences between the import duty on raw materials, on semi-finished goods and on the final fabrications, which would show that the Government of the day is intelligent enough to see the difference and is anxious to secure as much fabrication in this country as possible. The tariff is in India regarded by Government more as a means of raising revenue than for any other set economic purpose.

### A National Language for India

Mr. Paul Dent considers in *The New Review* that there is every possibility of Urdu or Hindi being the Indian national language. He gives reasons for his view as below :



There are at least three factors that make the problem of an Indian national language a not impossible one, namely Sanskrit, Urdu and Hindi.

Almost all Indians have a mother tongue related in varying degrees to each other's, and one who is interested in Indian languages is not long in experiencing the truth of this statement. Let him but learn one Aryan or Dravidian tongue, and then move about from language area to language area, or even from bazar to bazar in Calcutta or Bombay—where Panjabis and Gurkhas rub shoulders with Biharis and Tamilians and he will have surprise after surprise at the amount of contact his language has with others. These contacts come from various sources, but quite frequently from Sanskrit. For this venerable tongue is a more or less close relative to all the greater languages of the north, and even in the south, where another family of languages, the Dravidian, holds sway, the infiltration of Sanskrit roots has been considerably more than that of Latin into German. These roots are, of course, frequently modified, and perhaps given another accent, but none the less they are often easily recognizable as the same in a vast number of disparate tongues. This is especially true of the polite address of the more cultured, and the large vocabulary that relates to religious matters. The cause is assignable to Sanskrit having been the cultural and religious medium of Hinduism.

The second factor which lessens the difficulty of giving India a national language comes from another quarter—from Islam, and its well-nigh co-natal Arabic and acquired Persian and Urdu. Scattered in greater or lesser numbers all over the Indian continent, Mohammedans have, as a rule,—not without important exceptions—kept Urdu as their mother tongue, and their daily intercourse with non-Urdu speakers has naturally and inevitably led to the wide diffusion of a large Urdu vocabulary of common, ordinary, workaday words. Further, the long-continued use in the law courts of Persian—a parent of Urdu—has given numerous Urdu-Persian words a widely accepted place in current legal and land-tenure vocabularies. These unitive elements which Urdu thus contributes to the diversity of Indian languages are, generally speaking, in contrast to those contributed by Sanskrit. The latter appear more in cultured and 'high' usage, the former more in ordinary and daily speech. One naturally thinks here of the somewhat parallel case of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin elements in English.

The third unifying element in the question of India's national language is the presence of Hindi, the language of most of the north. It had best not be too exactly defined, for we have no desire to awaken the ever lightly sleeping controversies that are still evoked by the words Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu. Suffice it to say that the three mean the same thing much more than diverse things. With the same—or for practical purposes the same—grammar and idiom, they differ in script, Hindi using a slightly modified Nagari or Sanskrit character, Urdu relying on the Semitic Persian alphabet, and Hindustani hesitating between the two and even at times coming out in Roman, embroidered with diacritical marks. The real difference, as far as speech is concerned, is the persuasion of Hindi speakers that they *must* use words of Sanskrit origin instead of Arabic or Persian, while Urdu speakers lean to the opposite course. It is all very much as though a thumping 'Nordic' preferred the unthoroughfariness of stuff to the 'incompenetrability of matter,' and a loyal Latinist the 'cerulean celestial regions to the 'blue sky.'

After discussing how the movement for the national language of India is growing apace, he writes :

And so the movement goes on. India is feeling, as never before, that she is a nation, and this feeling has made her realize the necessity of having one common tongue throughout her wide extent. Of all her many languages Hindi alone seems to have a real chance of common acceptance.

### Prosperity for Mahomedans in Bengal

We welcome in *Servant of Humanity* a valuable addition to contemporary periodicals. Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee in a paper in this journal lays special emphasis on the fact that there is nothing like exclusive prosperity or adversity for the Muslims in Bengal. Both the Hindus and Muslims are close neighbour, and what is essentially good for the one is so for the other. He says :

In the economic and cultural life of Bengal the two communities are inseparable and any attempts at changing this state of affairs would be ruinous. Recently, due to political influences, the two communities have begun to think of one another in terms of antagonism. But just as the length of an object cannot in practice be dissociated from its breadth or thickness, however much such an absurdity be desired by persons, Hindus and Mahomedans in Bengal cannot have two mutually exclusive spheres of existence. This is not possible even if all the N.-W.-F. Pathans cooperated with the peasants of Bogra and all the Chitpavans, Chowbays and Ayyangars joined hands with the rice growers of Midnapore. The rice plant cannot thrive in Tibet nor jute grow in the Sahara. It is just as impossible to secede from one's natural, economic ensemble as it is to make a thing grow outside its natural habitat. The Mahomedans of Bengal, therefore, should, right at the beginning, give up all ideas of an exclusive and purely Mahomedan economy. They have to fit in with the Hindus and jointly build up an economic life which will fully utilize all the productive and distributive resources of Bengal. Thus all Bengali Hindus should, as far as possible, use the services and goods of Bengali Mahomedans and *vice versa*. In employing labour, giving jobs, purchasing raw material or finished goods, hiring transport, raising or investing capital, utilizing middlemen, all Bengalis should prefer one another without reference to religion. This alone will give Bengal prosperity and without this both Hindus and Mahomedans will be slowly and increasingly impoverished.

Keeping in view the above, Mahomedans can, of course, devote their energy in improving their own skill and knowledge as well as learn to better utilize their own resources. Thus, they can try and bring into use modern appliances and up-to-date technique into the various industries and crafts in which Mahomedans are found in large numbers. Scientific agriculture should also receive more attention from the Mahomedans of Bengal. If one asked me to give particular instance for the application of these ideas, I should name certain craft in which Mahomedans could better hold their ground by being more up-to-date. Book-binding, weaving, mechanical transport, carpentry, leather work, etc., are good instances. Higher



skill in building and constructional engineering as well as marine and mechanical engineering should enable better class Mahomedans to secure suitable employment and also, leadership in these lines of work; for most workers in these lines are Mahomedans,

### Leisure

"What is 'leisure' and how to utilize it" has been explained by Mr. Storm Jameson in a thoughtful paper in *The Aryan Path*. Part of it is quoted here:

The division, in the leisureless state, of work into two chief sorts—mechanical and repetitive work done by a class of inefficient because human robots, and intelligent or creative work—is at least as harmful to the creative individuals as to the stunted machine-herds. The whole of society is infected by the existence of slave classes. Their mere existence is a source of fear, hatred and ugliness issuing in the fouling of the air and the defacement of the country. Beside that a certain amount of manual or routine work is necessary for intellectual health. In a fortunately governed society only the rarest exceptions will be made to the rule requiring all able persons to share in the routine work needed to provide the goods and services which the community needs.

Just as, through our reckless pursuit of money profit, we fail to use our present technical resources to the full, so we often misuse those we employ. There is no human purpose to be served in elaborating machinery, as now, for the production and over-production of what are called novelties or,

more ironically, improvements. The world is cluttered up with labour-saving devices which do not save so much labour as they cost with varieties of tinned and patent foods differing from one another only by the label, with newer versions of what is neither worn out nor inefficient. A vast parasitic army is engaged in the various branches of salesmanship to lie, cozen, and intimidate people into buying what they do not need, did not desire and will be no happier for possessing. We are fortunate that no enterprising merchant has yet begun a campaign to persuade us that steel crutches are better for us than using our legs. In the age of leisure, those of us who crave many useless possessions will probably have to make them—and at that they will cease to be useless.

For one who from first youth has been trained to use mind and senses to the finest purpose, no lifetime can be too long. The exercise of his powers, or the perfecting of one of them, whether he wishes to walk, fly, speak foreign languages, write poetry, play and hear music, invent an aeroplane or a sauce or meditate, will cost him his life. Now, if he is not so wretched that leisure is forced on him in the ghastly shape of unemployment, he has often to choose between living in poverty in order to have time for some work he wishes to do more than he wishes to eat or travel, and giving so much time to earning his wages that he can live only in the fag-ends of days. By either way he is cheated. There is no virtue in a forced starvation and no savour in working only to live. For the first time in human history, leisure, with all that we need for our physical life, is within our reach, at a price. Equally possible to us is fitting of our minds and souls to enjoy long leisure as a musician enjoys the practice of his art.

## DANGERS TO PEACE

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

TWO dangerous ideals are threatening the peace of the world at the present time—the Pan-German and the Pan-Asiatic. Russia, the continent which bridges Europe and Asia, is menaced by both. Yesterday [March 31, 1935] the British Lord Privy Seal, Mr. Anthony Eden, left Moscow after discussing this twin menace with M. Litvinoff, the Russian Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and with M. Stalin, himself the head of the Russian Government.

### NAZI-ISM

The Pan-German ideal of course is a spectre which has often haunted Europe. But its present reappearance coincides with the rise to power of the Nazi Party. Nazi-ism is in essence a movement of national vindication. Ever since the Treaty of Versailles Germany has been kept in a position of "inferiority". Inferiority, that is, in the matter of armaments which still constitute, unfortunately, the criterion as to whether a Power is Great or not. During all those years and especially in the time of Herr Stresemann, Germany tried by methods of conciliation to take an equal place among the nations. But the

nations would not meet her half-way and make a real beginning to disarm themselves down to her level. So that when the great Depression came the worm at last turned. All Germany's ills were attributed to the post-war settlement of Europe. Germany would rise again, Nazis said and were believed, only when that settlement was abrogated and all Germans united to make their country respected once more (and when they said respected they meant feared).

The evil genius of Nazi-ism is that it sees its national rôle as a racial one. Thus it will have nothing to do with German Jews. (The German Jews lost them the war, the saying is, when anyone points out that German Jews died as well as Germans.) But worse still it seeks to unite all German-speaking peoples: it made this perfectly clear from the outset by its campaign against the independence of Austria. The Union of all Germany under the German Reich is the first and last object of Nazi policy.

### GERMAN MINORITIES

It is this idea which has just upset the apple-cart, which in other words accounts for



Germany's refusal to have anything to do with an "Eastern Locarno." There are German minorities in all the countries which lie on the other side of her eastern boundaries, and she has not the slightest intention of entering into any undertaking to protect the independence of these countries. "Summer States" she has called them and she will do nothing to help to prolong their existence. In fairness to Herr Hitler it must be said that he has expressed Germany's willingness to enter into treaties of non-aggression, but come to their rescue at any time Germany will not. There will be no "Eastern Locarno", no such exchanges of promises of mutual assistance.

Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Lithuania all have German minorities. All therefore, non-aggression pacts or not, have reason to fear Germany. And Italy, into the bargain, is resolved to go to war rather than allow Germany to swallow up Austria. And Russia is interested in the fate of Poland and Lithuania. And France in the fate of Poland and the Little Entente (of which Czecho-Slovakia is a member). Small wonder then if all these States are re-arming. Yet when Sir John went to Berlin last week to discuss the European situation with Herr Hitler, the latter produced dossiers dealing with all this re-armament and flourishing them before Sir John asked how in face of such facts could Germany refrain from re-arming also!

#### MEMEL AND VILNA

Such is the logic of dictators. Apropos of dictatorships and nationalism, it may be added, these troubles would not be arising if democratic ideas were not at a discount in Europe to-day. Of all these States who have German minorities and who are threatened by Nazi Germany, only Czecho-Slovakia is a democracy. It is not surprising therefore if their German minorities also care little for democratic methods. The evil state of affairs which results from all this can be seen in the present trouble over Memel. Under the Treaty of Versailles Memel, a German port on the Baltic, was ceded by Germany to the Principal Allied Powers, who garrisoned it. In 1923, however, it was seized by Lithuania. Lithuania had had Vilna seized from her by Poland and the Allies had winked at it. She had learned a lesson and trusted that the Allies would wink at the seizure of Memel—which they did. Lithuania was given sovereignty over Memel, but the Memel territory was to have autonomy.

Memel, though under Lithuanian sovereignty, was to be autonomous and its position was defined in what is known as the Memel Statute. This Statute was guaranteed by Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. A similar Constitution, it will be remembered, was given to Danzig that famous port at the head of what is now the Polish Corridor. In the past Danzig had belonged to Poland for more than three hundred years

and had been her principal outlet to the sea. But in the years of the successive partitionings of Poland Danzig became a German town. Thus it was decided by the Peace Conference that Danzig should be made into a Free City but that Poland should have access to her port.

But such constitutions are democratic in conception and bear no sort of reality to the agonizing struggles which are going on in these territories. Since the triumph of the National-Socialists in Germany, National-Socialist Parties have been formed by the German minorities in neighbouring territories. They openly proclaim that their objective is absorption in the German Reich. Behind them is the new Germany, resurgent and re-arming. No wonder the new States are afraid—and people who are afraid are unable to be just or even judicious.

#### LITHUANIA AND GERMANY

In such a state of tension in Memel last week a trial of treason took on the measure of a trial of strength between Lithuania and Germany. A hundred and twenty six Nazis were accused of plotting an armed insurrection with the object of restoring Memel to Germany. In the indictment the very grave charge was made that not only the German Consul-General at Memel but German officials at Königsberg and Berlin had inspired and financed the plot. Twenty thousand storm troopers, it was said, were behind the accused waiting to revolt. The trial lasted for three months and ended with the imposition of comparatively heavy sentences. Two prisoners received life sentences and others were sentenced to imprisonment for eight, nine or twelve years, although penalties varied from one year's imprisonment upwards. But four men were sentenced to death because their crime was not only treason but murder. They were convicted of murdering a fellow conspirator who, it is alleged, betrayed them.

These death sentences have aroused a fury of indignation in Germany. A month ago Herr Hitler's Government beheaded two girls convicted of treason solely—not of treason and murder. In June last year it carried out wholesale execution of prominent Nazis on the ground that they were betraying the Party. The German Government has never made any attempt to bring to justice the murderers of Frau von Schleicher, whose sole offence was that she tried to save her husband. Yet they are in a passion of indignation now over the condemnation of four murderers! The irony of the business is that the murder does seem to have been established, although the evidence as to the plot generally is said to be not very satisfactory. But the whole trial of course is only the struggle between Lithuania and Germany in miniature. Lithuania virtually says to the Nazis this plot may be a scare, but there is no doubt that the return of Memel to Germany



is what you have in mind. And Germany says to the prisoners, through the mouth of the leader of the Association for Germans abroad: "The sentences are a blot against Germany's dignity, a crack of the whip in the face of the whole German nation, and we shall never forget it. A nation of 100,000,000 Germans is at the back of the Memel Germans. We are here to warn the world, Memel, you are no longer alone. The strong German spirit, living, passionate, seething, the new Germany is with you, proud of your endurance and suffering."

#### GERMANY AND RUSSIA

The new Germany is with you.....Ominous words which bring us back to the Eastern Locarno Pact and Germany's refusal to have any part in it, or any understanding whatever with its principal promoter—Russia. Russia, in Germany's eyes, is the great shadow across her path. The Russians are "the pests of Europe" and in the recent Berlin conversations Herr Hitler did his utmost to rattle the Communist bogey in the hope of influencing the British Foreign Secretary against Russian policy. In the old days this rattling used to work. In London nervous Home Secretaries have raided Arcos, and British Foreign Secretaries have seen in the spread of communist ideas a menace to British supremacy in the Far East. But Herr Hitler protests too much. When in a voice of thunder—to quote the *News Chronicle*—he refused to make any terms with this "alien people" he only advertised the fact that he is mortally afraid of Russia.

The Nazis have every reason to fear Russia. The whole Russian ideology is opposed to theirs. But Russia's chiefest crime is that from the beginning she has been alive to the dangers to be expected from the imperialism of the New Germany and has kept these dangers before Europe's eyes. M. Molotoff, the President of the Council of People's Commissars, speaking in Moscow in January recalled this fact. "One cannot close one's eyes," he said, "to the changes which have occurred in Soviet-German relations with the advent of the Nazis to power." And he went on to quote a passage from Herr Hitler's book *Mein Kampf* which is the Bible of the Nazi revolution. In that book Herr Hitler wrote: "When we Nazis speak about new lands in Europe we may in the first place have in view only Russia and the border states under her power." Only Russia! In this connection, it may be worth noting, the *Sunday Times* suggests that Germany may be thinking of detaching the Ukraine or laying claim "to the old Russia's reversionary interest in Constantinople."

No wonder Russia is armed to the teeth. No wonder she would like to negotiate an Eastern Locarno between herself and Germany and neighbouring States for the mutual protection of frontiers. No wonder Poland, which lies between

Russia and Germany, is shaking in her shoes and dithering between the alternatives of keeping friends with France and Russia or of seeking to placate Germany.

#### NEW EFFORTS NECESSARY

But Germany will have none of the proposed Pact. And because France (whose one virtue is that she never deserts her allies) is part author of it, Herr Hitler is able to represent the Pact as nothing but a resurrection of the old attempt to "encircle" Germany and chain her in. Behind it he sees a new Franco-Russian alliance, which is typical of Nazi logic. The Nazis do their best to frighten everybody—and then complain when everybody joins up for mutual safety.

It seems clear then that if any understanding is to be reached with Germany, some new alternatives must be introduced. Nothing can come of the present jam. As a preliminary to finding these, it may be well to remember the few things to which she does agree. The first is the Western Locarno, the second is the proposed Air Pact, and the third and most important is Equality in Armaments. Herr Hitler has said over and over again that all Germany seeks is *equality*. She will disarm down to any level if only every other Great Power will do the same.

Has not the time come then to put this last assertion to the test? Why could not the great nations, instead of re-arming against the New Germany, make one more attempt to disarm together? This is the proposal of Mr. George Lansbury and there's life in it! Speaking at Halifax recently he said: "All is not lost, even though France has extended her period of conscription, even though Germany has declared conscription, and even though our own Government, to a milder extent, has started on the same road. The voice of the common people, the voice of the Churches, and the voice of all those who preach peace, have yet to be heard. I appeal to all men and women to declare with a united voice that our Government shall now summon the world again to another conference, bringing in all the civilized Governments, and say that we are willing with other nations to disarm."

#### GREAT BRITAIN'S REFUSAL

But, alas, the present Government seems to care little for the cause of disarmament. At a time when everyone is apprehensive of its neighbour's armaments, why, oh why, does Great Britain at Geneva oppose the American plan for the inspection of armaments? A Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Conference has been meeting to consider the manufacture of and trade in arms and on Tuesday of last week the British representative virtually killed the Conference. He refused altogether to agree to international control of the spot—although America and France and "the overwhelming majority of the delegations"



resented this attitude. Yet the local inspection of armaments, surely, is the one sensible way of allaying suspicions about each other's armaments. With such a system in force, we would have no reason to fear each other's armaments. And Germany has agreed to submit to such local inspection, provided that other Powers agree to it also.

What possible good reasons can Great Britain have for refusing to co-operate in bringing this about? How can she be justified in blocking this proposal when all the other Powers are willing to try to work it?

#### JAPAN'S IMPERIALISM

But we must leave Germany now for Russia, Russia which is threatened by Germany in the west and Japan in the east. Mr. Eden had just been discussing the situation in Moscow and he must have found it all a little confusing. Before the Nazis came to power in Germany, Germany and Russia had been on very good terms. German Agents, even, used to act as go-betweens in trading negotiations between Russia and countries which had not recognized her. And as for Japan she used to be Britain's imperial friend and former ally, chief bulwark against bolshevism in the Far East and so on. But now Nazi hatred is destroying Germany's trade with Russia: in 1934 imports from Germany fell from 42 per cent. of the total in 1933 to 8.8 per cent. While Japan instead of confining herself to keeping Asia from going Red, is plainly out to see that she goes nothing but Yellow.

Japan is feared by the Western Powers to-day, and especially by Russia, America and Britain, because she has launched her Pan-Asiatic idea. The idea is Asia for the Yellow Races under the hegemony of Japan. Japan has just left the League of Nations. The Japanese public, says a leading article in the *Times*, "have been encouraged to believe that their country has taken the place of the League in establishing order and maintaining peace in the Far East."

Well that for the moment is that. And Japan, we might add, has been encouraged in this belief as a result of the supine attitude of the British Government at Geneva two years ago when the Japanese were bombing Chapei and invading Manchuria—and the one idea of the British Foreign Secretary was to do or say nothing that might offend Japan.

As a result Japan is now quite frank in her naked imperialism. She will take the place of the League in Asia and she is going to do her best to induce China to leave the League, which (manifestly) is powerless to save her, and embrace with her the Pan-Asiatic ideal. Britain and America can now take a back seat. This latter reflection appears in so many words in the Imperial Rescript which was issued at the time when Japan gave notice of withdrawal from the League. "Withdrawal from the League," says

the Rescript, "is now considered to be the most sagacious act in that it shook off Anglo-American ideas of internationalism." Shook off England and America rather!

#### JAPAN'S ECONOMIC POSITION

But the tragedy of the Pan-Asiatic idea is that it is *racial*. (It is strange how the racial bug is biting Germany and Japan at the same moment.) Japan's economic plight is desperate and it cannot be cured by emigration because Australia and America—the only countries to which modern Westernized Japan wishes to emigrate—will not admit her nationals because they are yellow. Only 16 per cent. of the land in Japan, it is said, is arable. If the people cannot emigrate, then they must become industrialized. But they cannot become industrialized without having access to raw materials. And they cannot live by industrialization unless they have access to foreign markets.

Access to raw materials and access to foreign markets are the clues to modern Japanese imperialism. They explain the rape of Manchuria and Japan's excursions generally on the Asiatic mainland. Raw materials amount to no less than 60 per cent. of Japan's total imports. Equally serious to an expansionist country is her lack of oil and petrol. Oil is the fuel of the modern Navy and Japan is dependent on outside sources for this sinew of war. In 1933, for instance, she consumed 3.6 million tons of oil fuel but produced only 0.7 million tons herself. In this connection it is illuminating to note that at this very moment Japan is telling Great Britain that she cannot do anything to upset the decision of the Manchurian Government to establish an Oil Monopoly.

Illuminating also is the news that Japan is calling a special conference, to meet in Paris in June, of her Ambassadors and Ministers in Europe. Another conference, of Consuls in China, is to meet in Shanghai. And another conference, of Japanese Ambassadors and Ministers, is to meet in South America. All these Conferences are to discuss the political and economic outlook as it affects Japan.

#### OUR RESPONSIBILITY

Japan evidently is about to launch a politico-economic offence against the world. The Western nations, who won't admit Japanese immigrants seem to have raised up a Japan which, while determined to make Europeans toe the line in Asia, is equally determined to swamp the markets of the western world. And however much we may dislike this new imperialism we are large to blame for it because we did nothing to check it before it reached its present proportions. Whether Empire in India, Great Britain ought to have tried to reconcile the rest of the British Empire to Asiatic immigration. But we say it is not our affair and howl down any bishop if he is



indiscreet as to say that Canada and Australia struck him as empty countries which could very well make a "gesture" to Japan. Similarly in allowing Japan to war successfully in China, we have encouraged her to rely upon the argument of force in her dealings with other nations. Japan used war as an instrument of national policy—and we would not join America in a protest although she with us had signed the Kellogg Pact. We might have remembered that ten years ago the *Japan Chronicle*, writing about Japanese naval ambitions, blew the gaff in the following terse statement: "This great navy is to be built solely that Japan may be able to do things on the Asiatic mainland and present them to the world as accomplished facts without running the risk of the Powers 'offering advice'. The expansion of the navy is not for the purpose of being aggressive, but for the purpose of deterring protests if aggressive action should be for any reason committed."

Could that be improved upon as a statement of imperialism?

#### GIGANTIC PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

That same Navy is now more than ever in the news. Japan has denounced the Washington Naval Treaties and wants parity with Britain and America. The Treaties expire on 31st December 1936 but America, alas, has already begun a naval race—and so have we also for that matter. Broadcasting last week, Sir Fredrick Whyte told us that the American Fleet "will carry out this year in the Pacific the most impressive naval manoeuvres on record." America, he cryptically added, "is preparing to meet the situation which will arise if no new treaty is made before the end of 1936." What hope is there of a new Treaty if that is the state in which the Powers are confronting one another? Listen to the Japanese Minister of Marine, speaking in the Japanese Diet last January: "If a certain Power begins naval construction on a large scale Japan must also build ships regardless of cost. I cannot say that a building race will not result if we have a period without a naval treaty."

Nor is America developing her naval arm solely in her preparations against war in the Pacific. She has just transferred certain islands in the Pacific to the Navy and these islands are to be used as air bases. They are made up of three islands in the Hawaiian group, i. e. mid-way in the Pacific and of the island called Wake—which lies just to the north of Japan's mandated islands! It is said that they are to be used "for administrative purposes," for the

inauguration of "a regular commercial air service to the Far East." But, as the *News Chronicle* points out this project follows the proposal of the United States Government to establish a Naval base off the North Pacific coast of Alaska, at Dutch Harbour, "should the Naval Disarmament Conference this year break down." And it adds: "Dutch Harbour would then become 'the Singapore of the North Pacific.'"

At what point in recent history, one drearily wonders, did the nations adopt this defeatist practice of going into a Conference with plans all set for its breakdown?

But if America is preparing for war with Japan, Japan is preparing for further expansion in Asia—this time at the expense of Russia. Russia seems to be more afraid to-day of Germany than of Japan and in recent months she has made considerable efforts to placate the latter. She has at last concluded the wrangle over the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, for instance, and is willing to discuss the withdrawal of troops from the borders of Manchuria. But this does not deter Japan from forging ahead with plans against Siberia. She is said to be planning the construction of a new railway "aimed at the heart of Siberia." In Siberia the Russians have been building up coal, iron and electrical industries. The projected railway, according to the experts, "would appear to be calculated, in the event of a Japanese attack on Russia, to facilitate the cutting of the trans-Siberian line and the occupation of the now highly industrialized central Siberia."

Incidentally this new railway, it is rumoured, is to be built by Herr Otto Wolf, a German Jewish steel magnate whom Nazis have graciously allowed to "work for Germany." This rumour, coupled with the fact that Herr Hitler has said that when he demands the return of Germany's former colonies he does not include the Pacific islands mandated to Japan, lends support to the idea that there is an alliance between Germany and Japan. But Mr. Hirota, the Japanese Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has denied this.

Indeed the more one looks at the present state of the world, the less one likes it. There is no health in it and the only hope of salvation seems to be that someone should rise up and call the nations to a fresh start. There can be little doubt that the common people in every country only want peace and the means to live. Why not call a new Disarmament Conference and a new World Economic Conference? Perhaps it would be better to call the Economic Conference first. And, if we really listened to the experts, and followed their advice, we might find a way of living at peace with one another.

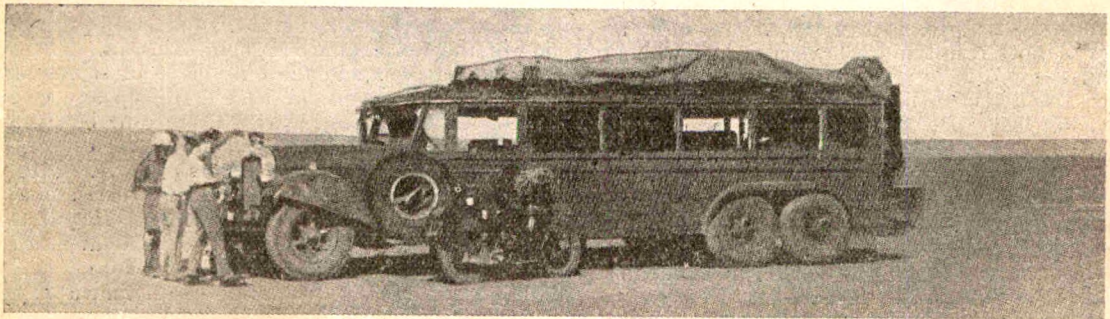


## GLEANINGS

### The Desert Changes

As the camel was the undisputed lord among the animals on the highways of the East, so the Bedouin was the undisputed lord of the desert. No government could efficiently conquer and control the desert. Until the end of the nineteenth century the Bedouin was equal in his arms and fighting equipment to the best regular army

soldier and infinitely at an advantage in familiarity with the battleground and mobility over the waterless sands. The government that wished to assure peace and tranquillity had to buy the good will of the desert tribes by heavy subsidies in gold and in arms. The Bedouin had always supplemented his income by his



At the Cairo market (above) caravan owners bargain for camels, now greatly reduced in price. The Bedouins (centre) were followers of Colonel Lawrence in his "revolt in the desert."

As the Bedouin was once undisputed lord of the desert, so the camel was lord of desert animals. The motor bus (below) has invaded the old caravan routes, and the disappearing camel marks the end of nomad life.



booty gained in his fights and feuds with other tribes and with the settled population in the sown lands beyond the desert. As lord and protector of the desert highways, he considered it his right to take a traditional toll from the caravans which, loaded with merchandise, crossed the arid plains and mountains of the desert.

Thus the nomads of the desert lived for thousands of years, undisturbed by the march of history and the inventions of the human mind. But during the past twenty years more momentous changes have come over the desert than in all the preceding centuries. The new spirit of unrest and enterprise, of technical science and rational government, first expressed and developed by the nations of north-western Europe, has spread rapidly and penetrated into the most secluded parts of the globe.

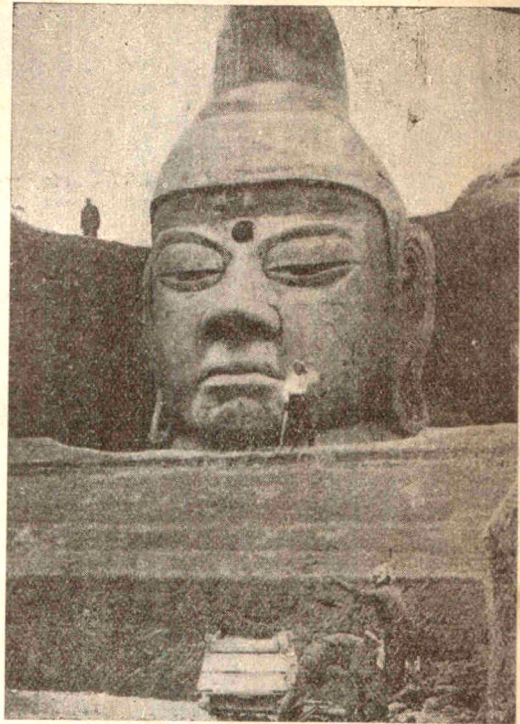
Changed conditions have dried up the age-old sources of income of the Bedouins. The technique of modern warfare has put an end to their former equality with regular armies. Governments, equipped today with airplanes, wireless telegraphy and other devices of swift military communication, make it impossible for the Bedouins to continue their medieval practices of levy and tribute, of feuds and plundering expeditions. The desert has been brought within the orbit of modern and efficient administration. But even the more peaceful way of gaining a livelihood in the desert, the breeding of camels, is disappearing. The undisputed hegemony of the camel has been destroyed by the motor car and the airplane, which have been penetrating into the desert since 1920.

A few years ago the camel was still met frequently on the highways of the East, but its monopoly was already broken, and it was obliged now and then to greet its new competitor, the motor car. At that time it was principally the Ford car, left over from the World War, which carried passengers, but did not compete with the camel in transporting freight. In the past few years the camel has lost out even as beast of burden. In many parts of the East higher priced motor cars have ousted the cheap cars, and strong trucks are now carrying heavy loads more efficiently and quickly than the camel ever could. The motor car has invaded the vast Arabian peninsula from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. It has overcome the desert and mountain wilderness of Persia, thus linking its distant parts into a well-knit modern state. The old caravan route from Damascus to Baghdad has also been captured by the motor car, and, with the construction of the pipe line from the Iraq oil fields to the Mediterranean ports of Tripoli and Haifa, a first-class macadamized road is being built across the desert. Even the sheikhs of the great Bedouin tribes are now going out in motor cars to inspect their camel herds in the desert.

—Asia

### Largest Buddha in Japan

The head of a new daibutsu which, when completed, will be the biggest of its kind in Japan. The figure is being carved out of natural rock in Fukushima Prefecture, north of Tokyo. The head alone measures about ten metres in height.



Largest Buddha in Japan

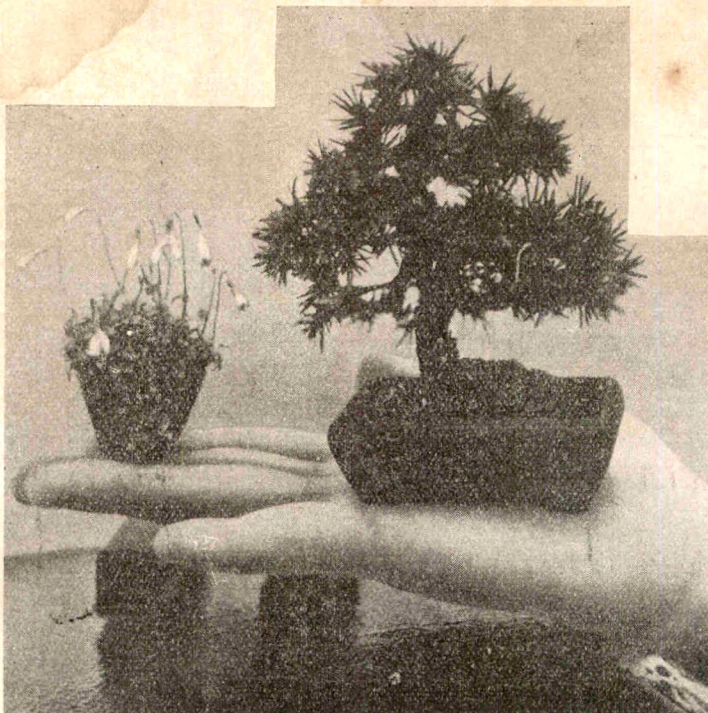
### Bonsai

In no other nation of the world is the sense of beauty and the appreciation of æsthetics so well developed and generally practised as in Japan. As one of the typical examples of this trait, let us consider "Bonsai," the peculiar art of potted dwarfed plants.

In the most general sense, "Bonsai" signifies any potted plant or flower, but in the stricter sense, it is the presentation of a growing flower or plant in a pot, depicting its beauty as in nature. Dwarfed trees scores of years old and only several inches tall are favourite examples of "Bonsai".

In recent years, there has been a tendency toward classifying potted plants as "Bonsai" or "ordinary." In the "Bonsai" variety, the aim is to show the natural beauty of the plant as a whole, while in the case of the "ordinary" plants, the purpose is to emphasize the beauty of the flower and leaves.





A "pocket edition" Bonsai. Although the plant (right) stand only about two inches and a half high, it has the appearance of a full grown tree. It is 30 years old and has been in the pot for 20 years. It is owned by Count Yorinaga Matsudoira



Ezo-matsu grouped together, suggesting a forest

Thus the "Bonsai" emphasizes the living natural beauty as related to the shape, form, and

setting of the plant, and is differentiated from the general western idea concerning the beauty of plants and flowers.

In the early days, dwarfed plants were generally used for "Bonsai" specimens, in that they showed age and the natural mellowness of plants in the wild form, while being small enough to keep in pots for appreciation within the household.

Contemporary trends have extended the field. Even a single spray of grass, or the single stem of a flowering plant, if it presents natural and living beauty, is accepted as a proper specimen for the art of "Bonsai."

In the "Bonsai," the artist attempts to present an "interlude" or an "impression" of nature. Thus the soil, the stones, and the moss about it, and the trunk or stem, branches, leaves, and flowers of the tree or plant, nay even the budding shoot or the fading leaf, are factors in presenting the proper atmosphere.

By means of the brief and limited "impression" obtained from the "Bonsai," the beholder is enabled to catch the spirit of the "Bonsai" artist and perhaps he can hear the birds chirping in the branches of the old pine tree, or sense the coming of fall, or realize the grip of winter...all from a miniature setting presented in a single potted plant.

*—Japan Today and Tomorrow*



## Nara Dolls

The Nara dolls had their origin when wooden carved dolls were used for decorative purposes at a festival of the Kasuga shrine at the time of Emperor Sutoku in 1137.

Later the work of carving the wooden dolls became hereditary. The material was the old timbers used in the construction of the Kasuga Shrine.

The features of the Nara dolls are the seemingly rough strokes of the knife by which they are made and their simple yet charming colouring that imparts a rich classical atmosphere.

The picture here shows dolls representing figures in the No play "Tsurukame." The "tsuru" (stork) is popularly regarded as living to the age of 1,000 years and the "kame" (tortoise) to that of 10,000 years. They are always used whenever felicitation for longevity is to be



Toward the latter part of the Tokugawa era, in the Tempō period, Toen Morikawa, by his skill in "ittobori" (one stroke engraving) made the Nara dolls permanently famous.

As the idea was first based on the performance of sacred dances before the shrine, the Nara dolls naturally represent many of ancient dances. Most familiar among them, however, are those of "Tsurukame" (the Stork and Tortoise), "Takasago" and "Shojo," from No plays. There are also those concerning deer, which are related to the Kasuga shrine.

expressed. This No play describes the court officials of high rank performing the "Tsurukame" dance in the presence of the Emperor at the seasonal festival of spring, tending their congratulations.

The dolls here depicted were made by Kijima Ryoso, noted engraver of the city of Nara, and are a replica of those selected by the Emperor when His Majesty visited Nara in November, 1932.

—Japan Today and Tomorrow





## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. KSHAMA ROW, daughter of the late Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, an eminent Sanskrit scholar who was long ago the editor of a number of Sanskrit works in Bombay, is not only a talented writer of short stories in English, but is well-versed in Sanskrit literature as well. She

pality. Daw Kha Toon, who is a Burmese Moslem, is leader of the Progressive Women's Association and has established a weaving industry for the education and employment of women. She is a philanthropic lady and she gives annual gifts to the poor, needy and infirm.



Mrs. Kshama Row

is the talented authoress of two books, *Katha Panchakam* (short stories in Sanskrit) and *Satyagraha Gita* (Sanskrit poem in epic form on Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha struggle), the latter book being appreciably noticed in *L'Orient*, Paris.

The first lady president of a municipality in Burma is DAW KHA TOON, who was returned unopposed as president of the Letpadan Municipi-



Daw Kha Toon

MISS S. GHOSH, B.A., N.F.U. (London), went to England as State scholar from Bihar. She obtained National Frochal Teacher's Diploma from the London University. She travelled most parts of Europe and studied the different methods of teaching obtaining there. She is now working in the Mayurbhanj State as the Headmistress of Lady Frazer Girls' School. She has taken up child psychology as the special subject of research. She is now engaged in experimental work on child's mind and nature.



MISS VENUTAI DATTATREYA CHITALE, formerly a student of the Wilson College, Bombay, sailed for England last month for higher studies.



Miss S. Ghosh



Miss Venutai Dattatreya Chitale

## REPORT OF THE FOURTH CONVENTION OF THE FEDERATION OF INDIAN AND CEYLONESE STUDENTS ABROAD, ROME, 1934 [Abridged]

**T**HE Fourth Convention of the Federation which was held in Rome on the 30th and 31st Dec., 1934 was a great success considering the amount of important work that was done. Two very important changes took place at this Convention. The Ceylonese Students joined the Federation of their own accord and consequently the name of the Federation was changed into the Federation of Indian and Ceylonese Students Abroad. The other important change was the transfer of the headquarters of the Federation for the current year from Vienna to Rome where the Secretariats of the Confederation of Oriental Students and the Hindusthan Association of Italy are located.

The importance of the Federation can be well judged from the record of useful work that it has been able to do during the first few years of its pioneering career which augurs well for its eventful future.

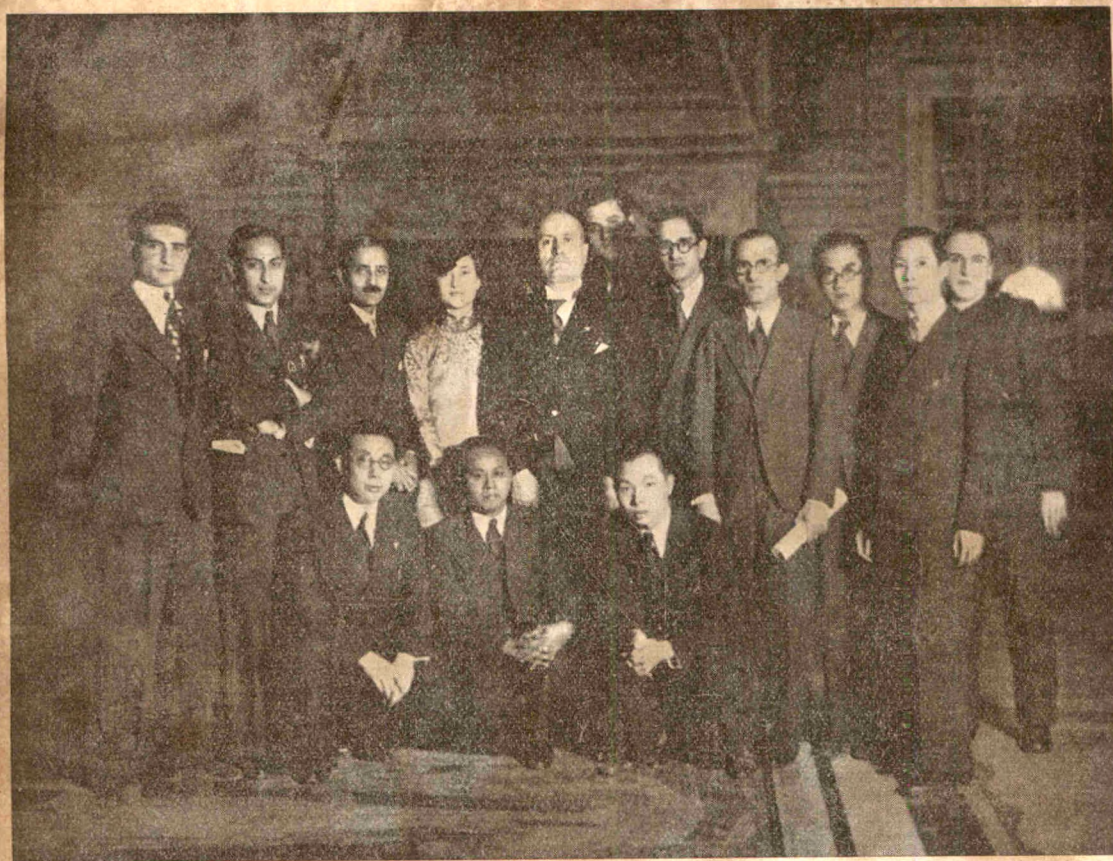
The Federation seeks to foster increasing co-operation and friendly contact among the various organizations of Indian students abroad, and to strengthen the spirit of unity and solidarity amongst them for the advancement of their common interests. It will also safeguard the legitimate interests of all Indian and Ceylonese students in the different educational centres of Europe and America and agitate for the removal of their grievances. It is a matter of great satisfaction that within the very short time since its inception the Federation has been

able to achieve something of lasting importance in spite of its limited resources, and has placed the institution on a solid foundation entirely by the support of the Indian student community in Europe.

It might be remembered that at the third Convention which was held in Rome in December 1933 under the Presidentship of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the ex-Mayor of Calcutta, it was decided to hold the Fourth Convention in Vienna. As sufficient facilities could not be received from the Austrian authorities, and in view of the fact that the Second Congress of Oriental Students in Europe was being organized in Rome, the general Council of the Federation in one of its meetings in Vienna decided to accept the joint invitation of the Permanent Bureau of the Confederation and the Hindusthan Association of Italy to hold the Convention in Rome.

More than sixty delegates representing all the principal Indian students' organizations of London, Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Paris, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Vienna and Rome, attended the Convention; Prof. Amiya Chakravarty of Oxford was elected the President of the Federation. Mrs. Raha and Mr. D. N. Dubash of Rome were elected respectively the Treasurer and the Hon. Secretary of the Federation. The Secretariat for the current year will be located in Via del Conservatorio 1, where the offices of the Confederation of Oriental Students and the Hindusthan Association of Italy are also located. Mr. I. P. Singh of the London University was elected the





*Standing Left to right : Mr. Djabri, Mr. Amiyath Sarkar, Prof. Amiya Chakravarti (President of the Federation), Miss Lym, Mussolini, Mr. Sundaram, Mr. Dubash and other members of the Executive Committee*

Joint Secretary and a General Council was constituted with members from all the important university centres in Europe.

According to the usual custom, the session of the Convention was opened with the singing in chorus of the national anthem. The opening session was fairly attended by the elite of Rome and a considerable number of Chinese, Arab, Egyptian, Siamese, Indo-Chinese and Persian students also were present.

Proposed by Mr. D. N. Dubash of Rome and supported by Mr. M. L. Gauba of Berlin, Prof. Amiya Chandra Chakravarti, M. A., of Oxford took the chair and delivered his presidential address. The address was highly instructive and commanded attention. The main theme of the presidential address was the responsibility of the Indian students abroad. According to the President the Indian students in the European and American Universities have a two-fold responsibility. They should not only be the true interpreters of India's great and ancient culture, but should also assimilate while abroad the good that is in the Western culture and should interpret that to their countrymen when they go back to their own country. The address was much appreciated and enthusiastically applauded. After the presidential address the following leaders of the various national delegations to the Second Congress of Oriental Students made speeches expressing their great

admiration for India and her great culture, and sympathy for the Indian national movement: Messrs. Danesch (Persia), Hengkul (Siam), Prawiratmodio (Java), Djabri (Arabia), Arazi (Palestine), Galal (Egypt), Yu (China). On behalf of the Italians Dr. Santilana of the University of Rome welcomed the Indian students and wished that this Convention would be as successful as it was last year.

After the speeches and formal proceedings were finished, the members gathered together to listen to an Indian musical programme. Mr. A. Mukherji of London charmed both the oriental and occidental listeners with his skill on Swarad and Mr. Ajit Sen of Munich made us forget for a while the too realistic nature of debates and speeches with his Indian songs. Debates were few but they were very animated sometimes.

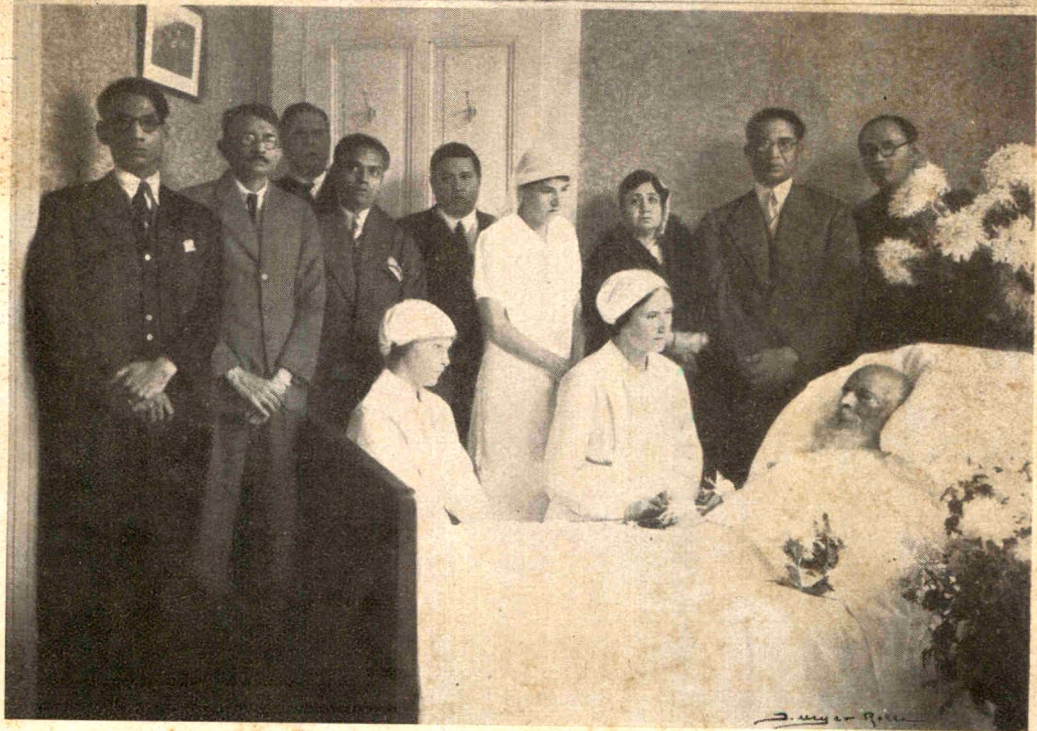
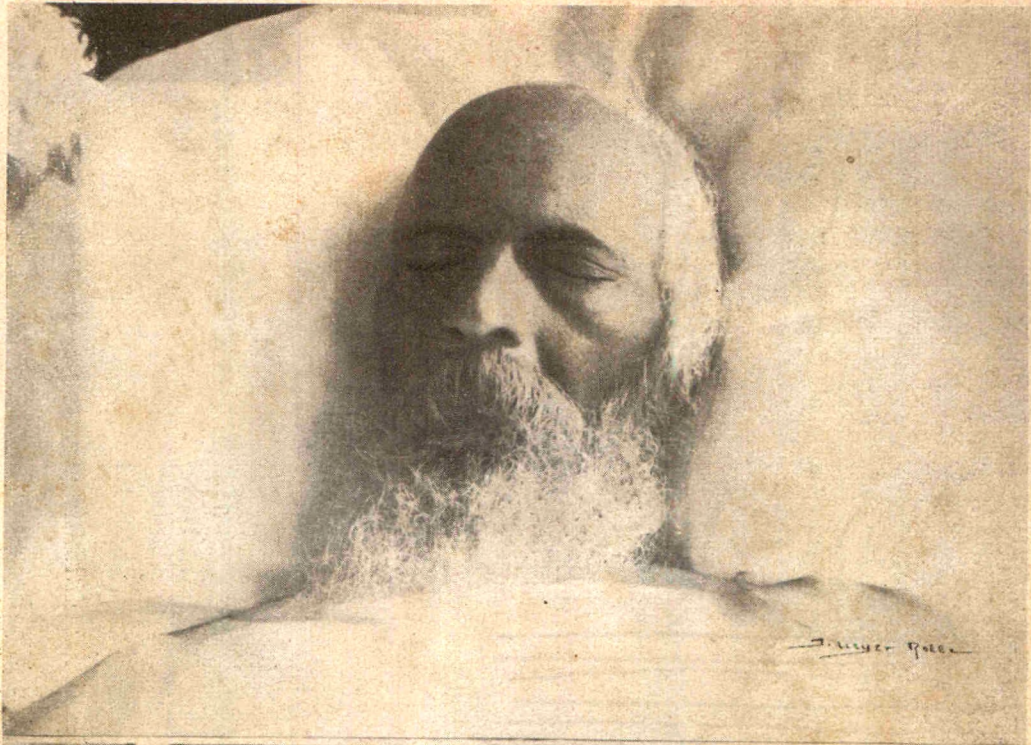
A small Subjects Committee met and drafted the resolutions, which were unanimously carried at the closing session of the Conventions. The fourth resolution is printed below.

IV. That the F. I. C. S. A. rejects in toto the Select Committee Report on India as it is completely impracticable and unacceptable.

D. N. DUBASH,  
*Secretary.*



# THE PASSING AWAY



*Above :*

## SLEEPING THE ETERNAL SLEEP

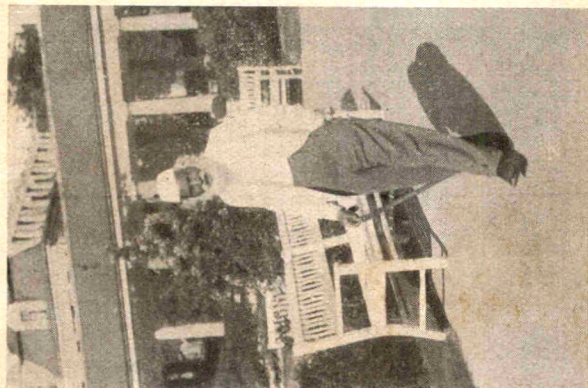
Photo of Mr. Patel taken at "La Ligniere" Clinique at Gland, near Geneva, after his death on October 22, 1933

*Below :* From left to right; standing—

Dr. S. Ghose (of the League of Nations), Mr. Lotwalla, late Mr. A. C. Chatterji (of the League of Nations), Mr. Bhogibhai (of Antwerp), Mr. Erulkar (of Scindia's), the Head Nurse of the Sanatorium, Mrs. A. C. Chatterji, Mr. Nathalal (of Antwerp) Mr. Subhas C. Bose. Kneeling—Sister Herta and Sister Maria who nursed Mr. Patel.



# MR. V. J. PATEL IN LIFE



OUT FOR A WALK

Mr. V. J. Patel at Franzensbad in Czechoslovakia where he was under treatment for heart-disease before he left for Vienna, en route to Geneva, in September, 1933.



His last portrait made in Vienna by Mr. Ajit Kumar Sen, in September, 1933, before he left for Switzerland.



Mr. V. J. Patel and Mr. Subhas C. Bose at Franzensbad where the latter had gone to accompany him to Vienna in September, 1933.



# NOTES

## *The Patel Memorial in Geneva*

On the 22nd October, 1933, Mr. Vithal-bhai J. Patel breathed his last, far away from home amidst a small group of devoted countrymen of his, headed by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Throughout his last days, in spite of the excruciating pain from which he was suffering at the time, his one thought was his country and her future political programme. The Indian public will remember gratefully Mr. Patel's last words, which were :—

“Before I die, I pray for the early attainment of India's freedom.”

And in keeping with this unselfish and patriotic spirit he left his entire life's earnings for the service of his country, for which he had given his all.

It is not generally known that certain factors hastened Mr. Patel's death. His health broke down in prison. But his life could possibly have been saved, if he, while under treatment in Europe, could be persuaded to take complete rest. But unfortunately that was not to be. In spite of his shattered health all his time and energy was devoted to the cause of his country and towards the end of 1932 he undertook a strenuous lecturing tour in America. As testified by Dr. J. T. Sunderland, he delivered, within a period of three months, as many as 85 lectures, travelling from one end of the American continent to the other. The result was, that, when he arrived in London from America, he was laid up with acute heart disease, from which he was not destined to recover. In July and August, 1933, Mr. Patel was at Franzensbad in Czechoslovakia, undergoing a treatment for his heart troubles. No

sooner had his condition improved, a little than he planned to go to Geneva and even the most importunate entreaties of his friends could not induce him to give up the idea. The Assembly of the League of Nations was to meet in September and besides that a Conference had been convened there by the International Committee for India. Such a rare opportunity for bringing up the Indian question before the World could not be allowed by Mr. Patel to be lost—and so he left for Geneva. Immediately after his arrival there, his condition became so alarming that he had to be removed to a Sanatorium forthwith. It was in the fitness of things that a memorial tablet should be put up at the spot where he breathed his last. Thanks are due to Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and to the Memorial Committee for making the necessary arrangements, and to the Sanatorium authorities for agreeing to have the memorial put up in the same room where he had lived. The ceremony was held at the “La Ligniere Clinique” at Gland, on the 22nd March, 1935. Among those present at the function, besides Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, were Dr. Geheeb (of Odenwald-school fame), Madame Hörup and Madame Kretchmor (representing the International Committee for India), Dr. Bertholet (of Lausanne), Miss Elliot of the Fellowship School near Geneva, the Director and staff of the Sanatorium and Mr. Jenni of the League of Human Rights of Geneva.

Monsieur Romain Rolland and his sister, Mademoiselle Rolland, who could not attend, sent an appropriate message for the occasion. Messages and wreaths were also received from Indians and Indian Students' Organiza-



tions in London, Paris, Berlin, Munich and Vienna. From India messages were received from Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Ansari and other Congress leaders. The ceremony opened with an address from Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, the chairman of the Memorial Committee. He referred to the services rendered to his country by the departed soul and emphasized the courage of his convictions, owing to which he did not hesitate to oppose even the leaders of the Congress, when he felt that they were in the wrong. He stated that the memorial was being put up on behalf of the Indians residing in Europe.

Madame Hörup then paid, on behalf of the International Committee for India, a tribute to the great departed and remarked that the late Mr. Patel was one of the few Indians who realized the value of International propaganda for the furtherance of the cause of India's freedom.

Mr. Bose then referred to his intimate relations, personal and political, with the lamented Indian leader, in whom, he said, India would have found at the present moment the right type of leadership. In him was the man been lost who not only had realized the importance of propaganda abroad on India's behalf, but one who had formulated definite plans to give practical effect to this idea. The speaker, continuing, said that he agreed entirely with Mr. Patel's conviction that the Indian question was no domestic affair of Britain but an International issue of great importance. This position [which was first enunciated and proved by Dr. J. T. Sunderland in *The Modern Review* and afterwards in his book *India in Bondage*. Ed., M. R.] was further confirmed by the fact that India was an original member of the League of Nations. India's case must, therefore, be brought before the Bar of World-opinion and the speaker in conclusion reiterated his resolve to follow in the footsteps of the great departed.

The memorial tablet was thereafter unveiled by Mr. Bose.

### "Petitioning" and "Self-respect"

The resolutions passed at the thirty-third session of the Bengal Provincial Political

Conference, which was held last month at Dinajpur, were as important as those passed at any other similar conference.

#### Resolution Against Anti-"Award" Deputation

Reference will be made to some of them in a succeeding note. In the present note we intend to comment on the resolution passed at the Dinajpur Conference on the deputation which was proposed some time ago to be sent to England in relation to the Communal Decision.

Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal moved it in the following form :

"This Conference is strongly of opinion that any attempt to alter or maintain the Communal "Award" by sending deputation to the British Government is futile and derogatory to India's self-respect and respectfully requests Congressmen who might be thinking of leading such a deputation to England to give up the idea."

The mover said in support of it :

The attitude of the British Government towards the Congress is clear and the Communal "Award" had been deliberately inserted into the scheme of constitutional reforms. Under the circumstances let no Congressman be a party to this policy of petition. Dr. Sanyal, however, made it clear that what this resolution sought to urge was that no deputation should approach the British Government in England in any manner, direct or indirect. It was quite a different thing, however, to attempt to carry on propaganda outside India for the purpose of counter-acting mischievous anti-Indian propaganda in countries outside India.

Mr. Charu Ray of Tangail seconded it.

Mr. Lakshmikanta Maitra, M.L.A., urged the conference to reject the resolution. He maintained that

Bengal's case had always gone by default and her cause had suffered because of her indifference. In the case of the Communal "Award" Bengal had to be given a lead by a leader from outside Bengal. The speaker referred to the propaganda that was being carried on in interested quarters in England, as a result of the Congress resolution on the Communal "Award," that the majority of the people of India had accepted the "Award," and stressed the necessity of educating public opinion in England. Then, the deputationists were not going on behalf of the Indian National Congress. They were going as India's leaders to counteract mischievous propaganda against India. The speaker failed to understand why they should be adopting a dog in the manger policy.

In supporting the resolution Mr. Abdus Sattar said :

The idea of leading a deputation to the British Government took them back to the days of petitioning and dragged them into an atmosphere of co-operation.



In opposing the resolution Mr. Mahitosh Ray Chaudhuri observed :

The deputationists were not going on behalf of the Congress or of the Congress Nationalist Party, but on behalf of the Anti-Communal "Award" League, which had no connection with the Congress, and as such this conference was not competent to express any opinion on it.

Mr. Haripada Chatterjee supported the resolution with the observation that "Congress could never go back to the policy of petitioning."

Mr. Dhires Chandra Chakrabarti said,

He failed to understand why they should stand in the way of anyone going to England to influence the public opinion there and counteract mischievous propaganda against India. He referred to the communication from Mr. Subhas Bose in which he urged for agitation both in India and England for unsettling the Communal "Award." Though matters were far advanced, yet even at this stage the "Award" could be modified by carrying on propaganda and enlightening public opinion in England. Even now the Zetland scheme could be passed.

Mr. Jogindra Chandra Chakrabarti moved an amendment suggesting the addition of the words : "While not opposing any propaganda tour in England or elsewhere for enlightening public opinion against the Communal "Award." The mover having accepted this amendment, the house accepted the amended resolution unanimously in the following form :

"While not opposing any propaganda tour in England or elsewhere to enlighten public opinion against the Communal "Award," this Conference is strongly of opinion that any attempt to alter or maintain the Communal "Award" by sending a deputation to the British Government is futile and derogatory to India's self-respect and respectfully requests Congressmen who might be thinking of leading such a deputation in England to give up that idea."

#### Two Mutually Contradictory Futilities !

Many there are in India who condemn the adherents of the Hindu Mahasabha as well as Muhammadan communalists in the same breath, in order to show that they are quite impartial. The resolution on the proposed deputation, both in its original and its amended form, says with a similar amusing show of impartiality that "any attempt to alter or maintain the communal 'award' by sending a deputation to the British Government is futile." If any deputation is sent to the British Government to alter the Communal Decision, one can very well understand that it will be futile, or ineffectual ; that is to say, it will not succeed in getting the Decision

altered. But what is meant by saying that a deputation sent to "maintain" the Decision will be futile ? If it is not nonsense, it can only mean that the deputation will fail to maintain the Decision ; that is to say, the Decision will be altered in spite of the efforts of the deputation to prevent its alteration. So it comes to this that, in the opinion of the Bengal Provincial Conference, any attempt made by the Hindus and Sikhs to alter the Decision will fail and the Decision will remain as it is, and any attempt made by the Muslims to keep the Decision intact will also fail and consequently the Decision will not remain as it is but will be altered ! But how can a Decision remain as it is and not remain as it is at the same time ? Let the delegates to the Bengal Provincial Political Conference, who passed the resolution *unanimously*, reply.

#### Conference Criticized Unknown Plan of Work

As far as we are aware, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who is to lead the deputation if it visits England, has not made any statement or pronouncement regarding the *modus operandi* of the deputation. As the editor of this periodical was mentioned as one of the men who would be likely to accompany Mr. Malaviya, we might be expected to possess at least as much knowledge of the way the deputation would go to work as the Bengal Provincial Conference. The Conference *assumed* that the deputation would go to work in a particular way and then asked its leader or leaders "to give up the idea !"

#### Calling the Tune without Paying the Piper

It is said that he who pays the piper has the right to call the tune. But in the opinion of some hundreds of gentlemen in Conference assembled in Dinajpur the correct thing would seem to be to call the tune without undertaking the responsibility of paying the piper.

#### The Tail Wagging the Dog

There are various British ways of laughing at absurd incidents or phenomena. One of these is to say that, instead of the dog wagging the tail, the tail wags the dog. But as in India, it would be "slave mentality" or "ideological mendicancy" to laugh at the tail wagging the dog in imitation of what Englishmen do, in Indian National Congress circles



it would seem to have been accepted as the correct thing for the tail to wag the dog. For, in the plenary session of the Congress, at meetings of the Congress Working Committee and the Congress Parliamentary Board, and in the Legislative Assembly the tail has uniformly wagged the dog. But in Bengal at any rate in a gathering of Congressmen of whom the vast majority would be those who had condemned and "rejected" the Communal Decision, we thought that the tail would not be able to wag the dog when we read in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* on the morning of the 19th April last that a certain gentleman would move the resolution (which we are discussing in this note). No doubt, he cleverly got others to move and second it. But the tail has wagged the dog all the same.

But let us come to the point and consider what is petitioning.

#### What Petitioning Means

Let us assume that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya will go to England and will see the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India and other British statesmen who are members of the British Government. Will that be petitioning? Mahatma Gandhi saw Lord Reading when he was Viceroy, he saw Lord Irwin when he was Viceroy, and he sought in vain to see the present Viceroy. Gandhiji did not order the two Viceroys whom he saw to come to him, nor did he order Lord Willingdon to come to see him. He had to ask for permission to go to them and to see them—that is the usual constitutional way. At that time did any Congressman or any assemblage of Congressmen ever say that Mahatmaji was guilty of the high crime and misdemeanour of petitioning? Why then should Mr. Malaviya be accused of petitioning if he wanted to see functionaries of higher standing than the Governor-General of India? There is only one answer, namely, that Mahatma Gandhi is the political *guru* of numerous Congressmen for whom it would be blasphemy to breathe a word against him, whereas Mr. Malaviya is not their *guru*. What Mahatmaji did was certainly for the good of India according to his lights. Is it heresy to think that Mr. Malaviya may possibly be moved by the same high desire of serving India?

#### National Self-respect

The resolution says that a certain line of action would be "derogatory to India's self-respect." Why was it not considered derogatory to India's self-respect when Mahatmaji did similar things? Of course, he did not lead a deputation to the Viceroys but went to them alone. But does that constitute any essential or substantial difference?

#### "Protests," "Demands," Etc.

A dependent country can become free in two ways, the way of rebellion and the constitutional way. Rebellion may take the form of a war of independence or of non-cooperation and civil disobedience. In the case of a successful rebellion of either kind, the rebels may rightly claim that they have not followed the method of petitioning either directly or indirectly. So long as Congress had been actively carrying on the campaign of civil disobedience, it, or at least its actually non-co-operating members, could claim that they were not political mendicants. But since the suspension of civil disobedience it would be difficult to fully maintain such a claim. Those Congressmen who have entered the Legislative Assembly or other legislative bodies may make national "demands," may raise their voices of protest, may defeat the Government and may carry motions of adjournment: but so long as they or the people of India whom they represent have not the power to take what they demand, the demand is really a prayer in heroic language; so long as they have no power themselves to change what they protest against, the protest is a camouflaged petition; so long as they cannot change the policy and the personnel of the Government defeated, the infliction of defeats is no better than unsuccessful petitioning; and the carrying of motions of adjournment in the present powerless condition of the people of India only makes our impotence all the more conspicuous.

#### Heroism and the Pose of Heroism

Heroism and the self-sacrifice and suffering involved therein cannot but be respected. Even unwise acts of courage may evoke feelings of respect for the doers of useless deeds of daring. But the pose of heroism only excites risibility.



### Propaganda Tour and Petitioning

The Bengal Provincial Conference has very generously not opposed "any propaganda tour in England and elsewhere to enlighten public opinion against the Communal 'Award'." But what are the implications of such propaganda tours to enlighten public opinion in England and elsewhere? Public opinion abroad is to be enlightened not for the fun of such enlightening. It is to be done with an ulterior object in view. Take British public opinion first. Suppose we are able to enlighten British public opinion and bring round a section of the British public to believe that India's case against the Communal Decision and India's case for freedom are just. Is this mere conversion of a section of the British public all that Indians want? No. They desire that this section should bring pressure to bear on or ask the present or some future Government of Britain to do justice to India. Is not such a desire an indirect form of petitioning? Similarly, propaganda in any other foreign country can be carried on only with the desire that at least a section of the people of that country should use its influence to persuade or prevail upon Britain to be just to India. Such a desire can also be construed as indirect petitioning.

All this may seem mere hair-splitting. But the over-squeamishness of the Bengal Provincial Conference is responsible for this over-subtlety.

### What Is Not Futile

Even if the proposed deputation had gone to England early this year, say in January or February, our personal opinion is that it would not have succeeded in bringing about the rejection of the Communal Decision or its alteration for the better to any substantial extent. If it goes now or some days hence, which in view of Mr. Malaviya's ill-health is not likely, there is still less hope of success. Other gentlemen whose names have been mentioned in connection with the deputation may have been or may be more sanguine, but we have never been. Just as in the case of our journalistic labours, so in our other public activities, we work merely from a sense of duty or with a view to ultimate results. As we are not of an enthusiastic temperament, failure does not greatly dis-

appoint or depress us. Without pretending to be animated by the spirit of the high teaching of the *Gita* of working without desiring the fruit thereof, in actual practice we go on labouring without any immediate prospect of gaining our object.

As the Bengal Provincial Conference has expressed the opinion that the deputation would be futile, it may not be useless or improper to inquire what are the activities of Congressmen in relation to Government which are not futile. Take the work of our M.L.A.'s in the Legislative Assembly. All that they have done may have a moral value. But what is the actual result? Have they been able to make the Government do in a single instance what they wanted done? Our Conferences pass numerous resolutions many of which want Government to do, undo or not do various things. Does Government pay any heed to these resolutions? If immediate results be the only criteria, all these kinds of political activity are futile. Why then single out Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's proposed deputation alone for labelling it as futile?

As the editor of this journal is not a Congressman, the Conference resolution does not touch him at all. This note has been written with the object of throwing some dry light on the subject.

### *The Bengal Provincial Conference*

The proceedings of the Bengal Provincial Conference were throughout marked by enthusiasm. The walk-out staged by a few Muhammadan Bengalis claiming to be nationalists was a regrettable affair. But it could not be helped. Owing to the interested partiality shown to them by Government in the Communal Decision, in the quota of jobs reserved for them in the public services, in the special provisions made and expenses incurred for their education, and in various other ways, most Muhammadans have become like spoilt children. If any one objects to any of these discriminations made by Government in their favour from interested motives, the objector himself becomes a communalist and these Muhammadans themselves become nationalists—of course in the eyes of these Muhammadans themselves! The attempt of Congress to placate them even when they are

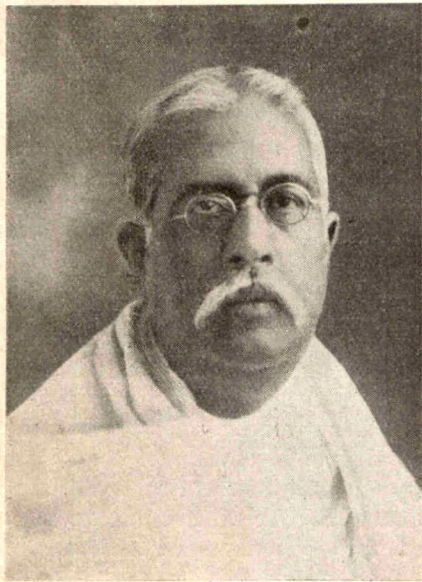


anti-national and unreasonable has spoilt them more.

### *Speech of Mr. Jogindra Chandra Chakrabarti*

Mr. Jogindra Chandra Chakrabarti, the eloquent, devoted and erudite Congress leader of North Bengal, was quite appropriately chosen to fill the office of the chairman of the reception committee of the Bengal Provincial Conference. He concluded his able address of welcome to the delegates by observing :

Bengal had some special problems to deal with. The question of detenus should attract the attention of all. They were being detained on suspicion and their number was 2,700. Nobody would complain if they were publicly tried and awarded punishment when found guilty. But the fact that they were being detained simply on suspicion could not be supported. Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose had been compelled to leave his country. Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, brother of Subhas Chandra, who was being detained for a long time without trial had asked Government to place his case before a public tribunal, but this request was not acceded to by the authorities.



Mr. Jogindra Chandra Chakrabarti

Proceeding the speaker referred to the economic depression in the province and unemployment among Bengali youths. He held that unemployment was not confined to educated people only, but it had also spread among the agriculturists and labourers. Politics and economics were two allied subjects, and one could not be discussed to the exclusion of the other.

The question would naturally arise, what was the practical programme before the province following which the problems peculiar to Bengal could be

successfully solved. He thought they should first start with the work of spreading education among the masses. This would bring real and lasting benefit to their motherland, as it would be the best means of reorganising villages. Dinajpur being the venue of this conference the speaker proceeded to discuss the health and educational progress of this particular place. Though as in other districts the education board had been established in this district, up till now no proof had been received that efforts were being made to educate every man and woman here. Certainly it would be a noble ideal on the part of the Congress if it took the initiative in this direction.

In conclusion he said they had all gathered there as votaries of their mother Bengal and should forget all dissensions. Only one aim should be their beacon light that they wish to be useful sons and daughters of their mother. They were all children of the same mother Bengal whose food, water and air had nourished them; whose prosperity would be their prosperity and whose adversity would bring miseries to them all. This bond of unity should inspire them in all their endeavours, and make them proceed towards their goal—all with the one aim, one ideal and with the same inspiration, so that forgetting all differences they would be able to cry in one voice "Bande mataram."

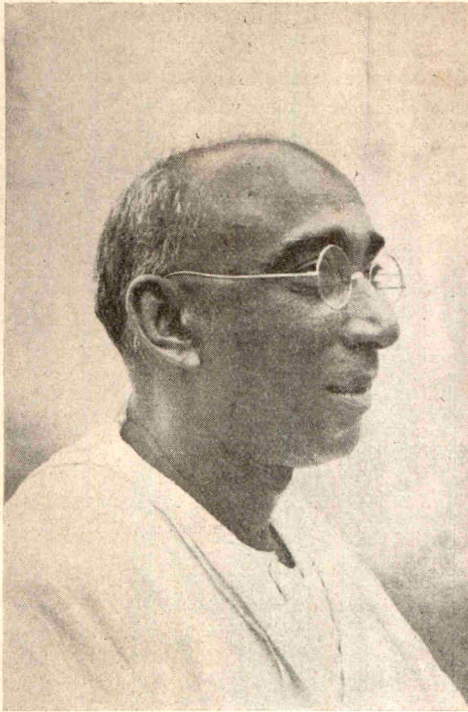
### *Dr. Indra Narayan Sen Gupta's Address*

Dr. Indra Narayan Sen Gupta, the devoted and self-sacrificing Congress leader, who was fittingly elected to occupy the presidential chair at the Dinajpur session of the Bengal Provincial Conference, delivered a concise but comprehensive address. Regarding the plan of constructive work of the Congress he said :

As to the constructive work the Congress has set up three organizations, *viz.*, the All-India Spinners' Association, the Harijan Board, and the Village Industries Association. Workers of these organizations cannot actively participate in politics. The consequent diversion of workers cannot help weakening the integrity of the Congress and adversely affect the national interest. The Congress is essentially a political organization and its political activities alone have contributed to its glory. If, however, Congress workers at present engage themselves exclusively in constructive activities of non-political character, it is sure to tell upon the prestige of the Congress, and bereft of political significance the constructive work as well may not assume its proper proportions. It is a matter of common experience that the political movement adds a fillip to constructive work, like the spread of Charka and Khadi to the exclusion of foreign stuff.

But it is regrettable that the spirit of Swadeshi is not enduring enough. There should be constant propaganda for the use of Swadeshi. The establishment of the Village Industries Association is undoubtedly a move in the right direction. It would indeed be a great achievement if the Association succeeds in reviving dead and dying industries and the self-sufficient village economy. But unless there develops sufficient love for Swadeshi, mere manufacture of village products cannot carry us far.





Dr. Indra Narayan Sen Gupta

As to the Congress organization, after the repression of last three years, the one thing needed is to reorganize them for this purpose. It is essential that we get in touch with the workers throughout the province. They need be organized into a well-knit body. There is no doubt the eternal want of pence; but that is not an insuperable barrier. Khadi, Harijan, and village industries work must be pushed through. Labour and agricultural movement as well should have our full support. Congress workers may as well take up the noble work of imparting education to the village folk.

### *Bengal Provincial Conference Resolutions*

Resolutions were passed at the Dinajpur session of the Bengal Provincial Conference appreciating the services rendered to the national cause by the people; urging the B. P. C. C. to appoint a committee to frame a scheme for organizing and financing elementary education on national lines; appealing to the people to use village-made articles and requesting them to help the All-India Village Industries Association; protesting against the present repressive policy of the Government and calling upon the people of Bengal to demand the release of the detenus and the withdrawal of the repressive laws; rejecting

the Communal Decision, urging the A. I. C. C. to revise the Congress attitude towards it, requesting it to make attempts to solve the communal question, condemning the new Congress constitution, protesting against the non-inclusion of any Bengal representative in the Congress Working Committee and urging the Congress to take in Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose; condemning the curse of untouchability; and condemning the dirty lying propaganda against India carried on in America and Europe through films and newspapers by interested parties, thanking Mr. Subhas Bose and Dr. Anklesaria for their services in fighting this propaganda and urging the Congress Working Committee to take steps to counteract it.

The Conference also passed the following resolutions:

"Whereas it was the inalienable right of the Indian people to determine their own constitution and whereas only a constituent assembly, elected by the entire nation, could be convened when the nation had acquired sufficient strength to achieve its object of complete independence and could frame such a constitution, this conference is of opinion that the constitution which was sought to be forced upon this country should not be accepted. Upon this end the Indian National Congress should concentrate its attention by capturing the legislatures set up under the new constitution and by refusing to accept the offices of ministers, followed by persistent attempts to bring about the suspension of the sham constitution and by preparing the country for direct action through which alone could the nation realise its right to self-determination."

"In view of the deplorable economic condition of the peasants of Bengal, this conference requests the B. P. C. C. to form a sub-committee to enquire into the actual conditions, that is to say, their indebtedness, rate of interest, productivity of the soil, income and expenditure and their capacity to pay, etc., with a view to devise ways and means to ameliorate their condition and further requests the Provincial Congress Committee to take all necessary steps to give effect to the recommendations of the committee."

"This Conference is of opinion that the terms of compromise proposed in connection with the Jinnah-Rajendra Prasad unity talk at Delhi regarding communal decision are altogether unsatisfactory and unacceptable and urges upon the Bengal members of the A. I. C. C. to oppose any resolution regarding the settlement of communal problem on these terms."

"This Conference further requests the A. I. C. C. and the Congress Working Committee not to make any settlement of the communal problem so far as Bengal is concerned without previous consultation with the representatives of public opinion of this province."

"This Conference is also of opinion that a Sub-Committee consisting of twelve members, six from each community in Bengal, be formed within a month with the object of devising all possible means for an agreed solution of the question in this province."



*Lala Dev Raj*

The late Lala Dev Raj was a prominent leader of the Arya Samaj and was closely associated with almost all social reform movements in the Panjab. He was best known,



Lala Dev Raj

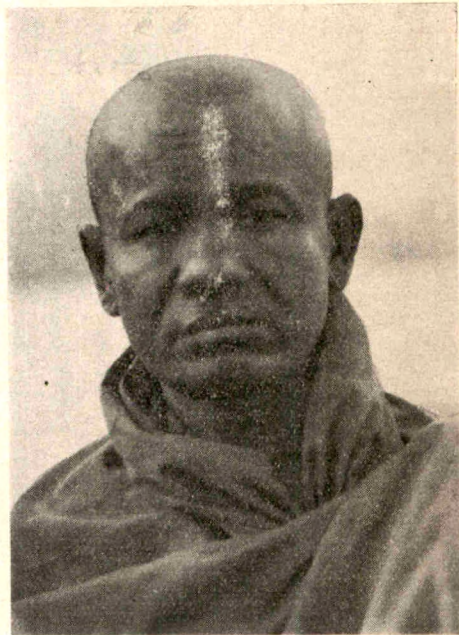
however, as the founder of the Kanya Mahavidyalaya of Jullundur. He worked for it with single-minded zeal for about half a century, making it one of the most remarkable educational institutions in the country. He was a man of high intellectual attainments, which were concealed under a plain exterior. He was animated by a true religious spirit. Sincerity of purpose and unselfish devotion to duty marked his whole career.

*Bhikshu Uttama's Presidential Address*

That the Cawnpore session of the Hindu Mahasabha was presided over by a Buddhist monk from Burma shows the catholic and tolerant spirit which inspires the Hindu Mahasabha movement. This session was attended by some Buddhist monks from Burma, Japan, Siam and China and a Chinese Buddhist nun,

and, of course, by thousands of Hindus. In the opinion of Bhikshu Uttama, the president, Buddhists are Hindus and the Buddha, the founder of their faith, was a Hindu of Hindus. It was a remarkable address which he delivered. Regarding the duty of the Hindu Mahasabha at the present juncture, he said:

Friends, the Hindu Mahasabha, if it is to be true to the aims and objects for the furtherance of which



Bhikshu U. Uttama

it had been started, cannot sit with folded hands trusting to the power of prayers to work miracles in regard to this grave menace to the growth of healthy nationalism in India. Its clear duty will be to continue to carry on a raging and tearing campaign throughout the country in such a way as to convince our Muslim brethren how the provisions of the Communal Award are likely to prove detrimental to their best interests in the long run and how it would lead to increased inter-communal tension outside and inside the legislatures so that real power may continue to be in the hands, as Mr. C. Y. Chintamani so nicely put, of our inescapable trustees of the I. C. S. headed by a Governor-General and Governors with many and important powers centred in them as authorities external and superior to the Government responsible to their respective legislatures.

As regards the separation of Burma from India he observed:

"I consider the proposed separation of Burma from India as a step towards the dismemberment of the great Hindu Nation and a grave menace to the ancient Aryan culture which has existed in India through long, long ages extending over millennium



after millennium. And I am of opinion that the All-India Hindu Mahasabha would be perfectly within its rights to take up this issue and devise ways and means for averting this contemplated blow towards Hindu solidarity."

In his opinion the aims and objects of the Mahasabha are perfectly legitimate.

"The Hindu Mahasabha has never been actuated by any desire to encroach on the rights and privileges of other sister communities. Its sole concern has been to safeguard the legitimate interests of the members of the Hindu community and prevent these being adversely affected in any way. If the instinct of self-preservation is regarded as perfectly legitimate in the case of even the meanest creature on God's earth, I do not understand why it should be denied only to the Hindu community."

### *Hindu Mahasabha Resolution on Constitutional Reforms*

The most important resolution of the Cawnpore session of the Hindu Mahasabha, the remarkable success of which was due not a little to the ability and untiring efforts of Mr. Brijendra Swarup, the chairman of its reception committee, was the one on the question of constitutional reforms, and it was moved by Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar. It ran as follows :

"This session of the Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that the Government of India Bill, now before Parliament, is totally unacceptable to every section of Indian opinion and should not be proceeded with any further as the constitution it proposes is regarded on all hands as much worse than the existing one and even reactionary and obstructive to the growth of nationalism and democracy, chiefly on account of its communal scheme, which will keep the communities constantly estranged from each other.

"In view of the fact that the British Parliament is so constituted that it is incapable of reflecting much less representing, Indian opinion and interests in any way, further, in view of the fact that the constitution-making, now in progress, for India by that Parliament has not satisfied any section of opinion in India, this session of the Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that the situation calls for a radically different constitutional procedure whereby the task of constitution-making for British India should be left as the concern of the Emperor of India and the Indian people on the lines of the Statute of Westminster and the political conventions operating in the case of the self-governing dominions, and also, having regard to the Royal Titles Act of 1876 and its legal implications."

Some newspapers, mostly of the Congress school, have ridiculed the mover of this resolution and the Hindu Mahasabha. But nothing more has been said in the critical and condemnatory portions of the resolution than is strictly true or than what has been said in Indian Nationalist newspapers of all schools

and by Congressmen and other advanced Indian politicians in and outside the legislatures. The Hindu Mahasabha is no more deserving of ridicule for calling in question the moral right of the British Parliament to legislate for India than was the Indian National Congress when it challenged the British Government of India to rule and legislate for Indians. The only portion of the resolution on which there is or can be difference of opinion is where His Majesty the Emperor of India is asked to do a certain thing. It is no valid objection to say that His Majesty will not do it; for Nationalist newspapers and Nationalist public men in and outside the Council Chambers almost daily ask the British and Indian Governments to do or refrain from doing numerous things which these authorities never do or refrain from doing. The question then arises, whether His Majesty the Emperor of India has the power to do what the resolution asks him to do. The mover is a constitutional lawyer and says that His Majesty has that power. Not having studied the question, we are unable to pronounce any independent opinion on it. But we may be permitted to ask, if the title Empress or Emperor of India did not or does not add to the powers of the British sovereign in relation to India, why was the trouble taken to get the Royal Titles Act of 1876 passed. Merely to make her or him vainglorious titular Empress or Emperor of India, like our vainglorious titular Maharajas and Nawabs?

### *Gorakhpur Session of U. P. Liberal Conference*

During the last Easter holidays Gorakhpur held a successful session of the United Provinces Liberal Conference. The chairman of its reception committee was Munshi Adiya Prasad, who is chairman of the Gorakhpur municipal board and a member of the provincial legislative council.

In the course of his short speech he said :

If I may offer a word of suggestion, to this Conference, I would say that we resolve to place on record a clear and unambiguous expression of our opinion that the Hoare India Bill is wholly absolutely and totally unacceptable to our party, and we pledge ourselves so to mould the public opinion of the country that the British people may have no shadow of a doubt in their mind that the country in whose ostensible interest they are framing this measure rejects it, lock, stock and barrel.





Mr. Adiya Prasad

Rai Rajeswar Bali made an excellent president. He is a man of broad outlook and culture and an earnest and sincere public man. Having been a Minister of the U. P. Government, he possesses administrative experience. His views on the coming constitutional reforms are, therefore, entitled to serious consideration. Anglo-Indian (old style) officers, high and low, should attach special importance to his opinions also because he belongs to the class of landlords, who in Anglo-Indian (old style) opinion are natural leaders of the people having a stake in the country. But we are sure the alien rulers will be able to discover in him some original sin which disqualifies him for natural leadership when they come across passages like the following in his presidential address condemnatory of the India Bill :

Firstly, the Governor-General and Governors shall be the real custodians of the main reserves of power, which they shall protect from popular encroachment under the quadruple locks of ordinary powers of interference, extraordinary powers of interference, safeguards and special responsibilities. Secondly, the military and the police, which are the chief supports of this power, shall be outside the control of the Indian Minister; the former wholly and avowedly; the latter for all practical purposes. Thirdly, the Indian Civil and Police Services which are the chief arms of this power, shall continue to flourish uninfluenced by Indian opinion and without the fear of any further Indianization. And, lastly, the fiscal and monetary policies shall continue to be dictated by interests other than those of the people of this country.



Rai Rajeswar Bali

### *"Amrita Bazar Patrika" Contempt Case*

An article having appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which contained some criticism of the judges of the Calcutta High Court, its editor Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh and its printer Mr. Tarit Kanti Biswas were tried summarily by a full bench of the High Court, his lordship the Chief Justice presiding. The editor said the article was printed during his absence from Calcutta, but he took full responsibility for it. Though asked whether he would apologize, he did not do so. The printer also did not apologize. The editor was sentenced to three months' and the printer to one month's simple imprisonment. All the judges, except Mr. Justice Manmathanath Mukherji, delivered concurrent though separate judgments. Sir Manmathanath Mukherji was against the summary trial of the accused, though he thought the article had libelled the judges. We are not competent to pronounce judgment on the judgments, but think that if the accused had not been summarily tried but had been given ample time to prepare their defence, public opinion would have been satisfied without jeopardizing the administration of justice in the least.

As regards the judgments, one passage in that of Mr. Justice Lort-Williams has lingered



in our memory. Therein his lordship stated that according to Lord Russell persons have ceased to be tried for contempt of court in England. That his lordship attributed to the rising of the standard of public decency in that country. We do not know how judges in England acquit themselves as judges



Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh,  
Editor of *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*

and as members of society and whether British newspaper men have any occasion to criticize the judges. So, we cannot pronounce any opinion, one way or the other, on the correctness of the statement that the standard of public decency has risen, if it relates to newspaper comments on judges. But as regards comments, whether oral or printed, on politicians and statesmen, Indian standards continue to be higher than even some very recent British samples of criticism. For instance, the other day an M. P. referred to the Premier in the House of Commons as a pig or a swine, and some women visitors on the same occasion used very unparliamentary language in relation to many members of Parliament. Indians consider such language quite uncivilized.

We note that High Court Judges in India possess greater powers of protecting them-

selves against uncomplimentary language than H. M. the King of England, the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General of India. Therefore Indian journalists should be very careful when they write anything about our High Courts and their lordships the judges.

Hitherto we had been under the impression that only comments or other writings on cases which were *sub judice*, or direct defiance or disobedience of the orders of a court, and similar things which interfered with the course of justice, constituted contempt of court. That was due to our ignorance.

We assure the editor and the printer of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* that we feel for them.

### *All-India Library Conference*

The library movement in India is not yet strong, but it is a very necessary and a very important movement and has a great future.

The second All-India Library Conference was held last month at Lucknow under the presidentship of Dr. A. C. Woolner, Vice-chancellor of the Panjab University. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-chancellor of the Lucknow University, was the chairman of the reception committee. In his instructive speech of welcome to the delegates he dwelt on various kinds of libraries and made "a passing reference to two points which may perhaps be considered by your Conference.

"One of these is the collection and proper housing of old manuscripts which are scattered all over India in the most unlikely places. Unless immediate measures are taken to secure this, they will be lost for ever. I know that various Governments are doing a certain amount of work in collecting such old manuscripts but I think that the work has got to be done on a systematic and much larger scale, if we are to discharge our responsibilities to future generations.

"The other point that I wish to refer to is the encouragement of production of suitable literature in various Indian languages. The vast population of India, which is centred in villages, can be approached only by means of suitable books in the vernaculars. I do not know whether the question of the publication of books comes under the purview of a conference like this, but I have always felt that steps should be taken to produce sound and healthy literature of comparatively elementary character in all subjects in the vernaculars, so that men and women, who are able to read only their own vernacular, might not be cut off from all contact with modern ideas. A few organizations like the Hindustani



Academy are attempting some work in this direction, but at present it is like a drop in the ocean, when we consider the vast scope of this work."

Dr. Woolner's presidential address was full of relevant information. He began by saying :

Our friends ask us with languid interest what is the Library Conference? They realize, I suppose, that there are libraries scattered about the country. They might even suppose that people particularly concerned with these might have some common



Dr. A. C. Woolner

interests to discuss. Just as there might be a conference of bridge engineers, or of people concerned with light-houses. Of course, those matters would be regarded by the Philistines as of much greater importance. A broken railway bridge or a light-house that fails to function may be the cause of serious loss of life and property. The lack of bridges may hamper trade and administration, the lack of light-houses makes navigation dangerous. But libraries, after all, say too many men in the street, what do they matter? Closing libraries does not hamper trade, they say, or cause an epidemic.

Peasants, traders, lawyers and even school masters seem to get on quite happily without any books or with very few. Libraries are regarded as a luxury for the learned or as a conventional appendage of a university or of a secretariat.

To many it would seem absurd to suggest that the transport of ideas and information is more important than the transport of goods and passengers, that the diffusion of knowledge was more important to the administration than easy communications or that the warning beams of knowledge penetrating the fogs of prejudice and the darkness of ignorance are more essential to human life than navigation. Or even if homage is paid to knowledge in the abstract our friends may not realize the role that can be played by libraries in the diffusion of enlightenment.

Turning to the objects of the library movement Dr. Woolner said :

Some of the main objects of the library movement are to make people realize the importance of educational and public libraries, to break up the general apathy of the public and of Governments with regard to this matter, and to make them realize that a niggardly policy in this regard is false economy.

#### POORER COUNTRIES' EXAMPLES

If we wish to quote examples of what is done elsewhere it is not necessary to speak of the richer countries like Great Britain or the United States of America.

Dr. Woolner then very properly gave examples from two of the poorer countries.

The first is of the Slovenians, a small people in Eastern Europe, one of the ingredients of Yugo-Slavia, the kingdom of the Southern Slavs. Of these Slovenians, who have their own Slavonic dialect, there are only about one and a half million (1.1 million in Yugo-Slavia), and half of those in Slovenia live in villages of less than 500 people. The countryside is not wealthy; the chief town Ljubljana (or in German Laibach) is not very famous. Yet I find it recorded in a book published last year that 'most of the larger villages and all towns have public libraries, reading rooms and little theatre groups. Most homes, city and village alike, have book-shelves with books on them.'

'One book club had over 40,000 subscribers, another nearly 30,000, two over 20,000. Juvenile book clubs distributed 100,000 books a year among 23,000 children between ten and fourteen.'

#### BARODA.

My next example is Baroda. Every member of this conference will know something of what has been achieved in that state by the enlightened policy and personal interest of His Highness the Gaikwad. The library movement in Baroda is part of a carefully devised programme of mass education inaugurated and developed by His Highness. By 1907, elementary education was made compulsory for boys and girls throughout the State. It was soon realized that 'universal education required as an essential supplement to it a network of free public libraries which would keep literacy alive and enable men and women in rural areas to have access to sources of knowledge not hitherto open to them.' His Highness insisted that 'libraries should not limit their benefits to the few English-knowing readers but should see to it that their good work permeates through to the many' so that every citizen in the State 'may enrol himself in the people's university—the library.' A scheme of free public libraries on a grant-in-aid basis was introduced in 1910 and there is now a network of prant, town, village and travelling libraries which serve over 60 per cent of the population of the State. The latest figures I have seen (1931-32) show for a population of two and a half million 45 town and district libraries, over 800 village libraries, a dozen libraries for ladies and children and nearly 200 reading rooms.

The average standard reached in India is far below that of both the European and Indian examples given by the speaker.



### *Co-education*

There were several educational conferences held last month in different parts of the country. It is to be regretted that there is no space available to quote even a few sentences from the learned and thoughtful addresses delivered at these gatherings by the experienced presidents and other educationists. We will content ourselves with extracting the views of two of them on co-education.

Professor Dr. Hemendra Kumar Sen, of the Calcutta University Science College, presiding over a Conference of the All Bengal College and University Teachers' Association at Feni, said:



Prof. Dr. H. K. Sen

"Speaking frankly, if our daughters and sisters are to enter the struggle of economic life, is it possible to segregate the two sexes? If the former is accepted, the latter, *i.e.*, co-education, is not only inevitable but salubrious. On the other hand, if the economics of a nation is so ordained that women have no function to play in the work-a-day outdoor life, co-education may be to a great extent regarded unnecessary. But this differentiation in the vocation of the two sexes, cannot be absolute, as the fullest expression of individual life demands extended experience, and, on the whole, if the ideals of truth and justice be inculcated, disturbance in social organization is not to be feared."

Mr. A. F. Rahman, Vice-chancellor of Dacca University, in the course of his presidential address at the All Bengal Teachers'

Conference at Dacca, dwelt on the subject of the education of women.

Stressing the importance of the education of women, Mr. Rahman said that it would release a wealth of capacity which was now largely wasted. Educated women could contribute in increasing measure to the wealth, culture and activities of the country.

With regard to the question of co-education, Mr. Rahman thought that the ideal solution would be the existence of both types of institutions—the purely women's institutions and institutions where co-education was given on the distinct understanding that women are not to become appendages of men's institutions. If there was to be co-education, it should be real with women members on the teaching staff and such facilities as would enable women to have a life of their own. He agreed with the view of the Inter-University Board that there may be co-education in the primary and university stages but in the formative and adolescent stages education should be imparted in separate institutions.

### *Trade Unionists' Conference*

The 14th session of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held last month in Calcutta. Mr. Kiran Chandra Mitra, the



Mr. Kiran Chandra Mitra

chairman of its reception committee, pointed out in the course of his address of welcome that

The field for Labour Movement in Bengal is so vast that it requires hundreds of sturdy workers to guide it correctly. Out of a million workers in the Province toiling for their bread in various trades and industries, namely, Jute, Cotton, Textile, Tea



Plantation, Steel Works, Rolling Mills, Railways, Steamships, Port and Docks, Vehicular Transport, Oil and Petrol, Gas and Electricity, Foundries, Hide and Skin, Potteries and Paints, Match factories, Engineering workshops and Collieries—only about 2 lakhs have ever been organized and that even rather loosely. The India Bill is being forged to tighten the bond further and British Imperialism, hand in hand with native capitalists and parasite landlords and princes, are dancing in glee. On top of all this there is the ringing of another world war portending further untold miseries and destruction. It is therefore high time that the workers themselves should rise to the occasion, organize and strengthen their unions for their coming struggle in order that they may come out victorious and enjoy for ever a life that their toil and sacrifice entitle them to.

Mr. Hariharnath Shastri dwelt in his presidential address on the attitude to be adopted towards the Indian National Congress, on the capitalist offensive, on repression, on the J. P. C. Report (condemning it and pointing out how it has consolidated all the reactionary forces in the country), on the necessity of consolidating the radical forces,



Pandit Hariharnath Sharma

on the supreme importance of solidarity in the Trade Union Movement, on alliance with the peasantry, on contact with the youth movement and with workers in the Native States, on the organization of the unemployed,

on alliance with the Congress Socialist Party, on the slogan of the general strike, and on "the duty of the working class to carry on vigorous propaganda for release of Comrade Manabendra Nath Roy." On the first point he said :

It was impossible to convince them that the Indian National Congress with which they had so closely been connected and which was built on their sacrifices was a party of the bourgeoisie. It would be most suicidal policy to denounce the Congress and allow it to drift to wrong channels. The Congress had to be made the central organization through which practical alliance of the exploited sections of the country could only be possible.

### *Mr. Subhas Bose Successfully Operated Upon*

It has been a great relief to learn from a cable from Vienna, dated the 24th April, that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was successfully operated upon on that day by Professor Demel, an authority in internal diseases, and that his condition is satisfactory. Another cable sent four days later gives an equally satisfactory report. We hope he will now completely recover and be able to serve the motherland and humanity with his usual devotion and industry. Ill as he has been, he has been nevertheless unremitting in promoting



Mr. Subhas C. Bose

the welfare of India in various ways. He has protested against and drawn the attention of his countrymen to the vilification of India abroad by interested parties through films and and in other ways. Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, M.P.,



having written in a British newspaper that the Bengal detenus are kept in a state of comfort and even luxury and that their families and dependants are given adequate allowances, Mr. Bose has called upon those in India who knew the actual facts, which are presumably different from this Britisher's version, to supply him with authentic details so that he may be able to contradict him. He has been, as President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, taking great interest in its affairs and has given it necessary advice. He has already written a book on the Indian struggle and is engaged in writing another. He is actively interested in giving publicity abroad to true facts and views relating to India and will no doubt make a wise use of the funds left for the purpose by the late illustrious Indian patriot and statesman, Mr. V. J. Patel.

The portrait of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose published with this note is, we believe, the latest received in India. It was despatched from Vienna on the 19th April last, before the operation he had to undergo, and received in Calcutta on the 26th of the same month. It has been enlarged from a group.

### *Mahatma Gandhi at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan*

The object of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, stated generally, is to improve the Hindi language and literature and to spread its knowledge among those whose mother-tongue is not Hindi. The latter object loomed large at its last session, at Indore, presided over by Mahatma Gandhi, who has been trying his best for a number of years to make Hindi the lingua franca of India and eventually the language of the State. If India achieves swaraj Hindi may become the State language. But under British predominance in India there is no chance of its becoming the State language. In any case, those whose mother tongue it is and who love it deserve success in their efforts to make it the official language throughout India. It is no common devotion to their cause which has prompted and enabled them to give Mahatma Gandhi one lakh of rupees as the honorarium for presiding over the last session of the Sammelan. Gandhiji will spend

this amount for teaching Hindi to those whose mother tongue it is not.

The fact that Mahatma Gandhi wants Hindi to become the lingua franca of India gives rise to the question of what he understands by the word Hindi. As president of the Sammelan at Indore he defined it as the language which is spoken by Hindus and Muslims, written in both the Devanagari and Persian scripts, and which does not discard suitable words from English, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and other languages. So far as the language is concerned, the propriety of this definition cannot be disputed. As regards the script, no script in the world is perfect; but the Devanagari alphabet is more phonetically and scientifically arranged than any other, and the same letter in it does not and cannot represent different sounds, nor is the same sound represented by more than one letter. But there are certain disadvantages also. These can be got rid of by various devices. The adoption of the Roman script with the requisite diacritical marks may also serve our purpose. But national sentiment is greatly against it.

In the course of his presidential address at the Indore Sammelan Mahatma Gandhi recapitulated what was being done for the preaching (*praachar*) and propagation of Hindi in different provinces. Coming to Bengal, he said,

In Bengal a Samiti was created, everything was done, Hindi-loving Bengalees were also in good number. Ramanand Babu, with the help of Benarsi Das Chaturvedi, is publishing the *Vishal Bharat*. In Calcutta there are Hindi-loving Marwaris, but whatever is being done in Bengal, should be considered as very little.

As the editor of *The Modern Review* is the proprietor of *Vishal Bharat*, it is necessary to state that, if Gandhiji's statement implies that *Vishal Bharat* was started and is conducted with the object of propagating Hindi among non-Hindi-speaking people, then he has been incorrectly informed. As Calcutta contains a far larger number of men, women and children whose mother tongue is Hindi than any other city in India, Ramanand Babu's object in starting *Vishal Bharat* was to provide these Hindi-speaking persons with a decent monthly magazine; it was not and is not his object to make those persons read *Vishal Bharat* whose mother



*tongue is some other language.* Moreover, considering the enormous sums of money with which the Hindi-speakers of Calcutta and elsewhere have filled his coffers by purchasing *Vishal Bharat*, it has become absolutely unnecessary for him to wish to lighten the pockets of non-Hindi-speakers by asking them to purchase that magazine.

### *All-India Village Industries Exhibition*

At Indore Mahatma Gandhi opened the All-India Village Industries Exhibition also, besides presiding over the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.

He drove to the exhibition ground and in the presence of 10,000 people including the leading officials of the State and business men opened the first All-India Village Industries Exhibition.

Declaring the exhibition open Gandhiji made a survey of the condition of the villages, their grinding poverty and increasing unemployment. He said he was prepared to open many more such exhibitions. "The prosperity of India was not in the cities but in its 70,000 villages. This exhibition has not any extraordinary things but some industries that are about to die or in a dying condition are represented. This state of things was due to the negligence of the people to this phase of rural economy. We have to make 'Prayaschitta' and this exhibition is intended in short to be a 'Prayaschitta.'

In conclusion Gandhiji appealed to the people to make use of the knowledge they gain by seeing the exhibition and work for the prosperity of the villages. He also asked the cities to encourage village industries.

### *A Hindu Merchant from America*

Dr. Satish Chandra Ghose, a veterinary surgeon of Calcutta, left India 27 years ago for America. There he started the "India Incense Company" in Chicago and has been carrying on his business there successfully for years. The Company deals in Indian incense and perfumes. After more than a quarter of a century he has returned to India for a brief visit. His object is to introduce other kinds of indigenous Indian merchandise in America after his return to that continent. Those who want their goods to be introduced there may communicate with him. He intends to be in Calcutta during the whole month of May. His address here will be, "Dr. S. C. Ghose, 48 Sankharitola East Lane, Calcutta."

### *Rajendraprasad-Jinnah Talks*

When the Anti-Communal-Decision Conference met at Delhi in February last the



Dr. Satish Chandra Ghosh

so-called Rajendraprasad-Jinnah terms of communal settlement could be seen in the hands of many persons. We read them ourselves, though we did not care to have a copy of them. And now the Associated Press has made a discovery of these terms and published them as a great journalistic scoop as it were! As the statement published by this news agency is misleading on some points,

The following statement has been issued under the signatures of Mr. Satyendra Nath Majumdar, Mr. Dhires Chandra Chakravarty, Mr. Dulal Chandra Mitra, and Mr. Chapala Kanta Bhattacharyya:—

Our attention has been drawn to a report of the Associated Press published in Calcutta papers regarding the so-called Rajendraprasad-Jinnah terms of Communal Settlement. In this connection with regard to Bengal Hindus the report states:—

"While they were willing to agree to reservation of seats for the Mussalmans on the basis of joint electorate, they opposed differential franchise and demanded nine seats in Bengal and five seats at the centre from the Mussalmans."

Having had something to do with the negotiations that were being carried on in Delhi in this connection we are in a position to state that the facts are otherwise than stated above. The Rajendraprasad-Jinnah terms were no doubt unacceptable to us; and we suggested counter-terms on the following lines:—

(1) No differential franchise for any community,



(2) Distribution of seats, other than special, between the Hindus and Mussalmans in Bengal should be according to population basis, as suggested by Lord Zetland, the minority alone having the right of forgoing the reservation, when it so chooses.

#### ZETLAND SCHEME

According to the Zetland scheme referred to above, the 51 special seats out of the total 250 seats in the Lower House in Bengal, as under the Award, should be left undisturbed. The remaining 199 should be distributed between the Hindus and Mussalmans according to the population basis (45: 54.4). In that case Mussalmans would get 109 seats instead of 119, as at present; and the Hindus 90, i.e., 10 seats more than the 80 given to them.

This is exactly how the proportion works out on population basis and our demand was no more than this. Its justness does not admit of any dispute. There was, therefore, no question, as mentioned in the A. P. report, of Hindus demanding nine seats from the Mussalmans. As regards the Centre that is a matter for All-India and not for Bengal alone.

#### *The late Mr. G. R. Abhyankar*

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri writes in *The Hitavada* that Mr. G. K. Gokhale, founder of the Servants of India Society, had so much confidence in the judgment of the late Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, whose death at the age of 62 took place last month, that he consulted him before establishing the Society. Mr. Abhyankar was best known for his just, able and well-informed advocacy of the cause of the people of the Indian States. The fact that their existence has been absolutely ignored by the paramount power throughout the long-drawn deliberations and discussions preceding the drafting of the Government of India Bill some times made him bitter in his criticism of the parties concerned, which was only to be expected. But he was really a man of a genial nature. In him the people of the Indian States have lost one of their sincerest and most devoted friends.

#### *Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's Resignation*

It is reported in the papers that Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose has sent a letter to the Governor-General tendering his resignation of his membership of the Legislative Assembly. The grounds of his resignation are understood to be two. He feels that as Government have refused to grant him facilities to discharge the duties of an elected member of the Assembly, the constituency which elected him should no longer go practically unrepresented. Secondly, as there

has been going on a keen struggle in the Assembly between the Government and the Opposition and as it is likely to be keener during the coming Simla season, the Opposition should not continue to be deprived of one vote.

Government have wronged him by depriving him of his liberty for an indefinite period without trial and wronged his constituency and the country by depriving them of his services in the Assembly. Some reparation can be made by rescinding the order under Regulation III of 1818 against him and thus allowing him to attend the Assembly as an elected member. Partial reparation can also be made by at least giving him facilities for discharging his duties as an M. L. A.

#### *Prisoners and Silver Jubilee Rejoicings*

The Canadian Government have decided to release some prisoners at any rate on the occasion of the King's silver jubilee, in order that they too may participate in the rejoicings of the season, thus following an immemorial custom. The Government of India should follow suit. First of all the detenus should be released, on suitable honourable conditions in some cases, if necessary. In any case, just as it is usual on such occasions to remit part of the sentence of some prisoners, the detenus should at least be told definitely when the period of their detention will terminate. In the case of ordinary prisoners, some at least should be released and in the case of others there should be partial remission of their sentences. The Bengal Government and other Provincial Governments should accede to the request of the Feeding of the Poor Sub-Committee of the Calcutta Silver Jubilee Celebrations Committee that May 6 should be declared a jail holiday and special rations should be allowed to all prisoners on that day, so that they also may feel some pleasure on the occasion.

#### *Un-free India and the Silver Jubilee*

On the occasion of His Majesty King George V's silver jubilee there will be illuminations and much pomp and pageantry throughout the British Empire, including India. In this country, even the most ardent sane advocates of independence and freedom will wish a long life and happiness to Their



Majesties the King and Queen. But it will not be true to say that those persons in India who know and feel that they are not free will rejoice as wholeheartedly as His Majesty's free subjects elsewhere. On the day and night of the jubilee celebrations in the free countries of the Empire, just as there will be no darkness outside, so there will be no gloom of political despondency in the hearts of the people.

### *Devastating Earthquake in Formosa*

According to a Reuter's cable, dated Taihoku (Formosa) April 22, three thousand persons dead, 11,386 injured, 10,000 houses collapsed and 11,000 houses damaged are the latest figures relating to the havoc caused by the earthquake in Formosa, according to the governor-general of that island.

We sincerely sympathize with the sufferers from this great disaster.

### *Labour Minority View of J. P. C. Report*

Mr. C. R. Attlee, M. P., who was a member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, has contributed an article on "The Indian Report" to the April number of *The Asiatic Review*. On the two Houses at the Centre he observes :

The Council of State is an extra cog in the wheel. Particularly when it is given equal power with the Lower House and it is provided that this bulky, enormous body shall have a joint session some time or other. I do not know where they will sit—out in the open, I suppose. When you have a joint session like that, and you give equal powers to both Houses, why not have one House?

As regards foreign affairs not being transferred to Indian control, he thinks,

If you are going to be logical, if you do not give India control of her foreign affairs, you ought not to make her pay for her defence. I think, if you look through the whole range of precedents of the British Commonwealth, you will find that where provinces have not had responsible government, they have not paid for their own defence. India has paid for her own defence, and her defence apart from the local circumstances, the North-West Frontier and so on, depends on foreign policy. If the foreign policy is in the hands of the Government here, India may be affected by issues quite outside her own interests.

I think also that we need to remember that we are living in a new age; that foreign affairs should be, if they are not, a matter for Geneva; that India is already a member of the League of Nations. I think it is reasonable that when we move on, as I hope we shall, to a new and different kind of foreign

affairs, that India should have command of her own destinies.

Again, as regards finance, he observes :

I cannot understand why India should not have charge of her finance. Nobody is free unless they have charge of their finance. There was a man up at Oxford in my time who used to have to write home to his parents every time he wanted to buy anything and they sent him a postal order. It was a bad training for that lad, and I do not think he remained solvent very long. A special responsibility is placed on the Governor-General in respect of finance. I do not think it is either necessary or right. I think you have to exercise trust in the matter.

His opinions on safeguards also are frankly stated.

To my mind when you come to consider safeguards, the only effective safeguard is goodwill.

I do not much believe in safeguards to this and that. I know there are some safeguards you have to have, unfortunately, because of distrust by certain sections of Indians of each other. I do not believe in all these other safeguards. I am certain that with regard to commerce it is perfectly futile to put in safeguards, because if there is one particular part of political practice that has been thoroughly learnt in India it is the boycott. I cannot conceive how you are going to make people buy our goods if they do not want to. Therefore we say, reduce safeguards to a minimum, and let them gradually fall into desuetude as they have in the rest of the Dominions.

Let us take the same way in the Provinces. I say let us reduce the safeguards as far as possible. I do not think you can get very far on fear. The only way to conquer it is by goodwill. Above all, if we want to get anywhere, we must remember that India at the stage now reached cannot be ruled against her will, because the sentiment of Indian Nationalism runs right through your educated classes, including those in Government service.

Regarding Defence his advice is :

At the Centre from the start work for complete responsibility. Do not cut, say, the reserved subject of defence right off. Have a statutory committee of your Legislature, and hope Indians will gradually get more and more experience and more and more control, and have a definite programme of Indianization, until you will come to the time in which you can hand that over, because that after all is the biggest obstacle of all in regard to full self-government.

### *British Labour and Indian Seamen*

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta has rightly shown that the British Labour Party want to deprive Indian seamen of their jobs in British ships. And yet they talk of international solidarity in the ranks of labour throughout the world irrespective of colour and creed !

### *"Futile" Discharge of Duty*

Should one do one's duty when there is little or no prospect—at any rate no immediate prospect—of being rewarded with the attain-



ment of one's object? This question has been answered directly and indirectly in many of the sacred books of India. Miss Margaret Barr, M. A., Unitarian Minister of Religion, who works in Calcutta and the Khasi Hills, has pointed this out in *The Inquirer* of London, as follows:

In a report under the heading 'The Relationship between Goodness and God,' in *The Inquirer* of February 9, the Rev. G. S. Whitby states: "In comparatively recent years certain thinkers have recognized that goodness is independent of any sanction or Divine will, and that good activities can only be considered ethically worth while in so far as they are indulged in for their own sake" (my italics). If he were to study the ancient Scriptures of the East he would find that there is nothing recent about such teaching, except perhaps in Christian communities.

I am glad to have the opportunity of raising this matter, as I find increasingly that this teaching constitutes not only the keynote of the Bhagavad Gita (the best beloved of all Hindu scriptures), but also the most unanswerable challenge of Indians to the claim of Christianity to be the greatest of the world's religions. The example of Christ, of course, illustrates the same point, but I can find little in his words that does so, and a great deal that suggests the exact opposite. It is doubtless implicit in such parables as the Good Samaritan and the Sheep and the Goats, but in Hindu scriptures it is more than implicit, it is stated clearly and explicitly over and over again. The following are two striking passages out of many:

"Find full reward  
Of doing right in right! Let right deeds be  
Thy motive, not the fruit which comes from them.  
Which seek reward for works, make sacrifice  
Now, to the lower gods. I say to thee  
Here have they their reward."  
(Bhagavad Gita).

She gives another example.

The second passage is from the Ramayana, one of the world's greatest epics. The hero, Rama, has many griefs and troubles to go through, and on one occasion when things are at their blackest he is almost reduced to despair.

"Are the gods dead? [he cries]. Has blind Destiny become the ruler of our fates? What means this evil fortune that pursues me? Why am I, who have made Truth and Purity and Kindliness the rule of my life, thus hated by the gods? It were best to change my conduct, since this is the meed Heaven keeps to pay the righteous."

But that thought does not conquer. A moment later he continues, in a speech which should be known to everyone in East and West who cares about the triumph of the spirit of man:

"I was wrong. Virtue is a service man owes to himself, and though there were no Heaven, nor any God to rule the world, it were no less the binding law of life. It is man's privilege to know the right and follow it. Betray and persecute me, brother men! Pour your rage on me, O malignant devils. Smile, or watch my agony with cold disdain, ye blissful gods! Earth, Hell, and Heaven, combine

your might to crush me—I will still hold fast by this inheritance! My strength is nothing—time can shake and cripple it; my youth is transient—already grief has withered up my days; my heart—alas! it seems well-nigh broken now! Anguish may crush it utterly and life may fail; but even so, my Soul, that has not tripped, shall triumph, and dying, give the lie to soulless Destiny, that dares to boast itself man's master."

Could anything be more explicit than that?

### *A Muhammadan Minister on "Weightage"*

A Muhammadan member of the Bombay Legislative Council and his friends wanted insistently that there should be weightage in Muhammadan representation in municipal and local boards as in the Legislative Council. Thereupon Sir S. N. Bhutto, a Muhammadan minister in the Bombay Government, asked rather warmly: "From where is this weightage to be given? Which community should be robbed of its representatives in order to provide more seats for the minorities?" The reply, of course, is, "The Hindu community."

Sir S. N. Bhutto's questions are like an echo of what the British Prime Minister said in the House of Commons in 1931 on the same subject of weightage:

"It is very difficult to convince these very delightful people (advocates of separate communal representation with weightage. Ed., M. R.) that if you give one community weightage, you cannot create weightage out of nothing. You have to take it from somebody else. When they discover that, they become confused indeed, and find that they are up against a brick wall."

They are not at all confused, and they are never against a brick wall when the Hindus have to be robbed of some of their due number of seats.

### *Japan's Offer of Loan to China*

Individuals among all nations have occasionally acted in a disinterested manner, even sacrificing their own worldly interests. No nation has yet acted in that spirit. It is to be presumed, therefore, that Japan's offer of adequate loans to China has been made with an ulterior object in view—particularly as she would not allow, if she could, other countries to accommodate China. That ulterior object is to have a practical monopoly in course of time of the exploitation of China's resources and of trade with that country, and the ultimate object is to make China a protectorate and dependency of Japan.



Britain has enormous financial interests involved in China and has enjoyed very great trading facilities. In self-interest she ought to have done that in the way of lending money to China which Japan wants to do. But she refrained from doing so (and thereby lost the opportunity of obtaining China's friendship, enriching herself and preventing Japan from becoming economically and politically stronger) fearing perhaps that China might with the money lent to her become organized and strong and thus indirectly a menace to her Indo-Burmese empire. Britain was also probably afraid of offending Japan, the strongest power in Asia, where this Indo-Burmese empire is situated. But a Sino-Japanese combination, with China organized with the help of Japanese money and men, would be a greater menace to all European exploiters and rulers of extensive regions in Asia.

### *Indian Statistical Institute*

As the Indian Statistical Institute does not do any work of a spectacular or sensational character, it has not drawn much public attention. Nevertheless it is an important institution carrying on valuable and useful research. Some information relating to its activities is contained in the annual report for 1934-35 presented at its last meeting by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, its honorary secretary.

A research grant of Rs. 5,000 per annum has been sanctioned by the Government of India for three years with effect from 1935-36. In terms of it, the Institute undertook to attend to inquiries of a statistical nature, to take up special investigations involving statistical analysis of data and to give special courses of training (extending from one month to a year in duration) in analytic statistics to officers deputed by Government Departments, Universities and other recognized institutions. An All-India Committee of experts was appointed to initiate and guide research work in this connection.

Another interesting item was about holding examinations for Diplomas in Statistics.

Another equally interesting proposal was to set up a Committee of businessmen, statisticians and economists to scrutinize the form and content of official statistical publications and to suggest improvements.

It is pleasant to find from the Secretary's report that the Institute has been able to win recognition abroad. Many foreign statisticians of repute are actively associating themselves in the work of the Institute. Some have contributed papers to "Sankhya: the Indian Journal of Statistics." The Institute recognized the services of one of the foremost among modern statisticians, viz., Prof. Corrado Gini of Rome, by electing him as the second Honorary Fellow, the first Honorary Fellow being Prof. Karl Pearson.

From the report of research work done in Calcutta and the three branches in Bombay, Poona and Mysore, it appears that the Institute has taken a very comprehensive view of Statistics. Most of the work was naturally concentrated in Calcutta the papers presented in the Colloquiums being on such diverse subjects as:

- (a) Organization of Statistical Studies in Europe;
- (b) Fundamental Concepts of Sampling Theory;
- (c) Statistical Analysis of Examination Marks;
- (d) Problem of Two Samples; (e) Harmonic Analysis; (f) Interpolation; (g) Problem of K-samples.

An annual research grant of Rs. 8,000 has been recently sanctioned by Imperial Council of Agriculture Research and another grant of Rs. 3,000 by the Government of Bengal. The entire statistical work of the Bengal Board of Economic Inquiry was entrusted to the Statistical Laboratory.

Sir R. N. Mukerjee was re-elected the President of the Institute. Among the Vice-Presidents are businessmen such as Sir E. C. Benthall and Lala Shri Ram, scientists such as Sir C. V. Raman, officials concerned with Statistics such as Dr. John Matthai and Dr. C. W. B. Normand. The Council is also fully representative of all provinces and interests. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis was re-elected as the Hon. Secretary and Prof. H. C. Ghose and Dr. H. Sinha as Joint Secretaries.

### *Congress and Indian States' Subjects*

JUBBULPORE, April 25.

At the A. I. C. C. meeting Mr. N. V. Gadgil (Poona) moved a resolution expressing the view that the interests of Indian States subjects were as much the concern of the Indian National Congress as those of British India and assuring the former of full support of the Congress in their cause.

Captain Avadesh Seth, Sardar Vallabh-bhai Patel, & Pandit G. B. Pant opposed the resolution, and Sardar Narbada Prasad Singh and Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya supported it. It was finally adopted without even a show of hands, as when the time for voting came none opposed it.

### *Famine Conditions in Two Madras Districts*

MADRAS, April 25.

According to a special telegram despatched to the Government of India regarding the famine conditions in Anantapur and Bellary districts for the week ending 20th April by the Local Government, there are seven relief works in Anantapur districts and five in Bellary, also two test works in Anantapur and one test work in Bellary.

The distress is acute in Anantapur, but not serious in Bellary. Cooly classes and agricultural labourers are mostly affected.

The number relieved by Anantapur works 23,876, gratuitous 7,376, total 31,252 and Bellary works 6,619, gratuitous 2,295, total 8,914.—*Associated Press.*

### *Another Collector of Folk Songs*

Readers of *The Modern Review* know that Professor Devendra Satyarthi of the Panjab



is an enthusiastic and indefatigable collector of folk songs. A young man hailing from Mymensingh has also yielded to its seductive charms.

NEW DELHI, April 24.

Sj. Harish Chandra Kar of Mymensingh who is out on an All-India tour on foot for collection of folk songs, folk poems and rural ballads of the different provinces in India, has arrived in Delhi.

The ambitious tourist started from Mymensingh on July 30 last and has so far crossed about 2,500 miles on foot. He has visited many places including Santhal Parganas, Monghyr, Patna, Gaya, Ghazipur, Buxar, Benares, Allahabad, Mirzapur, Sultanpur, Fyzabad, Ajodhya, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Agra, Meerut, Brindaban and other places.—*United Press*.

### *Firozabad Atrocities*

In the course of the disturbances in Firozabad arising out of the last Muharrum processions, the only door by which the inmates of a Hindu doctor's house could come out was closed or blocked by a Muhammadan mob, who then set fire to it. In consequence all the eleven persons including children, who were in the house, died. Hindus, individually and in Conference assembled, and many Indian newspapers have condemned these fiendish atrocities. Among Muhammadans, Sheikh Mushir Husain Kidwai of the United Provinces and Mr. Fazlal Haq of Bengal have condemned them. The Council of the All-India Muslim League, which met at Lahore on the 21st April last, seven days after the Firozabad atrocities, did not take any notice of them. Ignorance could not have been the reason.

There has been no independent official enquiry so far.

ALLAHABAD, April 26.

A Firozabad message published in a local daily says that the Government has issued strict instructions to the District Magistrate, Police Superintendent and the Commissioner not to provide any information to the press in connection with the recent communal riot.—*United Press*.

This hushing-up policy can only deepen public suspicion, amounting to conviction.

From what has appeared in the papers it seems the disturbances were not the result of a sudden outburst of fanaticism but were premeditated and pre-arranged. Many outsiders had come, *e. g.*, from Agra where the Muharrum celebrations were more spectacular than in the small town of Firozabad.

One cannot help feeling that the officers who were entrusted with the task of maintaining law and order there failed to do their duty.

### *A Women's International League on the Indian "Reforms"*

The following resolution was passed by the International Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at a meeting held in London on March 25th-30th last :

"In view of the importance of the maintenance and development of the democratic principle, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has followed closely the progress of the negotiations for self-government in India. The International Executive Committee of the W. I. L. P. F. views with grave concern the fact that the proposals for a new constitution under consideration by the Governments of the United Kingdom are unacceptable to the Indian people. It expresses its earnest desire that the situation should immediately be reviewed in consultation with Indian opinion.

"This meeting also urges upon organized groups of men and women in British India the need for a clear presentation of their case such as has been given by the Indian Princes in their recent statement issued on March 18th."

This has been done by the Hindu Mahasabha and the U. P. Liberal Conference recently.

### *A Poem by Rabindranath Tagore*

On Tuesday the 2nd April last an Indian matinee was given in London in aid of the Istamboul International Women's Congress. The performance closed with Miss McCarthy declaiming a beautiful poem entitled *Woman*, specially written by Rabindranath Tagore. It is printed below :

The fight is ended.

Shrill cries of loss trouble the air.

The gains, soiled and shattered, are a burden too heavy to carry home.

Come, Woman, bring thy breath of life.

Close all cracks with kisses of tender green.

Nurse the trampled dust into fruitfulness.

The morning wears on ;

The stranger sits homeless by the roadside, playing on his reed.

Come, woman, bring thy magic of love !

Make infinite the corner between walls,

There to build a world for him,

Thine eyes its stars, thy voice its music.

The gate-door creaks in the wind.

The time is leave-taking at the day's end.

Come, Woman, bring thy tears !

Let thy tremulous touch call out its last lyric

From the moment of parting.



Let the shadow of thy sad gaze haunt  
the road across the hills.

The night deepens ;

The house is empty ; its loneliness aches  
with silence.

Come, woman, bring thy lamp of vigil !

Enter thy secret chamber of sorrow.

Make the dark hours quiver with the  
agony of thy prayer.

Till the day dawns in the East.

### *Bengal Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition*

The Bengal Provincial Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition, organized in connection with the political conference at Dinajpur, was opened on the 19th April last by Dr. Praphulla Chandra Ghosh, whose sufferings and sacrifices in the cause of the country are well known. A brief summary of his address is given below :

"I am not opposed to machinery being introduced in our country. But I am opposed to placing the machine on the divine altar of the Soul. Machine-phobia is a crime: no less a crime is machine-mania."

Dr. Ghosh proceeded, "In order to solve the acute problem of unemployment among our youths, we have to revive our decadent cottage industries. Our innumerable cottage industries if revived can provide employment to thousands of young men."

Dr. Ghosh next described the sad plight of the different cottage industries of Bengal. As for instance, the silk-industry. Dr. Ghosh stressed the necessity of levying protective duty on the articles imported from other countries which have been gradually encroaching upon the indigenous industries in the Indian market. He also pointed out the necessity of providing special facilities for production and sale to poor village artisans of Bengal. Another factor which stood in the way of the revival of Bengal's village industry, Dr. Ghosh said, was the high rate of interest prevailing in the villages. Any move towards the restoration of Bengal's dying industries would ever be useless unless a solution of this problem had been found out. The village artisan as the village agriculturist is much in need of credit facilities, which they do not at all get from the village Mahajans.

Turning to the agriculturists in the villages, Dr. Ghosh pointed out the necessity of a co-ordinated plan of improving the fertilization of lands. He gave a long list of cheap manures which, if properly applied, might yield immense benefit towards this direction. Dr. Ghosh emphasized that propaganda among the rural population was very essential to remove the darkness of illiteracy and ignorance in the villages which are the cause of so many evils now rampant in the land.

Referring to the jute restriction scheme recently adopted by Government, Dr. Ghosh said that he was not opposed to the scheme. But, he said, with the restriction of the area of jute land, restriction of prices was also necessary. Moreover, the quality of

jute is not the same in each district. So a general restriction of jute cultivation in every district in equal proportion would be an economic blunder and an unalloyed evil not only to the agriculturist of the village but to the whole nation at large, which should very cautiously be avoided.

In conclusion, Dr. Ghosh pointed out the two evils in Bengal, namely, communalism and provincialism, which greatly retarded the economic and political progress of the province.

### *Cawnpore Hindu Mahasabha Session*

In some of our previous notes we have referred to the Cawnpore session of the Hindu Mahasabha. From many points of view it was a very important and successful session. Bhikshu Ottama's address has been referred to before. The address of Mr. Brijendra Swarup, chairman of the reception committee, was lucid, powerful and an able presentation of the Hindu cause.

We have already printed the principal resolution of this session. Other resolutions related to the communal decision, the Government of India Bill, the Karachi firing, the Firozabad atrocities, Hindu *sangathan*, Buddha Gaya temple question, promotion of harmony and solidarity among different Hindu sects, communal representation in services etc.

### *Professor A. C. Mukherjee*

By the death of Rai Bahadur Professor Abhay Charan Mukherjee the United Provinces have lost a distinguished educationalist. He was a brilliant student who stood first in all University examinations up to the M.A. Entering the educational service he rose to be the senior professor of English literature in Muir Central College, Allahabad, the premier Government College in the province. He was afterwards appointed secretary to the High School and Intermediate Education Board, U. P. He was very conscientious and dutiful in the discharge of his duties and consequently often overworked himself. That was probably one of the reasons why he died prematurely at the age of 56. He was simple and unassuming in his manners and very popular with his students, whom he tried to help in every way.

### *The India Bill and Dominion Status*

Unless one writes a rather big book one cannot bring out in full the reactionary, retrograde and mischievous character of the India Bill now before the British House of Commons. It is only one or two points that we can now and then touch upon.



Sir Samuel Hoare stated in the House of Commons some time ago that the British Government adhered to all their pledges and promises in relation to India, including the goal of dominion status. But as the Bill was introduced without a preamble, it could not be stated in the preamble that dominion status has India's political goal. The present Government of India Act is to be repealed with the exception of its preamble. But the chairman has ruled that nothing about dominion status can be added to this preamble. So the "declared policy of Parliament" would not be to lead India to the goal of dominion status, but what it is stated to be in this preamble, namely,

"To provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government in British India as an integral part of the empire :

"And . . . progress in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages, . . .

"And . . . the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples."

And this preamble cannot be changed—not at any rate by us.

This is self-determination with a vengeance !

It is probable that Labour members will make an attempt to shove in the words Dominion status somewhere in the Bill at its third reading. That attempt will not succeed. We shall wait to see how it is frustrated.

### *Civil Services and The India Bill*

Chapter II of Part X of the India Bill deals with the civil services, that is, generally speaking, with the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Medical Service (Civil) and the Indian Police Service, and, also posts concerned with irrigation. Recruitment, pay, leave, pensions, punishment, etc., so far as these services are concerned, will be under the control of the Secretary of State, not that of the Government of India. Clause 251 of the Bill as introduced in Parliament provided that

"His Majesty in Council may transfer to such authority as may be specified in his Order all or any of the powers conferred by this chapter on the Secretary of State with respect to the making of appointments, but nothing in any such order shall affect the functions of the Secretary of State in relation to persons appointed before the Order comes into operation."

At the insistence of and in order to please the Civil Services this clause has been omitted.

For there was in it the dangerous possibility of the powers mentioned above being transferred to some authority in India having a partially black or brown complexion. How can our masters of the Civil Services think of being servants of such authority ?

### *The Indian Women's University*

It is very welcome news that an amicable settlement has been arrived at between the authorities of the Indian Women's University and the executors of the estate of their benefactor, the late Sir Vithaldas Thackersey. Henceforth the University will receive the yearly grant of Rs. 52,500 from the executors, and within or at the end of seven years Government promissory notes of the face value of Rs. 15 lakhs will have to be purchased and held in trust by them for the University. Both parties are to be congratulated upon this settlement, which ensures the permanence of Prof. D. K. Karve's achievement and frees him from anxiety.

### *Dum Dum Aviation Disaster*

It has given a great shock to the public to learn that at Gouripore, about two miles north of Dum Dum aerodrome, two planes collided on the morning of the 28th April last, resulting in the death of two pilots and two joy-riders. The pilots were Mr. B. K. Das and Mr. D. K. Roy, and the passengers Miss E. M. Brownlow and Mr. P. Gupta. We convey our sympathy to the relatives and friends of the deceased.

### *A Brave Woman*

*Forward* writes :

The wife of Natabar Parkait of Brindabanpur in the Arambagh sub-division of the district of Hughli had not only the pluck to foil the attempt of a gang of dacoits to raid her house, but also the courage to strike one of them. It is reported that while at mid-night some time ago a gang of dacoits, armed with lathis, axes and other weapons gained entrance into her house and began to assault her husband to obtain a clue about the valuables, she managed to get a dagger and fatally wounded one of the dacoits on the thigh which so frightened the gang that they made good their escape carrying the wounded man with them. The man died shortly after and his dead body was discovered later on which led to the detection and arrest of the gang.

### *"Not Based Upon Any Common Objection"*

Early last month, analysing the Indian opposition to the India Bill, the *London Times* wrote in a leading article that "what is constantly overlooked is the fact that Indian opposition is not based upon any common objection." But what is perhaps more persistently ignored in Britain is that, whatever the



nature of the particular objection of any community, class, political party, caste or province, there is objection on the part of all—none being satisfied.

As for there being no common objection, how can there be any? The Tory party of Britain has drafted the Bill on the principle of "divide and rule," and, therefore, while all groups have objections, there is division in the ranks of the objectors—proving the astuteness of the framers of the Bill.

### *Appointment of Examiners by the Calcutta University*

The All Bengal College and University Teachers' Association in their "Bulletin" (Vol. IX, No. I), on the eve of their annual Conference at Feni, commented on certain matters affecting the University administration. This should be brought to the notice of a wider public. The "Bulletin" observes :

"We have often referred to the unsatisfactory way of appointing examiners. Here is ample room for *admir*, patronage and nepotism. We expected that our new Vice-Chancellor would scrutinise carefully the list of examiners to see that one uniform principle was followed. A number of cases of glaring injustice has, however, been brought to our notice in the appointments of this year."

"Interesting revelations may be made if the University publishes a list showing the distribution of part-time lectureships, paper-setters and examiners, college by college. That would show how unfairly *moffusil* colleges are treated, and how particular colleges in Calcutta are specially favoured in this respect. In fact a malignant critic went so far as to assert that a particular college was being subsidised by the University in this way."

One would also like to know in this connection as to how many gentlemen famed for their "notes" "short-cuts" and "questions and answers" series have, in distinct contravention of the University Regulations, been appointed examiners to the University?

Is it not also a fact that certain gentlemen connected with prominent Calcutta journals have been enjoying the patronage of the University, as part-time lecturers in the University or as tabulator?

Such a policy cannot but rob those journals of their independence and be highly prejudicial to the public interest.

### *Conduct of University Examinations*

The same "Bulletin" very properly writes :

"We have noticed that sometimes semi-literate men are appointed as guards in the University Examinations. Would the University consider the desirability of appointing *unemployed* graduates only as such? In these days of educated unemployment that may bring some relief to a few people. This course

is also calculated to bring back the rigid tone of supervision at University Examination."

Further, is it not a fact that in recent years a definite communal bias is being shown in the appointment of examiners as well as invigilators?

The "Bulletin" adds :

"It is rumoured that an Intermediate examinee at an examination centre in an important Calcutta college was expelled from the examination hall by the presiding officer. The expelled boy was for certain mysterious and inexplicable reasons permitted to sit at the examination centre in the University buildings the same day for the same paper. We wonder how that was possible. We can only hope that the high and important connections of the examinee concerned did not influence the judgment of the University in this matter.

"Principals and professors in charge of University examinations are not quite sure of their own position after this incident, and some of them would not dare accept the responsibility of conducting University Examinations."

### *Representation of the University in the Legislature*

The "Bulletin" writes :

"We understand that the Government of Bengal has decided to limit the franchise in the Calcutta University constituency to:—(i) Members of the Senate, (ii) all registered graduates who had paid their fees for life and (iii) all registered graduates who had paid their fees for two academic years immediately preceding the academic year in which the election was held.

"We strongly protest against this measure, depriving as it does thousands of alumni of the University of their rights of franchise, and limiting the electorate to about 400 Fellows and Registered Graduates. This procedure, we are sure, would take away the representative character of the election. We hope that the Government would reconsider its decision and allow the present practice to continue."

We invite the attention of the authorities to the above extracts. Evidently certain persons in authority in the University have backed up the scheme, apparently for selfish reasons.

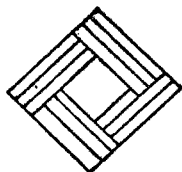
### *Nepotism and Coterie-rule Again?*

We are told that a determined attempt seems to be going on to centralize powers in the hands of a small coterie. Certain rumours regarding some impending administrative appointments, if true, would mean the reinforcement of nepotism and jobbery in the University. Is it not a fact that a certain Calcutta barrister of not much legal or juristic distinction is going to be placed in charge of the Law College and the grounds are being properly prepared quietly and silently for the purpose? The University Law College has a reputation to maintain, and its Principal, apart from his relationship to the authorities, must be able to command the respect of the Bar.



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## THE GROWTH OF POPULATION IN INDIA

By NAGENDRA NATH GUPTA

IS the population of India growing so rapidly and so largely as to give rise to anxiety and alarm? Do the decennial census figures show a very high ratio of increase? Has any statement been issued on this subject by the Government? To all these questions the answer is in the negative. All that has happened is that during the last legislative session at New Delhi a reference was made to this subject in the Council of State, but it was merely casual. There was no debate and no discussion, no statement was made on behalf of the Government and the matter dropped.

The growth of population is a normal course of nature. The human family has grown in the space of many thousands of centuries through many phases of development. But there is no necessary continuity or permanence in the life of a race. Great nations of ancient times have disappeared. The ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Aryans, Persians, Assyrians, Babylonians have all gone. Of course, other races are living in the lands occupied by them. Usually, there is some sort of automatic adjustment between the land and the number of mouths it can feed, for the Earth is the ultimate Mother of the human race.

In early times there was never any question as how to check the growth of population, but only how to increase it, because

an enhancement of man-power was necessary for offensive and defensive purposes. The commandment was solemnly laid upon the people that they should grow and multiply. In the Vedas it is expressly enjoined that a mother should bear ten heroic sons. Similarly, there is a chapter in the Khordeh Avesta, the scripture of the Zoroastrian laity, called *Afesiñ Paigambar Zartosht*, in which the prophet Zarathushtra blesses King Vishtasp who is known as King Gushtasp in Firdausi's *Shahnameh*, and says he should have ten sons, who should pursue different callings. Among the Indian Aryans the production of male offspring became a matter of religion. If a man had no son by his first wife he was entitled to have a second wife so that he might have a son, and this custom is not yet extinct. The word *puttra*, which means a son, signifies one who saves the father from a particular hell called *put*. In the famous epics of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* there are legends of men having an extraordinarily large number of sons. For instance, King Sagara in the *Ramayana* had sixty thousand sons while the blind king Dhritarashtra in the *Mahabharata* was the father of a hundred sons. Making allowance for poetic exaggeration the fact is obvious that it was considered a good thing to have several sons.

In the Old Testament the begetting of a



numerous progeny is repeatedly mentioned as a direct commandment and blessing from God. When Noah came out of the ark, 'God blessed him and his sons, and said unto them. Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.' An even more characteristic instance is that of the angel of the Lord who called unto Abraham out of heaven and said, 'The Lord saith that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore.' King Solomon, who 'passed all the kings of the earth in riches and wisdom,' had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, but the number of his sons is not mentioned.

In modern times also the growth of population in certain parts of the world has been extraordinarily rapid. The early European pioneers and colonists in America multiplied very fast. The indigenous population, the Red Indians, represented a small number which has become nearly extinct by the contact with European civilization and the immoderate use of European alcohol. There are vast stretches of territory in the area now known as the United States and the prairies, still covered with thick long grass, are all arable land. It is forbidden to a Christian to take more than one wife, but the Moremons in Salt Lake City are polygamous and the American Government do not interfere with them. The Canadians form a large and flourishing population and the number is steadily on the increase. Still more remarkable is the instance of Australia, where also the original population consisting of the Maoris has nearly died out. The colonists and squatters from England and elsewhere in the British Empire are multiplying at an amazing rate. It is on record that at one time the population doubled itself in twenty-five years. Up to the present the Australians are mostly located near the sea-coast but as their number increases they will penetrate inland.

In Europe, the movement of population is well worth attention. Enduring peace is unknown and war means the loss of human life, particularly men. During the last two centuries the census returns in France showed that the population was stationary for a

period of one hundred and fifty years. Why? Because the guillotine had brought thousands of heads to the basket and this was immediately followed by the frightful loss of life inseparable from Napoleon's campaigns and his mad lust for the sovereignty of the world. Besides these causes, artificial checks to the production of children have been practised in France for a long time and no secret is made of this fact. Just now the whole of Europe is facing the problem of the number of women exceeding that of men in consequence of the heavy toll taken during the World War and the hounds of war are even now straining at their leashes.

In India, there are certain natural checks to the growth of population. There is famine, there is pestilence. The periodical appearance of famine claims hundreds of thousands of victims. There are epidemics every year and they carry off large numbers of the population. For some years virulent Spanish influenza decimated the population. In spite of all this the census returns show that the population of India is increasing. The question is, Is the rate of growth alarming and is it necessary to check it? This is a matter of inquiry. No offhand reply can be reliable. So far as the middle classes are concerned there is a clear tendency to arrest the growth of population. It may not be deliberate but it is certainly noticeable.

The Zoroastrians in India are numerically few but they form an important community. Among them it is the ancient problem of sparseness of population that is pressing for a solution. The total number of Parsis at the census of 1931 was a lakh and ten thousand. In fifty years the population had grown by only twenty-four thousand souls, that is to say, the average growth has been less than five hundred a year and there was one decennium in which the growth of population was only about two hundred a year. Where is the commandment of the prophet Zarathushtra? One has only to go round to find out the cause of this arrest of growth. The number of unmarried Parsi young men and women is increasing at an alarming rate. It would not be an exaggeration to say that not a single Parsi family can be found in which all the marriageable girls are married.



Spinsters, aged and middle-aged, young women and girls fit to be wives but still unmarried are to be met with everywhere. If in a community numerically so small so many men and women remain single how can the population grow rapidly, or even at a reasonably satisfactory rate?

The Kashmiri Brahmin community in India may be counted on the fingers. It is not quite isolated from Kashmir but usually marriages take place in India. A few years ago it would have been impossible to find a single unmarried man or woman in this community and now there are accomplished young men and women who refuse to marry. Amongst the middle classes of other communities some years ago it would have been impossible to discover a single unmarried girl after the attainment of the age of puberty. The Hindus looked upon the early marriage of girls and the early consummation of marriage as a religious obligation. When the Age of Consent was raised there was bitter opposition and the cry was raised that the measure was an interference with religion. Social reformers frequently raised an agitation for the discontinuance of early marriage. And now owing merely to economic stress and without any agitation or legislation early marriages have disappeared from the middle classes of the Hindu community. People are no longer shocked to find that even young women frequently remain unmarried. No one says a word about any danger to religion. It is becoming increasingly difficult to get girls married. In many instances young men refuse to marry. Among the Deccani and Gujrati communities in the Bombay Presidency the number of unmarried women is steadily increasing. In Sind, bachelors and spinsters are by no means rare and the same statement holds good of the Panjab. In the United Provinces and in Bihar, the change is not so marked but even there young men are now beginning to refuse to marry on account of economic conditions. In Bengal, marriages are becoming fewer. The Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj form a small community but men and women belonging to it frequently remain unmarried. Among the Mussalmans child marriages were not prevalent but in that community also young men sometimes decline

to marry and husbands cannot always be found for young women. All over the country unmarried men and women are becoming more and more numerous among the middle classes of every section of the community.

The real growth of population is in the villages among the rural population for there the immemorial customs have not changed. Neither poverty nor a large family is a bar to marriage. Every boy and every girl is married as early as possible and they beget children early. The Sarda Act will have no effect as a check upon the growth of population. Heavy taxation is one of the causes of the extreme poverty of India and the annual average income is the lowest. But another reason of the poverty of India is this custom of universal marriage among the poorest classes of the population. This leads to widespread national poverty. There are no indications, however, that in India the growth of population is becoming a danger or a matter of grave concern. In Bihar alone and in part of the United Provinces there is a noticeable congestion of population, and the male inhabitants of these parts are to be found in considerable numbers in Bengal, Bombay, Sind and British Baluchistan where they earn a living. Specially in Western Bengal, where the ravages of malaria have turned many populous villages into howling wildernesses, the influx of Biharis and Hindustanis is very noticeable. In Calcutta, most of the Bengali hawkers have disappeared and have been replaced by upcountry people, who have penetrated even into the villages beyond Calcutta. The mills are full of them; they ply ferry boats, keep shops, go about retailing cheap ware. In Bombay, the milksellers are all Hindustanis, or Bhaiyas, as they are locally called. This in itself is nothing serious and may be commended as a laudable enterprise. If hundreds of men can come six thousand miles over the sea to earn a living in India there is nothing unusual in Indians moving about in their own country to find employment. There are thousands of Bengalis settled in Bihar and the United Provinces. This is not due to an excess of population in Bengal.

There are no grounds for taking an alarmist view of the growth of population in India. Artificial birth control is out of the



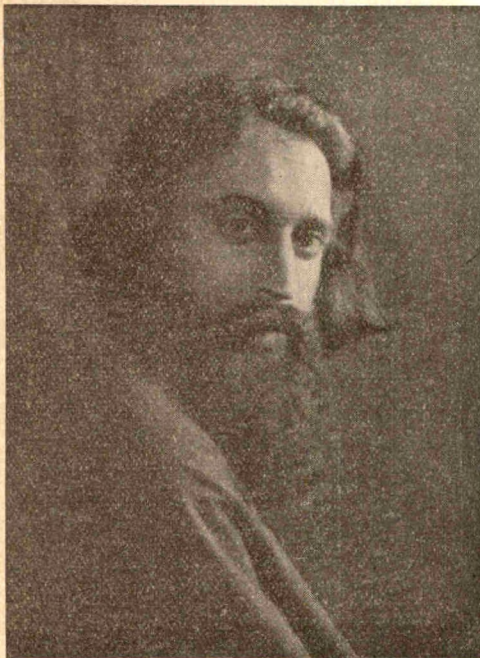
question for the village population of India will recoil from any such suggestion with horror. In Germany, a man has to make a declaration that he is in a position to bring up two or three children before he is permitted to marry. This cannot be done in India. But it is possible to impart such education as will bring the rural population more in line with the urban population and the middle

classes. They may be made to understand that every rule has an exception and the peremptory injunction of universal marriage no longer holds. The responsibility of marriage may be brought home to them by propaganda work. Finally, the Time-spirit is always there, and the example of the middle classes may gradually spread to the lower classes.

## REVIVAL OF INDIA'S FOLK-SONGS

BY PROF. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

**M**OST of India's educated citizens today do not seem to be intimately acquainted with their countryside people. The present-day cities are culturally cut off from the villages, and one can clearly see a gulf of difference



The author, who is passing his days and nights since 1925, dreaming to see the happy day when the people will welcome the revival of India's Folk-songs

between them. Who knows how this gulf will be bridged?

India is really a land of hoary villages, where

live the millions of Mother India's sons and daughters, devoted to the auspicious work of agriculture. The collective fate of these villagers is India's fate; in their collective life and death lies India's life and death. In the smiles of the tillers of the soil dances India's heart-felt joy; in their time-old tears weeps India's national soul. It is only by these simple and devoted villagers that their citizen brethren are sustained.

The villagers are illiterate, but they have their own inspiring lore. As human as their citizen brethren, they have their indigenous feast of simple poetry, music and dance. Their life is wonderfully rich in songs and ballads, along with the sorrows to which they may be said to be born. There are sweet idylls, portraying the village-folk's simple feelings, artistically seen against the background of Nature's local aspects; there are happy rhythms which welcome the birth of a boy, who is generally considered to be the hope of the family; there are lullabies which the mother sings while rocking the rustic cradle of her 'moon'; there are marriage-songs, which are supposed to have an auspicious influence over the marital life of the happy couple; there are ballads, based on the mytho-heroic traditions; their chorus-songs, which the peasants sing while reaping the first sheaves of their golden harvest; there are solos, which lovers sing to serenade their sweet-hearts; there are sweet duets full of the dreams of Love, Beauty and Youth, sung generally by the lover and the beloved; there are mystic hymns of the rustic saints, who try to combine the human with the divine, along with the semi-religious psalms, current among the revered men and women, awaiting death—all these songs and many others are the very heart-beats of village-culture. They pass from lip to lip and are the musical emanation of the villagers' collective joys and sorrows. There are many rustic Homers who travel from village to village singing the old old traditional songs along with their own



new compositions, to the accompaniment of their *Sarangis* or other stringed instruments. They always add new life and colour to the happy and sad traits of every-day village-life.

India is a land of many languages, which are all rich in folk-songs. Leaving aside a considerable number of songs which are an indispensable accompaniment of some of the ceremonial festivities, like that of wedding, even in the cities in some of the parts of India, all the folk-songs, which may aptly be named as a unit of India's national literature, are confined to the countryside only.



A Bañil : his life itself is a spontaneous and perennial song

Let the scholars of all parts of India awaken to the duty of preserving their folk-songs before they are irretrievably lost to us in the stampede of the modern civilization. The revival of these cultural Koh-i-noors of India must be considered to be one of the necessary elements of nation-building.

The intrinsic worth of Indian folk-songs can be guessed from the fact that they inspired many of the saint-poets of India at times. The great Hindi poet Tulsī Das found the inspiring metre of his 'Ram Lala Nahchu' (राम लला नहचू) in the *Sohar* (सोहर) songs, which are sung in sweet chorus by the village women of the United Provinces and Bihar whenever a housewife gets a new son. It may not be irrelevant to note that in many of the *Sohar* songs, the names of Kaushalya and Rama stand for the mother and newly-born son, and the poet Tulsidas was simply charmed by them. Again, there is a

considerable element of the folk-heart in Kabir's poetry and it is why many of the *dohas* have become so popular among the villagers of U. P. & Bihar, and often they sing them like folk-songs.



Sjt. Shailendra Sen (V. and P. O. Shimulkundi Mymensingh), who met the author at Calcutta and was kind enough to supply with a good number of Bengali folk-songs from his own collections, which he wishes to publish some day. Sjt. Shailendra Sen is a great lover of his native songs and fully deserves generous help from the Bengali intelligentsia.

Many of the Indian folk-songs can furnish even India's modern poets with a key to the common heart of the nation. Says Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S. :

"Our greatest modern poet, Rabindranath Tagore, received inspiration from the folk-songs and folk-singers of Bengal for his inimitable art, which has been the admiration of the world. But while we are justly proud of Rabindranath's great genius and the beauty of his poetic art, we have hitherto thought it beneath our dignity to go for our inspiration to the art of the folk-singers of Bengal and we have done and are doing little or nothing to develop and express our pride in their inimitable art, to better their lot or to make a systematic study of their art and encourage its practice ; with the result that our folk-song and



folk-singers, constituting one of the most precious possessions of our race, which should have furnished a most prolific source of our national inspiration in music, are becoming extinct."

The following lines from the poet Tagore himself, written particularly about the Baül songs of Bengal, not only express his love of folk-songs, but may also inspire Indian scholars to work for their revival of :

"I still remember how, when I was young, I first heard a Baül, from the countryside near about Shelidah, singing in Calcutta to the accompaniment of his one-stringed instrument (the öktârâ) :



Eve's Daughter in Kulu Valley. Sweet Hospitality is a part of her simple religion.

‘कोथाय पाव तारे  
आमार मनेर मानूष ये रे !  
हाराये सेई मानुषे तार उद्देशे  
देश विदेश वेड़ाई घूरे ।’

‘Ah, where am I to find Him  
the Man of my heart ?  
Alas, since I lost Him,  
I wander in search of Him  
thro’ lands near and far.’

“The words are simple, but, lit-up by the tune, their meaning was revealed to me with a clarity

unfelt before. The same message was declared of old in the words of the Upanishad :

Tam Vedyam Purusham Veda,  
Ma Vo Mrityuh Parivyathah.

‘Seek thou to know Him who is to be known  
else shall the agony of death be thine.’

“I then heard afresh, from one devoid of all learning, in his native words, to his rustic tune that same message :

‘He who is above all to be known, above all is the sorrow of knowing Him not.’

In the voice of this Baül was the cry of a child that in the darkness cannot see its mother. When the *Antaratara Yadayamātmā* (the innermost spirit of our being) of the Upanishads found utterance as the Man of the heart, it came on me with a shock of glad surprise.



A party of village-women going to join in a fair.  
They have their indigenous marching-songs.

“.....the Baül songs that are usually to be heard now-a-days have lost much of their pristine merit. And yet they have great value for the purpose of History. That is to say, they help us to become more intimately acquainted with the period of country's history when waves of re-awakening were thrown up by the impact of conquering Islam,.....

“The souls where the divergent streams of Hinduism and Islam found their confluence, where were formed permanent centres, are not limited by space or time, but are established in the everlasting. Such pilgrimages are to be found in the lives of Ramananda, Kabir, Dadu, Rabidas, Nanak and so many others. In them all differences and antagonisms, all the multitudinous clashes of variety are found resolved in their united acclamations of the victory of the One.

“Those of our countrymen who take pride in their modern education, are busy in search of devices for the bringing together of Hindu and Moslem ; for they have learnt their history lessons in a foreign school. The real history of our



country has, however, always borne its message of unity in the deepest Truth lying in the inmost recesses of its heart, not in any vehicle of expediency or necessity. Among the Baïls we see the fruit of such endeavour, in a culture that is alike Hindu and Mussalman,—in which they came together, but did not give rise to platforms to public speech-making, but evoked songs of untutored sweetness in language and melody. In such uniting of voices of Hindu and Moslem, there was no discord between Koran and Puran. In that union was manifest the true spirit of India,—not in the barbarism of the latter-day communal rivalry. In the Baïl songs we may see how, outside the ken of the modern schoolmaster



A Santhal Belle (photographed near Santiniketan).  
To her a flower is not only a thing of beauty  
but also a symbol of something more.

or college professor, the inspiration of India's higher culture was at work, clearing a common ground on which both Hindu and Moslem could take their stand."

Some worthy sons of Mother India have already done a considerable work for the revival of the folk-songs in some parts of India, along with the work done in this direction by some of the generous European scholars.

Sir George Grierson rescued a good many folk-songs of various languages from oblivion and preserved them in his volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen preserved Bengal's interesting ballads, like



Pathan women. One of them is carrying her  
Koh-i-noor on her shoulders

Photo by P. D. Kapur & Sons, Peshawar Cantt.

those of Mohua, Malua and Sunai, etc., in his *Eastern Bengal Ballads*, and other volumes of the series. Again the credit of the national interpretation of Bengal's folk-songs and dances to



get them incorporated in the citizen's everyday life and educational system, belongs to Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S. Sjt. Yogindranath Sarkar's 'Khuku Manir Chhara' (an anthology of Bengal's nursery rhymes and cradle-songs), Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore's 'Banglar Brata' (an anthology of Bengal's Brata songs and specimens of folk-art as displayed by the village women during the Bratas, published in 1919), Md. Mansooruddin's 'Haramani' (a collection of Bengal's Baül songs etc.) and Mr. Jassimundin's 'Banglar Brata' (A study of Bengal's Bauls, their religion and songs, to be published shortly) are also works of great value. Gujrat will ever remember Mr. Jhabar Chand Meghani's name for his collections of Gujrati folk-songs, like 'Radhiali Rat' (रदियाली रात) and 'Chundri' (चुंदरी) etc. Sir R. C. Temple preserved a good many Punjabi folk-songs in his 'The Legends of the Punjab' (published in 1885). Pt. Ram Saran's

interesting chapter on the Mundari folk-songs. Let us hope that worthy scholars of other parts of India will also awaken to the duty of preserving the folk-songs of their respective languages.

But will the publication of the folk-songs of the various parts in their respective scripts and languages only serve our purpose? What we want is to have a comparative series of All-India folk-songs, properly transliterated, translated and edited. It will not only enrich our national libraries, but will also find its own place in our University-education.

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Let me now give a few illustrations of Indian folk-songs, chosen at random from my collections,



"Sleep, my baby, sleep."

'Punjab De Git' and Pt. Sant Ram's 'Punjabi Git' are beautiful collections of Punjabi folk-songs. Pt. Ram Naresh Tripathi's 'Kavita Kaumudi—Gram Git', gives a rich collection of Hindi folk-songs. C. E. Gover's 'Folk-Songs of Southern India' (published in 1872), though intermingled with many a classical poem of the southern Indian poets, has its own intrinsic value. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Rai's 'The Mundas and their Country' furnishes us with an



Rural queen of song going to her tiller  
of the soil.

for which I have spent many years like a hard-working labourer in my own humble way.

The national love for their native hills plays an important part in the everyday life of the Khasis of Assam. The following song may aptly be taken as their national anthem:

O the land of the Khasis!  
Sweet land of the Khasis!!

We are all in love with thee,  
Thou didst cradle our hoary ancestors,





"I love my sweet flute."

Who are no more with us ;  
Ever-fresh lies their memory in our hearts  
The blows of death it never fears.  
O the land of the Khasis !  
Sweet land of the Khasis !!

We are all in love with thee.

(A Khasi Folk-song)

Among the Khondhs of G. Udaygiri Agency (Madras) the maidens are always free to choose their sweet-hearts and they generally like to have swains of good make-up and of heroic spirits as their grooms. Love for such a swain bubbles up like a living fountain, when a Khondh maiden sings the following song, while dancing with all the graceful impulses of her feminine sweetness :

Where dost thou come from ?  
O thou, the hunter of tigers !  
A hero with manly courage thou art,  
O thou, the hunter of tigers !  
Come, come, O come to my cot,  
O thou, the hunter of tigers !  
With a cup of wine shall I serve thee,  
O thou, the hunter of tigers !  
Come, come, O come to my cot,  
O thou, the hunter of tigers !  
The king of my heart, shall I make thee.  
O thou the hunter of tigers !

(A Khondh Folk-song)

The Santhals are great lovers of flowers. In Spring when the buds blossom forth and everywhere is an Elysian manifestation of happy colours, the Santhal's Muse is awakened to dance and sing of their native flowers. The flower is not only a thing of beauty, but also a symbol of something more with the Santhals. The following song is a spring-song (which is generally known as माहार सेरै by the Santhals themselves) sung in praise of the *Mandarmuli* (मन्दरमूली) flowers :



Peasant women going to their fields.  
While going and working they sing  
of the local aspects of Nature

In a corner—O in a corner of my cot  
There stands a *Mandarmuli* plant ;  
O none should break or uproot it,  
To worship my deity have I planted this  
flowery plant.

(A Santhali folk-song)

'The baby does not know all about its mother's activities,' says Poet Tagore, 'but it knows that she is its mother.' The village-mother's ever-fresh cradle-song cannot but make the baby sure of motherly love, if not by its language, at least with its sweet music, when she sings:



How will the cradle be rocked  
If unrocked remains its string?  
How will the dearest baby go to sleep?  
If no cradle-song you sing.

(A Telugu cradle-song)

Sleep, sleep, my baby, sleep.  
Why, O why should you weep?  
My baby is my *Koh-i-Noor*.  
No queen possesses such a *Koh-i-Noor*,  
Sleep, sleep, my baby, sleep.  
Why, O why should you weep?

(A Pushtu cradle-song)

Hospitality seems to be a part of the village-folk's simple religion, they treat their unexpected guest like a god and offer him the love of their innermost heart that knows no formalities. The following song portrays the hospitality of a poor house-wife who serves her guest with the humble dish, she has:



Peasant women coming Homeward. They do not import the themes of their songs only from some far-off dreamland, they sing of Nature and life.

Naughty cat has drunk all my milk  
To my deity have I offered all my ghee;  
Accept my dish of coarse rice, my guest!  
What more—oh! what more can I offer thee.

\*(A Pahari Folk-song, from Kulu Valley)

All the more sweet becomes the hospitality, displayed by a Sora\* woman when she offers her torn mat to her guest and herself sits on the ground; and again when she offers the ripe mangoes to her guest and herself takes the unripe ones:

Lo! here comes my guest—  
My handsome friend is he.  
To him I'll offer my torn mat  
And 'll take my seat on the ground.  
Lo! here comes my guest—  
My handsome friend is he.  
Him I'll serve with the ripe mangoes  
And the unripe ones 'll make my share.  
Lo! here comes my guest—  
My handsome friend is he.

(A Sora folk-song)



The tiller of the soil returning home, along with his wife and daughter.

\* Sora is the name of a primitive tribe, inhabiting the Parlakimidi Agency of Madras Presidency. The word Sora was hitherto wrongly pronounced as Sawara. The credit of the removal of this mistake belongs to Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu of Parlakimidi, who is an authority on the Sora language. The Rao Sahib and his worthy son Mr. G. V. Sitapati, B. A., the Research Fellow of the Andhra University, assisted the author of this article most generously in 1932 when he was among the Soras to gather their songs and ballads.



Among so many hoary folk-songs of Rural Bengal, the Agamani (आगमनी) and Vijaya (विजया) songs play a remarkable part during the Durga Puja festivities. Giriraj (Himalaya), Uma, Uma's mother and Shiva, the characters of these songs are of purely divine origin, but they are all the more endeared to us when we see that they do not lack at all in the human pathos of domestic life. Uma's mother seems to be a housewife whom we can see in rural Bengal's every-day life; she always longs to see her daughter Uma who is with her husband Shiva. Uma's father Giriraj (Himalaya) perhaps feels the pathos of her wife's motherly love towards her daughter no less, but is more reticent.

The following Agamani song well portrays the human pathos in the heart of Uma's mother:

When wilt thou bring my Uma to me, O Himalaya!  
tell me at once what I ask thee.  
Why art thou so mute? Victim of death  
becomes my life as my Uma is not with me!  
Uma is my only daughter and there is none else to  
address me saying 'mother, O mother so dear!'  
Ah me, how unfortunate am I whose son-in-law  
is a Fakir!  
I feel as if my Uma is only a sucking girl, she  
would be crying for me there in her husband's  
place with tears in her eyes!  
Ah me, Shiva has no father or mother, then who  
is there to bestow affection on her? But to me  
my moon-faced Uma is like a golden creeper.  
(A Bengali folk-song)



Santhals at home,  
(photographed near Santiniketan)

The mother longs for her daughter throughout the year and at last somehow or other Shiva consents and sends Uma to her parental nest for a few days. The first day of the Durga Puja festivities commemorates Uma's coming to her mother. But soon comes the day when Shiva comes to take Uma back to his place and Uma's

mother weeps like a common village mother. The Vijaya (विजया) songs are the farewell songs, which the mother sings while bidding adieu to Uma, with tears in her eyes. The following Vijaya song can well depict Uma's mother's tears, which are in every way human:



When both age and youth smile together in spring.  
They have their own spring-songs which  
enrich their life.

Ah me, Uma will have to go away today!  
O why did the ninth night of the moon dawn  
into the day of the tenth moon?  
The period of Uma's stay is the eighth and the  
ninth day of the moon, but ah me, Shiva has  
come to take her back even prior to the tenth  
day of the moon!

(A Bengali folk-song)

Garba (गरबा) is an indigenous folk-dance of Gujrat and is also common to the women-folk of Gujrat's present-day cities. The month of Ashwin, when they perform the national dance everywhere, may aptly be called a Garba season. The following is a Garba-song:

1. In Malva grows henna (O Maidens) !  
In Malva grows henna.  
The length and breadth of Gujrat (O Maidens!)  
Is dyed today with henna.
2. With due regard my youngest Devar\*  
For me uproots a plant of henna,  
The length and breadth of Gujrat (O Maidens!)  
Is dyed today with henna.
3. 'Dye thy hands, my dearest Bhavaji!†  
Dye thy hands with henna.'  
The length and breadth of Gujrat (O Maidens!)  
Is dyed today with henna.

\* Husband's younger brother.  
† Elder brother's wife.







To die for my brother do I go,  
 What does her lament mean ?  
 'Who'll play on your flute after you  
 Who'll play on your flute after you ?  
 Tell, tell, O what makes you mute, O Mohan !  
 'Who'll play on your flute after you ?'  
 'Dear brother 'll play on my flute after me,  
 Dear brother 'll play on my flute after me,  
 Who else 'll play, O mother so dear ?  
 Dear brother 'll play on my flute after me.'  
 'Who'll ride on your mare after you,  
 Who'll ride on your mare after you ?  
 Tell, tell, O what makes you mute, O Mohan !  
 'Who'll ride on your mare after you ?'  
 'Dear brother 'll ride on my mare after me,  
 Dear brother 'll ride on my mare after me,  
 Who else 'll play, O mother so dear ?  
 Dear brother 'll ride on my mare after me.'

There is a sweet pathos which then takes the people near the very altar of sacrifice where Mohan stands to welcome his death. All of a sudden tears gush out of their eyes as a token of respect for his heroic martyrdom and they close their tragic song with the following lines :

'They 've gathered together near the cross-board  
 They 've gathered together near the cross-board.  
 Only to mock at you, dear Mohan !  
 They 've gathered together near the cross-board.'  
 'Not a single sympathetic heart do I see,  
 Not a single sympathetic heart do I see,  
 Among these people from Phaggu to Bilaspur  
 Not a single sympathetic heart do I see.'

(A folk-song from Simla hills)

India's folk-songs are the time-old harvest of India's rural poetry, music and dance. The unknown poets who composed and transmitted these songs did not import their themes from some far-off dreamland, they have sung the very life which to them was no less than a song. They span these cultural threads, so to say, from their own indigenous cotton on their own indigenous spinning wheels of life. As regards the translations of these songs, I must confess that sometimes much of their charm is lost. However laboriously one translates them, the happy little stream of folk music, dance and poetry gets dry in the desert of rough translation.

'Poems are not like gold,' says Poet Tagore, 'or other substantial things that are transferable. You cannot receive the smiles and gladness of your sweet-heart through an attorney, however diligent and dutiful he may be.'\*

\* Lectures and Addresses by R. Tagore (Macmillan & Co.), p. 9.



"Well, I can sing the song of Mohan in  
 Jhanjhoti No matter, if I'm  
 sufficiently loaded."

So all that I can say is that the translations of these songs are only translations, and they deserve much indulgence at the hands of the readers.†

† As the work of the revival of India's folk-songs deserves all-India sympathy, the author would be grateful if those interested in the subject could send him the selected folk-songs of their region transliterated in Devanagari characters and literally translated into Hindi or English, from their respective languages, along with a few photographs of the local folk-life.





## MRS. RUKMINI LAKSHMIPATHI, B.A.,

### FIRST CONGRESS WOMAN M. L. C.

By MARGARET E. COUSINS. B. MUS.

**P**EOPLE everywhere have been interested in the Bye-election in Madras held in April last for the Madras Legislative Council when the Indian National Congress put forward for the first time a woman candidate. Her name, Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmipathi, B. A., was already known to the public in connection with her imprisonments during the Civil Disobedience campaigns, for she had been the first woman who unlawfully made salt and was then sentenced to a year's hard labour, the first woman in India to get such a sentence. But now that she has won a signal victory over the Madras Ministerial forces which publicly supported the Justice Party candidate everyone wants to know more about her, and about the way in which women have been able to rouse the electorate to such enthusiasm that 7,400 voted for a woman candidate to represent the city of Madras and gave her a majority of over 4,000.

Mrs. Lakshmipathi is a Telugu Brahmin whose uncle, Mr. N. Pattabhi Rama Rao, had been a Dewan of Cochin state, and who saw to it that all the members of his family and his nephews and nieces got every opportunity of good education. Nevertheless Rukminiamma had not completed her college course when she married Dr. Lakshmipathi of Madras city, well-known as an Ayurvedic physician and manufacturer of Ayurvedic medicines. She is his second wife and her step-daughter is a capable medical doctor. Our new M. L. C. has four children and in the years between 1917 and 1921 when I used to meet her first she was finishing her B.A. course in Madras University at the same time that she was founding her own family. Her husband encouraged her to complete her Arts Degree. I have seen that at all times he has been her great encourager in fully expressing her nature and working for her ideals. It happened that in that way she became the

first Brahmin young woman in Andhradesha who took her B. A. It seems to be her fate to be first to do notable things.

As her subject was History and she was a lover also of English literature it is not surprising that she early showed her interest in Indian politics. She became a member of the Women's Indian Association which was working from 1918 for the vote for women and she supported all its agitation for that cause by which she is now herself such a noteworthy gainer. Later she also presided at a Women's Conference at the time of the Congress at Lahore, and at Conferences of Constituencies of the All-India Women's Conference on Educational and Social Reform, as it was then called.

In 1926, she took a short tour in Europe to attend as a delegate to the Conference in Paris of the International Woman's suffrage Alliance and this contact with the nationals of other lands fanned the flame of her own patriotism. I remember well how that group of young Indian women used to wear high-healed shoes before their journey westward but after their return they would wear nothing but Indian sandals! Similarly they began to practise speaking in public in their mother-tongue, whilst earlier they had spoken only in English.

Even before her tour the Lakshmipathis had been far from orthodox. After it Rukminiamma's sympathies expanded on all sides. She was one of the first Brahmins to engage and help needy Harijans as her servants. She became Secretary of the Madras Youth League. She was Editor for some time of its weekly paper. Her home was the meeting place for youth with visions.

One might think from all this that she is a forceful, impressive personality. Such is far from the case. She is naturally retiring, depreciatory, nervous of publicity, disliking



public speaking, though she has fine powers of clear thinking and effective expression, which I believe will blossom into fluent speech as opportunities force her to become a Voice of the People. She is short and stoutish, always clad in khaddar, not particular about her appearance save to be neat. She has a delightful voice, is a clever *Vina* player and a charming hostess in her simple way. Her outstanding qualities, I would say, are strength of purpose, power of self-sacrifice, devotion to the cause of freedom, both national and personal, simplicity, and loyalty to Gandhiji, C. Rajagopalachari and the Congress as the liberators of the motherland.

She seems to be without caste or class prejudice. So simple and kind was she to everyone, so full of common sense and helpfulness that in Vellore Jail when she was amongst about 200 other political prisoners she was called "Mummy" by everyone in the jail. It will be those same qualities which will enable her to "mother" the interests of the Madras citizens who flocked to send her into the Council as their representative.

She has won her place in the ranks of Congress leaders by the steadiness with which she took her responsible share of all the items of the Congress programme ever since she started attending the annual sessions of the Congress, and especially since 1929. She is one of those who realizes that if you are elected to a Committee you must attend all its meetings and do work. During the last two years she has been making an intensive study of Hindi. Her mind is essentially politically inclined. She is not attracted to social reform good works other than in working them out in the details of her home life. The political freedom of the country is her primary and fundamental cause and she considers self-government the essential preliminary to the successful solution of every other national problem.

The success of her election is undoubtedly due, first to her being the representative of Congress, and locally to the fine organization of her lieutenants, (or should one say, her leaders?), Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and Mr. B. Sambumurthi. She became a focal point for Telugu and Tamil patriotic workers, and indeed in herself became a Tamil-Telugu

Entente whose unity had threatened to be strained until she, after an appalling amount of persuasion, consented to stand for election. Her candidature was very popular for the Madras people have no sex antagonism in their nature. There is no purdah system in South India. Women have been serving so freely also for the last ten years on the Local



Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmipathi, B. A.

Government Boards, in the Magistracy, in the City and Legislative Councils of Madras and the Indian States of the South, that the people could not understand why the Congress Parliamentary Board fought shy for so long of putting forward a woman candidate, and when one came men and women flowed to her flag, and the election became more like a tournament of old, a joust, an enjoyable party to honour the Lady rather than a serious political struggle, and yet it was also the latter and its success should have far-reaching effects.

Her election has proved that nominations, reserved seats, special electorates for women, and communal electorates for women are all unnecessary. Women themselves have been saying so with one voice. What has been done in Mrs. Lakshmipathi's case can and will be done elsewhere. Why then should there be



any fixing of fancy qualifications for women other than the ideal of adult franchise asked for by women, to be started in urban areas for the immediate future? The splendid principle of political equality of women with men was established by the Montford reforms, the Indian Legislatures giving women the vote "on the same terms as men". The new terms of franchise proposed by the J. P. C. Report strike consternation into our women leaders

at the evils, the divisions into communalism, and married and widowed qualifications, and separation of the sexes, that it is determined to bring into the voting system ! And all these unnecessary and undesired ! Will not the Government pay heed to the lesson of Mrs Lakshmipathi's election success and listen to the entreaties of the Indian women and their British suffrage sisters that the proposed evils may be averted ?

## EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

By SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS, M.A., Ph. D.

**I**N recent years the problem of educational reconstruction in India has been brought to the forefront by the repeated comments on the present system by veteran educationists and social workers. As a large number of vital questions are now in the melting-pot, all of them are of opinion that the present system of education should be given such an orientation as to keep pace with the changing circumstances and conditions of the country. The acute question of unemployment prevailing among the educated young men has also forced this problem to an immediate and careful consideration by all who are interested in the welfare of their countrymen. How this problem can be solved or what steps are to be taken for the speedy solution of this problem has been engaging the attention of eminent people in every sphere of life for some time past, but no tangible result has yet come out of their discussions centred round the question of educational reconstruction.

It is believed by many that the only cure for the present political and economic distress is education, leading to a better understanding of world problems on the part of the average citizen. It is to be seen how far education as it is, is likely to achieve anything in this direction and how the educational system can be reformed so that it may more effectively achieve this end. The aim of education is

to help the harmonious development of the mental faculties. The universities of old principally aimed at this general culture and their methods and subjects of teaching were determined by this ideal. Since 'education' is defined as a "drawing out" of the best that is latent in the individual, it is most probable, they thought, that only through this means will a common cultural standard be achieved which will avoid and prevent misunderstandings among different classes of men, which are caused by prejudice and misconception, twin fruits of the "Tree of Ignorance." When they taught history or philosophy or classics or mathematics or even sciences they had no direct or practical end in view, they only aimed at imparting a liberal education to their alumni. They believed that a general liberal education lay at the root of all other forms of training and those types of training which have a direct and practical aim in view and which are imparted to enable men to earn their living were left to individuals, to the guilds of traders and artisans and to various other bodies more or less private. This kind of training was hereditary, handed down from the father to the son in regular order and determined by the demand of a particular place or community. Even Thomas Huxley, in 1868, in an address to the South London Working Men's College, defined education as "the instruction of the intellect in the laws of



Nature, . . . the fashioning of the affections and of the will in an earnest and loving desire to move in harmony with those laws." Thus this division of work between the university and the guilds went on smoothly so long as life was not complex, wants were few and the people lived in self-contained villages.

Mainly on above lines the present system of education in India was introduced and on these lines, more or less, education has been imparted to the Indians up to the present moment. The educational despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854 which practically introduced the present system, emphasized the importance of primary education "to combat the ignorance of the people which may be considered the greatest curse of the country." For this purpose departments of Public Instruction were created on lines which do not differ very materially from the departments of the present day. The most important feature of the despatch was an outline of a university system which resulted in the foundation of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. It has undoubtedly been of value in several ways. It enabled Government to select recruits for its services and it accelerated the conversion of Indians to a zeal for Western education. On the other hand the new universities were not corporations of scholars, but corporations of administrators; they did not deal directly with the training of men, but with the examination of candidates, they were not concerned with learning, except in so far as learning can be tested by examination. The colleges were fettered by examination requirements and by uniform course; their teachers were denied that freedom which teachers should enjoy; and their students were encouraged not to value training for its own sake but as a means for obtaining marketable qualifications. This went on till by the Universities Act of 1904 permission was given to the universities to undertake direct teaching functions and to make appointments of teachers, subject to Government sanction, for these objects; but their scope was in practice limited to post-graduate work and research. However, the colleges and schools were left as before under the dual control of the university and the Government. There can be little wonder that,

under such a system of neglect and short-sightedness, evils crept in; of course some of these are now removed by the establishment of independent Boards of Intermediate Education charged with the administration of the high school and intermediate stages of education. This was done in the light of the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission whose findings, though mainly intended for the reorganization of the Calcutta University, were generally adopted for the reorganization and establishment of other universities in India. One of the main points in the report of the Commission published in 1919 was that the high schools in India fail to give that breadth of training which the developments of the country and new avenues of employment demand. This is a short resumé of the changes introduced in the educational system obtaining in this country since the advent of the British in India down to the present moment.

But as time went on, educationists and public men of this land began to feel that something was wrong in the existing educational system and that the above remark of the Commission would with equal force apply to the higher education imparted at the present moment. Criticisms began to pour in and as the problem of unemployment among the educated young men of India was growing more and more acute, dissatisfaction with the present system of education was voiced from all quarters. It has been a general desire that early steps should be taken to render it more practical and useful. The Inter-University Board of India at its third conference held at Delhi discussed the question of educational reconstruction at a considerable length and adopted two resolutions unanimously after a valuable and protracted discussion. The first resolution asserts that "a practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system of schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. This will enable the universities to improve their standard of admission." In the second resolution adopted at the conference the Inter-University Board developed in



greater detail their theme of school reconstruction and pointed to the necessity of dividing the school system into certain definite stages, each of them self-contained and with a clearly defined objective untrammelled by university requirements. The resolution runs thus :

"With a view to effecting such improvement, the Educational Conference is of opinion that the period of study in the university for the pass degree should be at least three years, although the normal length of the period during which a pupil is under instruction should not be increased and is, also, of the opinion, that this period should be divided, into four definite stages : (a) primary, (b) middle, in both of which stages the medium of instruction in non-language subjects should be exclusively vernacular, (c) higher secondary, in which stage the medium of instruction should be vernacular whenever this is practicable, and (d) university education, covering five (or four), four (or five), three and at least three years, respectively, there being a formal examination at the end of each stage only, thus avoiding the abuse of too frequent formal examination."

A careful perusal of the above two resolutions will show that they are not separate resolutions, but form one complete whole and are supplementary. The trend of discussions which led to the adoption of the above two resolutions by the Inter-University Board must persuade one to think that it was universally maintained that educational reconstruction must necessarily begin from the lowest stage, *viz.*, the primary one. The publication of the above resolutions has attracted much attention in the press and elsewhere. An interesting feature of the resolution is the quotation of several extracts from the opinions voiced by educationists and by men distinguished in public life. These quotations definitely suggest that the "value of university education is impaired by the presence in universities of a large number of students who are unfit for higher literary or scientific education, that these students cannot hope to obtain an employment which would justify the expense on their education and that the only feasible remedy is to divert them to practical pursuits in the pre-university stage." The crux of the whole problem is that the general drift to the University should be controlled as far as possible, that educational facilities should be adjusted to the aptitudes of the students and that such of the pupils as have little or no bent for the literary form of education other forms of training beneficial to their future life should

be made available. In the Western countries and in Japan this question of the student's drifting to the Universities for want of suitable openings does not arise ; there the students, just when they leave the school, find different avenues opened to them to suit their tastes and circumstances. But here in India the conditions are such that students, when they matriculate, have got only the Hobson's choice of drifting to the university, for they have neither the capacity nor the inclination of getting away from the beaten track. The reason is two-fold : First, the students are not given the free choice of their future careers according to their inclination, and also the opportunities for such free choice are very few ; secondly, their past training has been such that they have come out of the school with no idea of any technical subject nor with any liking for one. Hence it is certain that educational reform must begin from the primary and the middle stages. Of the four stages into which the period of instruction is proposed to be divided the lowest one is fraught with immense possibilities a careful handling of which will assure an easy ascent to the top of the ladder.

It is now admitted that all the children who pass beyond the primary stage require a wider measure of general education, whether it be in preparation for advanced literary or scientific studies or for vocational training in one form or another ; the latter forms of training can only be successful if they be based on the sure foundation of general knowledge and attainments. The same may be said of the middle stage, for the primary and the middle stages may be regarded to form one complete stage, so far as the preparation of ground-work is concerned. In these two stages a greater amount of general knowledge may be imparted to the students, if the present system of training be given a slight twist so as to avoid cramming and over-stuffing of books as far as possible. The medium of instruction in non-language subjects must, of course, be exclusively vernacular ; and the system of education must be based more on actual observation of facts and nature study than on reading of books. This will mean more general knowledge with less effort on the part of the students. The method, known



as the ear and eye method, may achieve a good deal in this respect. It is desirable that some sort of manual training, drawing and nature study should be introduced even in these stages, only to create a taste and to give a cursory idea of the thing.

The next stage is the higher secondary one. In this stage a complete overhauling of the system of education is proposed. Here the medium of instruction is at present generally English. It has been found a great impediment in the progress of knowledge, and in some universities an attempt is being made to make the student's vernacular the medium of instruction as far as practicable. In any country other than India the question regarding the medium of instruction never troubles anybody and it is a sort of truism. But what is a futile question in any other country has become very important in India on account of the political subjection of the country by a foreign nation whose culture is different from the traditional culture of India. Though the English language has benefited the Indians immensely, yet by bitter experience they have realized the defects of teaching through a foreign tongue which results in faulty assimilation of the subject taught; the difficulties of that language absorb the attention and result in the neglect of the subject itself. This invariably leads to cramming. Therefore, if the medium of instruction be the student's vernacular, he will find more time to devote to the acquisition of real knowledge and also find leisure to spend in some sort of vocational training as a supplementary study. Doubts have been raised by many as to the desirability of the inclusion of vocational subjects along with literary subjects in ordinary secondary schools. Their ground is that vocational training, to be successful, requires somewhat expensive equipment and above all experimental and practical teaching. They maintain that the resources should not be dissipated but should, as far as possible, be concentrated in institutions designed for the purpose. Moreover, there is the danger that haphazard intermingling of vocational and general study may defeat the very object which it sets out to achieve; pupils may also be tempted by the bait of somewhat superficial and desultory vocational training to prolong unnecessarily

their literary studies and thereby drift aimlessly into paths which are unsuitable to them. The Inter-University Board thought that this danger should be avoided and on these grounds they proposed that vocational training should ordinarily be provided in separate vocational institutions. The above proposal seems to be very sound. But at the same time it must be remembered that a taste for some technical subjects must be created in the students before they pass out of the secondary schools, so that they may choose a particular line of vocational training. Only the definition of vocational training will not mean much; it is no good in impressing upon their minds that vocational training will enable them to earn a living by some arts or crafts just after they finish the training. Something more is needed and that is to produce in them a liking for some technical subjects. This does not require the spending of a large sum of money nor expensive equipment of tools and machineries. For creating such a taste external lectures by experts on technical subjects may be organized and teaching of simple industrial subjects may be introduced. This has already been done in some of the schools of Calcutta and other parts of Bengal.

Now when a large number of students passing out of the secondary schools are sent to various technical institutions, another serious problem will present itself in the domain of education in India and particularly in Bengal. The private colleges in Bengal are mainly maintained by the tuition fees of students and they will be handicapped to a great extent if the number on the roll dwindles considerably. State-aid to these colleges is insignificant and unless and until the wealthy public loosen their purse-strings college-education will suffer a good deal. The same fate will await the university which also maintains its post-graduate classes by the fees obtained from candidates at the various examinations. These things should be considered seriously along with the starting of technical institutions. If such an exigency arises and if the State does not come forward to help the private colleges and the university liberally, the structure of higher education may collapse. It must be remembered that



no nation can live by bread alone and there must be some limit to the zeal for technical education. Colleges and universities should not undertake "bread and butter" education and must in a large measure confine themselves to pure learning. Professor Harold J. Laski has laid stress upon this aspect in an article published in the *New Republic* of America. There he says, "Universities exist for the promotion of learning and to that end their obligation both to teach and research is essential to their life. . . . The enemy of the university without is orthodoxy. It may present itself as the servant of wealth, of a political or economic creed, of a religious faith." In fact universities are in all ages the Temples of Minerva and should not on any account be converted into dependencies of Mammon. Advancement of learning is the motto of the University and any student entering the sacred precincts of the university must consider himself as a devout worshipper of the goddess of learning alone.

The above facts should be borne in mind whenever any attempt for the spread of technical education is made. There is, no doubt, necessity for vocational training, but the progress of culture in the universities should not be impeded thereby. At the same time it is no use in denying the fact that all those students who now go in for university education are neither properly qualified nor intellectually fit. It is therefore desirable that the best boys should go to colleges and the ordinary ones to technical and technological schools, and to other practical lines just after they complete the secondary school course. For these latter courses the ordinary students may also be better fit by their temperament. In this connection Mr. Bottomley, the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal, once remarked,

"There is a definite evidence to show that a boy who is backward at book learning gains confidence in himself in his industrial work and that this access of confidence reacts favourably on his book work."

The above remark of so eminent an educationist furnishes another proof of the utility of adding vocational sections to the secondary schools, and it is high time for all educationists to concentrate their energies in giving effect to the scheme. There is

another reason for beginning vocational training at an early age, for when comparatively young, the students are better fit for apprenticeship in technical firms and workshops rather than at an advanced age. In the Western countries the boys go in for apprenticeship at the age of fourteen or fifteen and they come out with fresh vigour and redoubled energy.

It is argued by some that technical education by itself cannot create new industries and thereby increase the opportunities of employment. But it must be remembered that boys who complete the shortened secondary course, as proposed by the Inter-University Board, and benefit by a form of vocational training, would be more likely to be absorbed into industrial occupations and to make most of these opportunities than many of those who now graduate or fail to graduate at comparatively advanced age; for the latter become unwilling or forced apprentices and can scarcely adapt themselves to practical training. In any case the boys would probably receive education better adapted to their capabilities, if they begin to have vocational training at an earlier age. But after all we must take a bold leap, it may be sometimes a leap in the dark, but a timely one. We must have some spirit of adventure in education, as Principal P. G. Pearce has put it in an interesting paper published in the *Educational Review* of Madras. It is one of the most valuable qualities in dealing with the youth and we need it more in the educational work of India.

Educational system of any country can never remain static; it is subject to changes by the resultant effect of various forces acting on it, and must always adapt itself to the changing conditions of the times. No country has ever followed a particular system of education, however suitable it may be, at all times. The time has now come in India when the problem of the educational reconstruction must be tackled from all points of view. It may be that some of the changes proposed to be introduced will be of a revolutionary character, but that should not stand in the way of a correct handling of the problem, only if we concern ourselves to the well-being of the country.



## TWO EMINENT LIVING AMERICANS

BY TARAKNATH DAS, PH. D.

### I

IT has been a matter of great pleasure for me, an Indian but a naturalized American, to see that the distinguished editor of *The Modern Review* has done a great service to the people of India by publishing a series of articles on Eminent Americans by the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland. As the series of articles has been published in book-form, it will have its permanent value to promote better understanding between the United States of America and India. It will dispel some of the misconceptions spread by some Indians and others who have given the dark side of American life a great deal of publicity in India, and thus, probably unconsciously, have done a distinct disservice to the cause of Indo-American friendship and co-operation.

In this connection I wish to add a few words on the subject of the fundamentals upon which the great republic of the United States has been founded and flourished. It is based upon the ideals of Freedom, Justice and Peace. I do not mean to say that the people or the government of the United States have not ever done anything which may be spoken of as against the cause of human freedom, which is unjust and which is not peaceful, but on the whole the ideals of Freedom, Justice and Peace have predominated in their activities.

Furthermore I wish to emphasize the point that no country in the world has done so much for aiding the Indian students, as the most enlightened section of the American people—especially the American educators and educational institutions—have done. I have the experience of some thirty years' living in various countries in Asia, Europe and America; and I may say that at least more than five hundred Indians have been able to secure higher education from the United States, only because they were helped wholly or partially by Americans. To be sure

there are many people in the United States who are anti-Asiatic, but since the time of Swami Vivekananda's visit to the United States and up to the present time, many eminent Americans have helped Indians and Indian social, religious and educational activities with greater generosity than any other foreign people in the world. The Ramakrishna Mission movement at its very inception received financial and moral support of some generous Americans and the late Mrs. Ole Bull was one of the first to help Swami Vivekananda. The Late Anagarika Dharmapala received considerable support financially and morally from various Americans. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's Visva-Bharati has been helped by many Americans.

May I say that hundreds of American families of middle class and high culture, without any motive of gain or profit, have befriended poor Indian students in the United States, seeking higher education. Today there are a few Indians in the United States who have not only received higher education through the generosity of the American people but are given the opportunity to teach in American institutions of learning. Let me be specific—I owe all of my higher education to the people of the United States and I am grateful to them. Dr. Sudhindra Bose, who is connected with the Department of Political Science in the University of Iowa, owes his higher education and present position to the kindness and consideration of broadminded Americans. Dr. Chatterjee of the Department of History in the Antioch College owes his education and position to the good-will of some eminent Americans. Prof. Joshi of Dartmouth College owes his present position as well as his higher education to the generosity of Americans. Mr. Dhan Gopal Mukherjee, who has made a name for himself as a poet, lecturer and author, owes his success solely to the help he received from Americans. Dr. R. K. Das, who is now connected with the



International Labour Office of the League of Nations, is a product of American education and he is undoubtedly the best authority on Indian labour and industrial problems. Dr. Saklatwala, who is now the Vice-President of Vanadium Corporation, is a product of American education. Mr. P. C. Mukherjee of Pittsburgh, who holds a very responsible position as a Chemist in the Carnegie Steel Corporation and has been in Russia as an expert, has received his education through the co-operation of American friends and holds his present position through American goodwill. Dr. A. M. Gurjar of New York has made a success as a Chemist and he received his higher education in America. The same thing is true of Dr. Kokotnur and others. There are many others in India who not only received their education through the kindness of Americans, but are today holding important and responsible positions with great efficiency. Dr. Biraja Sankar Guha was helped by the authorities of Harvard University and was given the opportunity to teach and today as an anthropologist he is an asset to India. Mr. Suren Bose of Tata and Company not only received his higher education as an electric engineer in America, but he acquired most valuable practical training with J. G. White and Company. Mr. Mathur, who is now with the Tata Steel corporation, received his education in America and had his practical training in Ford Motor Car Company. There are many Indian educators and industrialists, such as Mr. Surendra Mohan Bose of Bengal Waterproof Works, Mr. K. C. Das of Ccutta Chemical Works, Mr. Biren Das Gupta of Indo-Swiss Trading Company, Prof. Baneswar Das of College of Engineering and Technology at Jadavpur, Mr. Sarangadhar Das and Mr. V.P. Iyer (both Sugar-Chemists) and many others who are products of American education and training. They all owe a debt of gratitude to many Americans. India owes the United States of America a great deal, because the latter has helped India to increase her national efficiency.

May I suggest that those Indians and Americans who are interested in promoting Indo-American cultural co-operation should take stock of India's indebtedness to United States in various fields. This will help in laying the solid foundation of Indo-American cultural

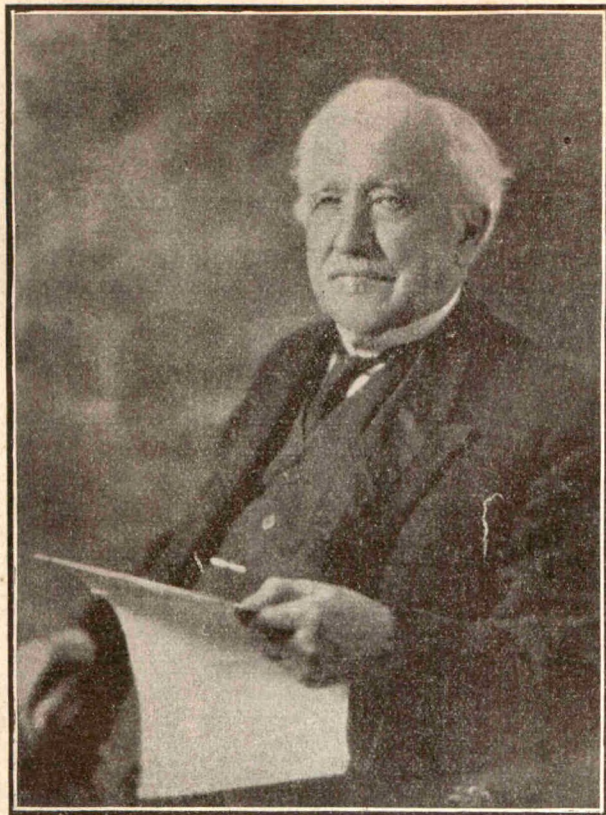
co-operation. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Radhakrisnan, Sir C. V. Raman, Prof. Surendra-nath Das Gupta, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Prof. Kalidas Nag, Prof. Wadia, and many other Indian scholars and politicians—such as the Late Lala Lajpat Rai, the late V. J. Patel, Mrs. Naidu and others—have enjoyed very generous hospitality from the people of the United States and they should take the initiative in taking effective steps for promoting Indo-American friendship.

## II

Among the American publicists, educators, politicians literally hundreds of them have championed the cause of Indian Freedom and it is not my intention to write about them, but I wish to mention that two eminent Americans—Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland and Dr. John Haynes Holmes—have served the people of India most effectively by championing the cause of Indian freedom and interpreting Indian ideals to the American people. The services of Dr. Sunderland need not be discussed at length, because the readers of *The Modern Review* have some idea of them. But I must say that during the last fifty years, Dr. Sunderland has been doing his best to spread the truth about India. It may be mentioned that even the late Dadabhai Naoroji and William Digby owed some debt to Dr. Sunderland, because the latter possibly is the originator of the theory that the famine in India was not due to want of food in India but to the poverty of the people, which in its turn had mainly an extraneous cause. Dadabhai Naoroji, Ramesh Chandra Dutt, William Digby, Keir Hardie, and others developed this theory expounded by Dr. Sunderland. In the field of Comparative Religion Dr. Sunderland has done signal service to India by interpreting Indian religions as well as philosophy. Dr. Sunderland has spent his time and money unceasingly to serve the people of India, because he felt that by doing so he was serving the cause of humanity. His work "India in Bondage and Her Right To Freedom" remains the best work on India today struggling for Freedom.

The people of India in general do not know much of the Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, the pastor of the Community Church





Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland

of New York. He is a great student of Comparative Religion and is the greatest of the active religious leaders of America, noted for his liberalism and appreciation of all religious faiths. He is possibly the greatest and the most fearless advocate of Peace. During the World War, he opposed America's entry in it and opposed War in any form in the most vigorous manner. When anti-Germanism was the prevailing thought in America, Dr. Holmes welcomed the Germans as human beings to share with him and his Church-members the spirit of human fellowship. He has championed every progressive cause in the United States and upheld every movement for human freedom—Indian freedom, Philippine independence, etc.

It is not generally known to the Indian public that Dr. Holmes was one of the first Christian pastors, if not the first one, who gave full recognition to the intrinsic value of

Non-Violent Non-Co-operation Movement sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi. In a historic sermon delivered in the Community Church of New York, Dr. Holmes, several years ago, proclaimed Gandhi, as "*the greatest man in the world today*". Since that day, he has used his efforts, through his writings and lectures, to give publicity to the activities of Mahatma Gandhi and the All-India National Congress unceasingly. In his paper "Unity", during the recent years, more has been published about India than in any other paper in a foreign land.

As a public speaker Dr. Holmes is unquestionably one of the foremost in the English-speaking world; and he has used his eloquence to rouse the people of America to further the cause of Justice, Liberty and Peace. He was one of the leaders of the movement which wanted that the ill-fated Saco and Venzetti should be given justice. He is now agitating that Tom Mooney, who is in prison, due to perjured evidence, should be freed. He is advocating that the *Scottsborough Negro prisoners* should be freed. He believes and preaches that all political prisoners in India, Germany or Soviet Russia, who are placed in jails or concentration camps *without trial*, should be freed. He, like the founders of the American Republic, believes that the cause of justice and human liberty should be fought for all over the world.

Dr. Holmes is a truly religious man, a man of peace. War and violence are opposed to his conception of religion. For this reason he advocates Disarmament and Arbitration among nations. He does not hesitate to criticize his own government, when he thinks that it is following a wrong policy, endangering the peace of the world. He is one of the foremost exponents of the idea that Christianity and War cannot be reconciled. He was one of the first Christian leaders to advocate that Christian pastors should take the leadership to refuse supporting any war, and furthered the recent historic meeting of Christian Ministers (held on May 2, 1935) at the River-



side Church (popularly known as the Rockefeller Church) at New York in which more than two hundred Christian ministers took the following solemn oath :

"In loyalty to God I believe that the way of true religion cannot be reconciled with the way of war. In loyalty to my country I support its adoption of the Kellogg-Briand Pact which renounces war. In the spirit of true patriotism and with deep personal conviction, I therefore renounce war and never will I support another."



Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes

Dr. Holmes has raised his powerful voice against race-hatred, religious bigotry and

political and economic imperialism. He is always for the under-dog, but he is not one who believes in the mechanistic theory of life. He lays special emphasis on the value of idealism and spiritual significance of life, which he so admirably discussed in one of his recent sermons on "Life, Death and Immortality" delivered on the last Easter Sunday. Like Dr. Sunderland, Dr. Holmes was once a Unitarian Minister; but he does not believe in any special creed and sect and is truly a universalist. The following statement, which is accepted by him as a declaration of faith, gives some idea of his creed :

"Unto the Church Universal, which is the depository of all ancient wisdom and the school of all modern thought; which recognizes in all prophets a harmony, in all scriptures a unity, and through all dispensations a continuity; which abjures all that separates and divides and always magnifies brotherhood and peace; which seeks truth in freedom, justice in love and individual discipline in social duty; and which shall make of all sects, classes, nations and races, one fellowship of men—unto this Church and unto all its members, known and unknown, throughout the world, we pledge the allegiance of our hands and hearts."

In the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland and Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes one finds the finest types of eminent Americans and true followers of the founder of the Christian Faith. Dr. Sunderland is 95 years of age and is still vigorous and busy with his literary activities to serve Humanity. Dr. Holmes is barely 55 years old, and, as a champion of Human Freedom, Religious Liberty and opponent of racial prejudice, is never too tired to extend a helping hand to all seeking his co-operation. America is not a land of mere "dollar-chasers". There are many idealists in this country. If India should be proud of her Tagore and Gandhi, then the United States can justly be proud of her Sunderland and Holmes.

New York.  
May 3, 1935.





## RAJMOHAN'S WIFE

By BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

### CHAPTER V

#### A letter—A visit to the Zenana

**W**HEN Madhav returned from his garden, where he had parted with his cousin, he found a messenger waiting for him with a letter which he said was "Zaruri." Madhav tore it open with eagerness, and devoured its contents. It was from his lawyer at the Sadar station of his district. We will endeavour to give a literal translation of this epistle, interspersing it with the remarks Madhav made as he read.

"To sea of glory."

"Your servant has been engaged in conducting your honour's lawsuits at this station, with great carefulness, and hopes that he will succeed in all of them."

"All of them" thought Madhav, "aye, you may say so, lawyer, for my cases are all just. But it is not in the nature of our courts to be right in every case, so I fear, I must take my lawyer's dictum with some allowance. He is an able fellow, however, and manages cases excellently, I must confess.—I heartily wish all this mummerly were at an end, but my neighbours must drag me to law. But what next?" The letter proceeded—

"It gives me great pain to have to inform you that this day, your aunt has by proxy instituted a suit against you in the principal Sadar Amin's Court, alleging that her husband's will is a forgery and claiming the whole estate with wasilut."

"My aunt!" exclaimed Madhav in astonishment, the letter dropping from his hands, "my aunt! she! Heavens! and for my whole fortune! I a forger. The wretch! I shall kick her out of the house!"

He stood musing for some moments, trembling with rage. But calming himself a little, he picked up the paper and proceeded with it.

"I do not know who gave her such counsels, but your servant has made many enquiries, knowing well that some one must have counselled it, and he has heard who it is. Great men are there at her back."

"Counsellors indeed!" thought Madhav "who can they be?" He tried to make a guess, first thought of one neighbouring zemindar, then of another, but no one seemed likely, and he resumed reading.

"But do not think your honour has anything to fear. The will is in truth real, as I know, and where there is virtue, there is victory. But it is necessary to be very cautious. It would be advisable to give vakalatnamas to Babus.....and .....vakils of the Judge's Court as well as to engage another from the Sadar Court on necessary occasions. Barristers from the Supreme Court need also be engaged when the parties join issue as well as at the final hearing. Your servant will do all in his power, and will try for the case even with his life. He waits your honour's orders.

Obedient to orders,  
GOKUL CHANDRA DAS.

P.S.—A thousand rupees are at present required to meet necessary expenses."

Madhav's first thought, after he had finished the perusal of the letter was to go and seek his aunt, and to hear what explanation she had to give of her strange proceeding. Madhav therefore immediately hurried into the inner apartments where he found it no very easy task to make himself heard in that busy hour of zenana life. There was a servant woman, black, rotund and eloquent, demanding the transmission to her hands of sundry articles of domestic use, without however making it at all intelligible to whom her demands were particularly addressed. There was another, who boasted similar blessed corporal dimensions, but who had thought it beneath her dignity to shelter them from view; and was busily employed, broomstick in hand, in demolishing the little mountains of the skins and stems of sundry culinary vegetables which decorated the floors, and against which the half-naked dame never aimed a blow but coupled it with a curse on those whose duty it had been to prepare the said vegetables for dressing.

A third had ensconced herself in that corner of the yard which formed the grand receptacle of household filth, and was employing all her energies in scouring some brass pots; and as her ancient arms whirled round in rapid evolutions the scarcely less active engine in her mouth hurled dire anathemas against the unfortunate cook, for the mighty reason, that the latter had put the said vessels to their legitimate use, and thus caused the labours which excited the worthy matron's ire. The cook herself, far removed from the scene where both her spiritual and her temporal prospects were being so fiercely dealt with by the excited scourer of the brass pots,



was engaged in an angry discussion with an elderly lady, apparently the housewife and governess, the subject of debate being no less interesting and important than the quantity of ghee to be allowed her for the culinary purposes of the night. The honest manufacturer of rice and curry was anxious to secure only just double the quantity that was necessary, wisely deeming it advisable that half should be set apart in secret for her own special benefit and consumption. In another corner might be heard those sounds so suggestive of an agreeable supper, the huge *bunti* severing the bodies of fishes doomed to augment the labours of the conscientious cook aforesaid. Several elegant forms might be seen flitting, not often noiselessly but always gracefully, across the *daláns* and veranda with dirty earthen lamps lighted in their little hands, and occasionally sending forth the tinkling of the silver *mal* on their ankles or a summons to another in a voice which surpassed the silver in delicacy. A couple of urchins utterly naked and evidently excrescences in the household, thought the opportunity a fitting one for the display of their belligerent propensities and were making desperate attempts at tearing each other's hair. Some young girls were very clamorously engaged in playing at *Agdum Bagdum* in the corner of a terrace.

Madhav stood for some moments in utter hopelessness of ever making himself heard in this the veriest of Babels.

"Will you, you wenches," he cried at length in a key creditable to his lungs, "will you cease? Can I speak?"

The change this short exclamation produced was magical. The vociferations of the dame whose demands for nameless articles had been hitherto addressed to the air, ceased in the midst of a scream of more than ordinary power, and the black rotund form of the screamer was nowhere to be seen. She of the broomstick threw away the formidable weapon as if stung by an adder, and sought in precipitate flight to shelter her half-naked mass of flesh in the friendly cover of some dark corner. The anathematizing scourer of the brass vessels was cut short in the midst of a very sonorous curse; and both her tongue and her arm were suspended in the middle of half-performed evolutions. The destroyer of the finny tribe, also, experienced a momentary interruption, but though she mustered courage to resume her task, it was certainly executed with a far smaller expenditure of noise. The presiding divinity of the kitchen abruptly terminated her vocal exertions in favour of ghee and betook to her heels, carrying off in the precipitancy of her flight the entire

ghee-pot, a bare moiety of which had just formed her demands. The flitting figures with the lit lamps disappeared in tumultuous flight, little caring that the tinkling of the ornaments in their feet betrayed the very presence they endeavoured to conceal. The combat of the sturdy little warriors who fought in nudity and darkness for victory suddenly terminated in flight on both sides, though the abler general of the two did not fail to fire a retiring shot in the shape of a hearty kick at the shins of his antagonist. The little girls too, who had been so merrily playing, rose and followed the said general accompanying him with an ill-suppressed tittle of hilarity. The scene which had just exhibited an unparalleled confusion was suddenly changed into one of utter silence and solitude, and the grave housewife was the only being who stood unmoved and unchanged before the master of the house.

"Masi," said Madhav, addressing the matron, "how is this? My house is a very bazar."

"Women, son, women," replied the Masi with a benevolent and affectionate smile; "it is woman's nature to be screaming."

"Where is Khuri now, Masi?"

"That is what I was thinking of" was the reply, "she has not been seen in the house since morning."

"Not seen in the house since morning!" exclaimed Madhav in amazement, "the thing is true then?"

"What is true, son?" replied the maternal aunt.

"Nothing; I will tell you afterwards. Where is she then? Has any one seen her anywhere?"

"Ambika, Srimati," cried the matron, addressing the women who were engaged with the fish and the vessels respectively, "have you seen her anywhere?"

"No," replied each softly.

"Strange," said the matron; then, as if addressing the walls, she enquired, "has any one seen her?"

"I met her at the Elder House at bathing-time," replied a voice from behind the walls.

"There!" exclaimed the matron in surprise.

"There! in Mathur Dada's house," exclaimed Madhav also, and then muttered between his teeth, a sudden light flashing upon him, "cousin Mathur! can he be the instigator? No, no, it cannot be, I judge wrong." Then speaking out he said, raising his voice, to one of the women present, "Go to the Elder House, and see if my aunt is there; if she is, ask her to return, and in case she refuses, know her reasons."



## CHAPTER VI

All who have their eyes shut do not sleep. Mat-walls like stone-walls have ears.

Let us now return to Matangini.—Led to her chamber by her aged aunt-in-law after the harsh treatment she had received from her husband, she shut herself up in anguish of spirit. Supper was prepared in due time by the old woman, but not all her requests and entreaties nor those of Kishori, her sister-in-law, could prevail upon her to come out to partake of it. They were obliged therefore to desist and leave her to her own melancholy reflections.

Matangini lay in her bed brooding over the sufferings she was doomed for ever to bear. Her husband, she knew, would not see her that night, as was his wont whenever he was offended with her. She, however, felt all the happier for it, and felt a pleasure too in being left alone to indulge in her reflections. The night advanced and one by one the inmates of the house retired to rest. A deep silence pervaded the household as well as all external nature. Matangini's chamber was without a light, and total darkness pervaded it, except where a bright moonbeam that crept through a slight crevice in the small window, streaked the cold mud-floor. With her head raised from the pillow and supported on her hand, her *anchal* thrown off from her bosom towards the waist on account of the sultry heat, Matangini gazed on the single ray of moonlight that recalled to her remembrance the days when she could sport beneath the evening beams with the gay and light heart of childhood. Childhood! That time when she used to lie in the open air, arm in arm with her beloved Hemangini, gazing on the silver orb that poured the sweet light and the interminable deep blue ocean on which she sailed! Many, many were the tales, such as childhood loves, which they then told to each other or heard from their affectionate grandmothers, and hearty was the mirth with which they listened. Eight years had wrought a change. The loud laugh was forgotten, the faces which she loved and whose pictures lay treasured in her heart, she never more could see. And then that smile and that tone of affection! Oh! she could give all she had now in the world again to see that smile, again to hear that tone of human voice. Her heart was a warm spring of inexhaustible love, but it found no vent, and the cold breath of unkindness congealed the celestial stream at its source. One painful remembrance, painful but too sweet in its painfulness not to be brooded over again and again, still connected her past happiness with her present lot. That she

wished to forget; but she could not. There was but one human being near her who loved her, the good and guileless Kanak and she alone was mistress of her secret. Beyond this her life was continued misery, and Matangini wept as she thought it could be nothing more.

The sultry heat incident to the season became intolerable, and Matangini rose from her bed to open the window. She was about to open it when the sound of soft and cautious footsteps caught her ear. The sound evidently proceeded from outside the house, and from no distance from the window behind which she stood. The window was, as usual in mat-walled houses, very small, being not more than three feet by two and stood at a height of two feet above the floor. Matangini paused and tried to see through the chink, but could observe nothing beyond a cluster of trees and the far-off tops of others waving against the moonlit sky.

As no foot-path lay close to the place whence the sounds of footsteps proceeded, Matangini's apprehensions were excited; she stood motionless, and listened with intense attention. The footsteps approached very close to her and at length ceased; and she could hear whispering voices. Her curiosity was still more strongly excited when she recognized in one of the voices that of her husband, who spoke a little louder than the other. As the mat-wall alone divided them, Matangini could catch enough of the sounds, though not all, to be able to understand the meaning of the speaker.

"Why do you speak so loud?" said one of the whisperers, after a few words had been exchanged, "people in your house may hear us."

"None can be awake at this hour" said Rajmohan, as Matangini guessed from the voice.

"Had we not better go a little further off from the wall? Should any one happen to be awake, she could not then overhear us," observed the other.

"No," returned Rajmohan, "should any be awake as you fear, then we are best as we are, for here under the shadows of the wall and the eaves, no one can possibly see us from the house—neither through the chinks nor probably from outside, should people happen to be out at this hour."

"True," said the other, "but who are in this room here?"

"Why should I tell you that?" Rajmohan said, but immediately addressed, "there can be no harm in telling it, in my chamber there is nobody there but my wife."

"Are you sure she is asleep?" demanded the other.



"I think so, but I will go round and see, you wait here."

Matangini now heard steps receding. Softly and noiselessly she trod the floors and returned to her bed, on which she alighted still more gently and cautiously; so that the least rustling of clothes was not heard. She then threw herself into a posture of sleep, and shut her eyes.

Rajmohan came round to the door of his chamber and lightly tapped at it, nobody came to open it. He called gently to his wife to open the door, but with no better success. He now thought that his wife was really asleep, but thinking it not impossible that she would keep silence from resentment for which he had furnished ample cause, he determined to enter the room any how. Rajmohan went to the kitchen, struck a light, and returned with the kitchen lamp in his hand. Then laying it on the ground he applied one foot to one leaf of the door, and held fast the other with an arm. The slack hinges permitted a slight opening to be thus made between the leaves, and Rajmohan thrust a finger in to see if the large bar, the slight wooden bolt, and the little iron chain had all been fastened. He perceived that only the wooden bolt had been used, and rightly judged that his wife had left the door so slightly secured in order to permit him to open it from without if he chose to go in. He easily unfastened the slack bolt by thrusting two fingers in and drawing it aside, and entered the room with the lamp in his hand.

Rajmohan found the features of his wife composed in sleep. He called her several times by name, but so gently as not to awake her; spoke kindly, so that if his wife's silence proceeded from resentment or anger, it might vanish, but still finding her silent and breathing hard, and knowing no reason why she should counterfeit sleep, he was satisfied of its reality and went out, shutting the door after him by the same artifice that had helped him to open it. He then extinguished the lamp, and went round the whole house, tapping at each door and calling in a gentle voice to the slumberers, but finding none awake, rejoined his companion.

As the footsteps of her husband died away, Matangini left her bed and stealing with the same soft tread to the window overheard the following conversation.

After learning from Rajmohan that all was safe, his unknown companion began.

"Are you willing to assist us in this affair?"

"Not much I confess," said Rajmohan. "Not that I pretend to be honest so late, but though I don't like the man, he has done me some good."

"Why then do you not like him?" asked the shrewd stranger.

"Because if he has done me some good he has done me harm too, and perhaps more harm than good," replied Rajmohan.

"Well, if so, why not assist us?"

"I will, if you give me what I demand. I am anxious to remove from his cursed neighbourhood, but I don't see how I can get food elsewhere without coming to trouble. I wish much therefore to get a sum that will make me care little where I go. If your affair will bring me such an amount of money, I will assist you."

"Name your condition," said the stranger.

"First let me know what I am required to do," responded the other.

"You will do what you have done for us sometimes before this—help us to conceal the property. This time we mean to leave everything we get except cash on your hands, and that this very night."

"I understand," Rajmohan replied, "you will do well not to conceal from me how much you stand in need of my aid. You are aware that a deed in such a big and wealthy house will be followed by too strict an enquiry and too hot a search for the property to render it convenient to you all to be enjoying your shares in quiet for some time, and you absolutely want somebody who can hold them in trust for you—which you well know none can do so well as I, specially as suspicion will not easily fall on me. Yes, I have an excellent hiding place for such things; but I shall demand too much I fear."

"You see it—be moderate in your terms," rejoined the dacoit, for such, the reader sees, he was.

"We won't haggle," replied Rajmohan, "I want one-fourth of what you may sell the things for."

The dacoit knew Rajmohan too well to think he was endeavouring to bully him into a bad bargain.—He was silent for a moment and then said:

"So far as I am concerned—agreed; but I must take the opinion of the others, though you know my word in such matters is their word also."

"I have no doubt of that," responded Rajmohan, "but one word more. Before you take away those things, we will make a guess work of what the things will sell for—and you will pay me down a fourth of it in cash. Of course I shall afterwards make up for any thing that may fall short of expectation, and you will do the same to me if you get more."



"Certainly it will be so, but one word to you also.—You are to do another service."

"I will, if you name another price."

"Yes, of course. We mean to carry off Madhav Ghose's property for ourselves; but we want to carry off something else for another."

"What?" enquired Rajmohan with some show of curiosity.

"His uncle's will."

"Hoon," exclaimed Rajmohan starting slightly.

"Yes—and will be paid for it. Now we want to know from you where Madhav keeps that will."

"I don't know it exactly myself. I have seen him take out his document from a certain box, but I don't know where that box is kept, whether he keeps it in another box or chest or almirah, I know nothing—but who pays you for the will?"

"I am bound not to tell."

"Not even to me?"

"To none."

"Is it Mathur Ghose?"

"May be or may not—but what sort of a box is it?"

"The terms?"

"What do you ask?"

"Two hundred in cash."

"Rather too much for two or three words. But we have too much to do"—the dacoit continued, speaking more to himself than to the other, "to be searching for a bit of paper all night. The box must be in some iron chest in the bedroom; so we can find it easily if we only know what sort of box contains it. There is no jabbering with you—so be it as you say."

"It is an ivory box" Rajmohan said, "with three English letters written in gold on the lid. Those are the first letters of his name."

"So now that it is arranged," said the dacoit, "come with me and let us see our men. We will appoint a place of rendezvous where you will wait for us. Come, there is no time to lose; the work must be commenced as soon as the moon sets, and summer nights are short."

So saying the robber and his confederate softly stole from the shadow of the wall and took their way towards the woods at a distance from each other, soon to reunite in another dark spot. Matangini sank on the floor in astonishment and dismay.

## CHAPTER VII

*In which the author narrowly misses an opportunity of introducing a few ghosts and regrets that he cannot gratify his young readers.*  
Every word that caught the ear of Matangini

froze her with horror during the terrible dialogue she overheard. As long as it continued, the intense interest with which she listened sustained her trembling frame, but so soon as it was ended, she sank overpowered on the floor. For some moments she remained almost insensible from the stupor of fear and agony. By degrees she recovered composure enough to think on what she had heard. A new and terrible light had just been thrown on the life and character of her husband. She had hitherto known him as a man of mad heart and brutal temper, but she recoiled with horror at the recollection that the accomplice of robbers, himself a robber perhaps, had hitherto enjoyed her innocent bosom. And the future? Was it in her power, now that her eyes were opened, to tear herself from his disgusting embraces? No, no, she was for ever cursed!

Such thoughts would rend her bosom at one moment—at the next the daring crime to which he was going to lend a hand burst on her sight with fearful vividness. She trembled as she thought of this. And the victims of this horrible deed were to be her own Hemangini and her Madhav. Her hair stood on end, her blood tingled in her veins, and a sharp pang shot across her head. All thoughts of her own accursed future and degraded womanhood vanished as she thought of the beloved beings who were now sleeping in fancied security while utter poverty and misery, perhaps worse, yawned to engulf them in an hour. She felt she must save them if she could, even at the price of her life.

Her first thought was to alarm her own household. But the next moment she perceived the folly of the thought. Who in the household would believe it of Rajmohan? Would his aunt believe it? or would his sister? Most probably they would think her crazed, delirious or dreaming. And supposing they did believe, would they endanger Rajmohan to save Madhav? And even if they would, could they save him? No, they dreaded too much their formidable relative to act in the slightest manner against his wishes. And should they not believe her, but in any manner let him know what she had uttered, her doom would be sealed.

She next thought of Kanak. Might not Kanak be sent to inform Madhav's household? Kanak's house was close by and Matangini might steal away from her chamber and awaken and impart to her so much of what she knew as would suffice to warn Madhav without endangering Rajmohan. But this course also appeared unpromising, if not impossible. She could not



awaken Kanak without awakening Kanak's mother also, for both she knew, slept in the same room. Kanak might perhaps believe anything she said without asking for explanations, but Kanak's mother would not. To satisfy her it would be necessary to reveal everything and implicate her husband, but Matangini could not for all the world turn informer against the man to whom she had pledged her faith before God and man. Nor would it be possible to impart to Kanak alone the purpose of a midnight visit, and would Kanak's mother allow her daughter to leave her home at midnight, alone, or what she perhaps might think as bad, in the company of another young woman? Far from it, it was rather more likely that she would awaken Matangini's household in return, and deliver her over to their custody, fairly making it certain that Matangini had become either mad or dishonest. And even with her mother's consent, would Kanak have the courage to venture on such a journey at such an hour unattended or attended by only another woman, herself, specially when bands of dacoits were out, lurking on the wayside?

Matangini now perceived with despair that her only resource lay in herself. She must go herself. Her whole soul recoiled at the idea. She thought not of the danger, though the danger was great. At this hour of dread loneliness, a young woman would have to thread her way through a wild and jungly path. She was, naturally enough, superstitious and her rich imagination was stored with tales of unearthly hauntings of the woods, and had fed on them since infancy. A band of desperate robbers were stationed somewhere in the vicinity, and should she fall into their hands, she shuddered to think what might be the consequence. If among these robbers she should meet her husband! Matangini shuddered again.

Matangini had a brave heart, and for her sister and her husband she felt she could risk her life.

As the appalling dangers rose before her mind, her noble love expanded and rose also, and she longed to sacrifice at its altar a life whose burden her crushed heart could not longer bear. But still another womanly feeling kept her back. To go to the house of Madhav at midnight and alone! Who would understand her? What would Madhav think! She pressed her brows and stood thinking in an unmoved attitude.

Undecided she heaved a deep sigh, and to relieve herself of the heat that oppressed her, she ventured to open the little window. The trees now cast shadows of huge length and the

moon hung over the far horizon, shedding a waning light. In an hour she would vanish, the loud shout of the robbers would be heard, "and then," thought Matangini, "it will be too late to save them." The near approach of certain danger banished her scruples, her love returned with tenfold energy, and she no longer hesitated.

Wrapping herself in a coarse piece of bed-cloth from head to foot she gently opened the door, and issuing out of the chamber, closed it with the same care and drew the bolt after her in the same manner as Rajmohan had done. As she stood out in the open space and eyed the vast solitude of the blue heavens and the thick mass of the noiseless tops of the trees, her heart again misgave [her] and her feet refused their office.

"Gods, give me strength," she uttered with her hands clasped on her bosom. Then summoning all her resolutions, she made rapid but noiseless steps. Her heart beat as she walked through the jungly path. The dreary silence and the dark shadows appalled her. The knotted trunks of huge trees showed like so many unearthly forms watching her progress in malignant silence. In each leafy bough that shot over her darkened path, she fancied there lurked a demon. In each dark recess she could see the skulking form and glistening eyes of a spectre or of a robber. All the wild tales she had heard of fierce visages and ghostly grins that had appalled to death the belated traveller, rushed to her imagination. The light crack of the falling leaf, the flapping wings of some frightened night-bird as it changed its unseen seat among the dark branches, the slight rustle of crawling reptiles among the fallen leaves, even her own footsteps made her heart fainter and fainter. Still the resolute girl hurried on, taking the name of her patron goddess a thousand times within her heart, and now and then muttering a prayer. The darkest part of the path wound along a glade which lay between two plots of raised ground. On one side was a vast mangrotope enclosed by a high and impervious hedge of prickly vegetation. On the other side was the raised bank of a pool covered with underwood above which waved the vast foliage of three *Bur* trees, darkening the foot-path which wound beneath their shadows. Matangini cast around her eyes in fear. From the middle of the mangrotope issued a strong glare of light, and she could even hear low discordant voices. All her worst fears were realized. There was the robber band, Matangini stood chained to the spot, unable to move a step. To add to her misfortune a dog which lay by the wayside rose up and began to bark loudly at the sight of a passenger at night.



Immediately the voices in the garden were hushed. Matangini still retained presence of mind enough to see that the dacoits had taken the warning given by the animal, and that she was likely soon to be discovered. Danger again restored her energies. Darting with the fleetness and the lightness of the gazelle across the darkened bank of the pool, she as swiftly ascended to the edge of the water. Her position was now concealed by the bank from the view of any who might look for her in the foot-path; but should the robbers think of looking about the bank on which the *Bur* trees stood, she was lost. No bush or thicket was near to afford her a shelter. Her energies had been roused and she did not lose a moment. The dog still barked. She hastily loosened a heavy clod of earth from the moist edge of the water, placed it in the coarse cloth in which she had wrapped herself, and tied it in a bundle, so that it might not float when thrown into the water. Thus prepared to free herself from an incumbrance which might betray her, for the light *sari* could be managed with ease, she stood ready for an emergency. Footsteps could now be distinctly heard and voices whispered on the other side of the bank. She gently sank the bundle in the water, taking care that the water might not splash. Then as gently gliding into the water at a spot where the spreading branches of the *Bur* cast a deep shadow, she sat down immersed to her chin, so that nothing but her head was visible, if indeed it could be seen where the dark water of the pool was made darker by the sombre shade of the tree. But still apprehensive lest the fair complexion of her lily face [should] betray her, she unloosed the knot of her hair and spread the dark luxuriant tresses on all sides of her head, so that not even the closest scrutiny could now distinguish from above the dark hair floating over the darkened pool.

Presently the footsteps and the whispering voices approached this side of the bank and descended half way. Matangini could hear this, but did not turn her head.

"It is strange," said one of the voices within her hearing, "I thought I saw through an opening in the hedge a figure wrapped in a chudder standing on the pathway."

"You must have mistaken a tree for a man," said the other, "for could any have disappeared so soon? Besides, would any sane man wrap himself in a thick chudder as you say, in this season?"

"Yes, you may be right," was the reply, "or it might be an *apadevata*\* that I have seen."

\* Evil Spirit.

She too gave a last glance around them, without discovering, however, the timid intruder who formed the cause of their apprehension. They then walked away.

Matangini waited in the water for some minutes even after she had heard the last audible sound of their footsteps, and when she thought they had regained the mango-grove, she came out of her watery shelter and gently squeezed the water out of her *sari*, abandoning to it the lost chudder. Without venturing again on the dangerous foot-path above, she took her way along the edge of the water, along a bank at right angles to the one she had left, casting looks of anxious fear behind her. She knew well the foot-paths here, for though so strictly forbidden the Madhumati, she had permission to resort to this piece of water for her daily ablutions. From this bank the fair adventurer cut across a little foot-path which she knew led through a dense mass of underwood to the one that she had been compelled to desert. It was at length gained, though not without repeated misgivings of the heart. There she stood at a distance from the mango-grove and the animal which had caused her so much trouble. But a new difficulty threatened to check her further progress. Since her arrival at Radhaganj she had but twice visited her sister, and never on foot, but closed in a palaki. As much of the way as she knew from hearsay she had passed, but now her footsteps rested at the intersecting point of cross-roads. Bewildered by her new difficulty, she turned her eyes on all directions and luckily caught sight of the tops of the tall *Devdaru* trees which she knew stood in front of Madhav's house. She immediately struck the path which led in that direction and soon got the huge edifice in view, towards the khirki or postern gate of which she turned her steps.

[The last difficulty had yet to be overcome. All in the household were asleep at that hour, and it was after knocking a good many times that she succeeded in rousing Karuna, the maid-servant of the house.]

"Who knocks at this time of night?" enquired Karuna surlily.

"Oh hasten, hasten, Karuna, open the door" cried Matangini anxiously.

"But who are you that I shall open the door to you at this time of night?" again demanded Karuna in the same surly tone, indignant that the sweetness of her repose should be disturbed by an untimely intruder.

"Come, come soon—you will see," said Matangini in a beseeching tone, unwilling to speak out who she was.



"But who are you," cried Karuna more furiously than ever.

"I am a woman and no thief, come and see," was the reply.

It struck the slowly opening senses of Karuna that a thief does not usually possess so sweet a voice as the one she heard. Without further parley, therefore, she came to the door and opened it.

"You, Thakurani!" exclaimed Karuna in utter astonishment at beholding Matangini.

"I want to see my sister," said the latter, "lead me to her."

But Karuna's faculties had scarcely recovered

from her surprise, and the worthy dame kept on asking questions.

"You here!" she repeated, "and at midnight! What brings you here, mother? Your clothes are wet. What has happened?"

The impatient girl replied not to her questions, but said again in a commanding tone, "Lead me to my sister."

"She is asleep," said Karuna, "yet we will awaken her. But wait, first change your clothes."

"Give me a *sari* soon if you can, or lead on."

Karuna gave her a *sari* that was at hand, and Matangini changing her light apparel in a trice followed Karuna to the apartments above stairs.

(To be continued)

## THE COLLAPSE OF DEMOCRACY

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SOME five years ago, Lord Hewart, ex-Lord Chief Justice of England wrote his book, *The New Despotism*. There were numerous misgivings at that time whether his Lordship's conclusions did not constitute but a series of minor incidents in the progress of democracy and whether there was not misplaced emphasis in his clarion call in favour of parliamentary reform. But the events of the past few years have fully justified Lord Hewart's picture of the decadence of parliamentary governance and of the usurpation of powers by government departments to the detriment of the privileges, powers and prestige of the legislature itself. There is a feeling all over the world which is gaining ground day by day that parliamentary government is doomed to complete failure and that the process of decay is visible in almost every democratically governed country. Actually, Lord Hewart's prognosis does not touch the fringe of the problem as compared to the magnitude of the question involved by the present position of parliamentary democracy all over the world. Especially in India where we are now exercised by stupendous questions like the White Paper, the new constitution and a Constituent Assembly, it is worth while to ponder over the implications of the caption of this thesis. The collapse of democracy has become a settled fact. If it is not annihilated by complex world forces, it is at least on its last legs. By showing up the question against the vast international political canvas at our disposal, I propose to examine the applicability

of our conclusions to the Indian scene of our generation.

From China to Peru today there is one doleful story of parliamentary inefficiency, of revolutions and dictatorships. East and West have equally well given us numerous portents indicating one single phenomenon, that of the fundamental change of psychology which is sure to hold the fortunes of humanity in its grip for a very long time to come. Particularly during the post-War era, numerous revolutions and counter-revolutions have taken place all the world over. There is a strong indication of restlessness, dissatisfaction and groping in the dark in the direction of some new programme of action, a new something which is expected to yield results of lasting benefit towards pulling a demoralized mass of humanity out of a vicious circle. Sometimes engineered, sometimes a trick of fortune, sometimes a creature of circumstance, in almost every country where there was a revolution there was a change of political power as a condition precedent to such a metamorphosis. Our vast international canvas is replete with dots and lines, scars and patches, colour and shade, supplied by the strivings of numerous nations in search of political rebirth and realization.

In Afghanistan a new regime of things was heralded by the partial invasion of India in 1919 before Amanullah became King and dictator. Ten years of absolute power and an indecent haste towards achieving reform cost



Amanullah his throne. The *Breha-i-Sakao* became Amir Habibullah, who himself was routed in the field of battle by the late King Nadir Shah. During these fifteen years there were four regimes of national polity experienced by the Afghans. Theocracy remained almost unsullied as a rock and all attempts towards the introduction of parliamentary democracy must be said to have ended in smoke but for the continued existence of the tribal organization of Afghan politics.

Taking another oriental country, we find that it was only three years ago that Siam had a change-over from monarchical absolutism in favour of a military dictatorship, with all the camouflaged paraphernalia of parliamentary democracy. In fact, the general revolution of 1932 and the subsequent political breezes do not leave us with any solid impression about the march of parliamentary democracy in Siam. The abdication of King Prajadhipok is significant.

Among the oriental countries, four other examples deserve scrutiny. Dictatorship is a presiding reality in Persia, in Turkey, in Egypt and in Russia. But these four countries present us with four different problems of vital importance to our study of democratic institutions in the world. A military dictator became King Reza Shah Pahlavi. Even though the king is a paternal ruler, there is dictatorship in operation in Persia today, with but very little scope of representative government in its truest sense. Next Turkey offers us a very different problem altogether. There is no doubt the Grand National Assembly for consultative purposes. Since it is a packed house, it is no good at all for the translation of the true democratic principle into actuality. The story of Egypt has a somewhat different tale to tell. Zaghlul Pasha and Nahas Pasha have sacrificed their lives and careers towards building up and controlling a democratic national organization, the *wafd*. But even the temporary success which the latter patriot of Egypt enjoyed when he became Prime Minister was of no avail, so far as it was not useful in making freedom and true representative democracy descend down from precedent to precedent. A virtual dictatorship under the leadership of Nessim Pasha supported by Royal patronage is the outstanding factor in the present-day political fortunes of the land of Pharaohs. The Soviet experiment in Russia constitutes perhaps a profound experiment in the socio-economic basis of the human system. The dictatorship of the proletariat has swayed the imagination of the world for over a period of fifteen years with ruthless insistence never heard of in human history. Parliamentary government and democratic procedure are consequently absent in the Russian polity of the present day.

Over the Occident, a similar sweep of psychology is visible at the present moment. The treaty of Versailles is the starting point for the remarkable series of changes in the political

fortunes of Western communities. The war to end war, the war to make the world safe for democracy, the war to establish a regime of consultative action between neighbouring states in case of dispute, has not achieved its purpose. The vast scaffolding of social and community life has been undermined and the entire fabric of Western civilization has crumbled. With the on-rush of political change, capitalism, wage-slavery, the position of privileged classes, the sovereignty of parliaments have all experienced remarkable changes. Most of the secession states became dictatorships, some representatives, some monarchical, notably Poland under, the late Marshal Pilsudski, Lithuania, Esthonia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, in the line of military and parliamentary dictatorships and Roumania, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia and others in the Balkan Peninsula elucidating monarchical despotism.

The Italian experiment under Mussolini is unique in its composition and significance. An apology for a limited monarchy is maintained in the presence of King Victor Emmanuel III. The outward form of parliamentarianism has for some time been adhered to by means of the Senate and the popular Chamber. Even these luxuries have now given place to the syndicalized form of society, the various national corporations having been brought together under one grand direction.

Turning to the countries dotting the Iberian Peninsula we find that two monarchies were successfully uprooted in Portugal and Spain. King Manoel's abdication was easier than that of King Alfonso XIII, since in Spain a war psychosis prevailed before the Bourbon dynasty was driven out of the land. In fact, without such a peculiar psychological concentration of the forces of revolution, even as against the iron grip of military rule successfully fostered by generals Primo-de-Revera and Berenguer, which suppressed free thought and civic action in the country to an extent unknown and unheard of in the twentieth century the latter would not have been possible. The revolution of 1930 was a remarkable demonstration of the fact that rapine, incest and wholesale destruction of life and property are not absolutely necessary before one political regime is to give place to another. A radical-socialist republic of Spain was but a panting interregnum. If the events of the immediate present are to be remembered, the socialist utopia which was the basis of this revolution is to supply the grist to the mill of full-fledged fascism. In the future, Spain is to be tossed up between communism and fascism, and whichever form of political government succeeds in that country, it is bound to be dictatorial, only with this difference that there would be a change of dynasty from General Berenguer to Senor Somebody in the line of dictators.

Turning to the pivotal countries of Europe at the present moment, we find a similar portent in



the horizon. The case of France is easily stated. Such a well-seasoned and responsible Statesman as ex-President Doumergue has recently declared that there is the imminent threat of civil war and that the philosophical triad, *liberté, égalité, fraternité*, which has so far sustained countless human efforts towards achieving civic and political freedom, is now threatened to the foundations with destruction and that a fascist state is bound to emerge in case a determined effort is not made towards upholding the regime of reform which the government has set before itself. In fact, the fortunes of the Third Republic are in the balance. The Marseilles murders are bound to record their verdict, but speculative politics compel us to doubt France's future stability.

The position of the British empire in the realm of international politics is intriguing but pregnant with possibilities. The party system which has been the bed-rock of British governance for ages together has been mercilessly annihilated when the national government came into power in September 1931. It is, again, here a question of the psychology of a nation's economy. Mounting figures of unemployment and a precarious position in international economic markets, all contribute towards producing a state of myopia, but a condition precedent to such a thorough change or alternation of genius, which makes people to feel hypochondriachal, is the emergence of a political showman. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has succeeded in supplying this ingredient in British politics. It is not want of charity, if it is said that the present government in England is neither national nor government. It is a conservative ramp which is masquerading under the cloak of a unified national system of administration in order to extract confidence both at home and abroad. It is not government since no organized and energetic effort is made to truly govern or control the political, economic and other forces which are buttressing the nation during the past few years. The present national government is lacking in direction, in control and in any comprehensive programme of reconstruction. This is exactly the reason why the fascist comet has already appeared in horizon in the person of Sir Oswald Mosley whose brown shirt movement has remarkably caught the imagination of the younger generations of the people. The Mosley menace may not be deemed formidable at the present moment, but all revolutionary organizations have started in a really insignificant manner. It is a question of opportunities and there need not be the least doubt that Mosley is the man of destiny in the England of the future.

The case of the German Reich is easily told. Long before the treaty of Versailles was concluded monarchy was uprooted and the Weimar constitution established, republican democracy declaring that the early fortunes of the German republic thoroughly belied its future

possibilities. Rathenau lost his life, the economic and financial structure of the country completely collapsed, the reparations tribute mounted by leaps and bounds, Germany's foreign credit completely stopped, industry and commerce were almost wiped out—in fact, the nation's economy crumbled to its very foundations. This is the record of the years 1921 and 1925. Still, parliamentary democracy carried on a precarious existence under the fostering care of President Hindenburg and Dr. Stresemann. Who could have foreseen in 1926, when Germany entered the League of Nations under the inspiration of Dr. Stresemann, that even years later it was to recede into the back-ground of international politics and commit political suicide under President Hitler's domination?

The problem of Germany is the problem of Hitler. The future of Germany is undoubtedly the life story of Hitler, still, in store for us. The *Reichführer* is the nation personified. Every German is to sing hallelujah before the *reichführer's* official altar. This complete oneness of the supreme leader of the nation with the nation itself is perhaps the most outstanding example of what dictatorship can achieve in the twentieth century. Mussolini's leadership of the state fades into insignificance before Hitler's triumphant march across the German horizon. Even the last vestige of democracy and popular Government has been wiped out in Germany during the past few months. The life cells of political personality which even the smallest of communities possess, are inundated in the Germany of today with the doubtful elixir of dictatorial direction. Typified by the ideas of a totalitarian state, concentrated in the personality of the Leader, mechanized and regimental life is Hitler's legacy to the future.

Discipline which is not voluntary is bound to return as a boomerang. Controversy which is the best form of ascertaining truth and which is the best form of the essential basis of parliamentary democracy having receded into the background, Germany is but dominated by one voice, that of the *Reichführer*. Hero-worship is good and is bound to produce remarkable results in times of actual national crisis. But deification cannot be said to yield similar results. If Mahatma Gandhi cannot sustain his semi-deified reputation beyond a point, it need not be wondered at if Hitler and his cult in the future are to dig their own graves. But we have strayed into regions beyond the province of our present thesis. The collapse of democracy is more fundamentally illustrated in Germany than in any other part of the world.

The recent history of the U. S. A. and Japan also fortify us in our conclusion about the collapse of democracy being a settled fact. It is common knowledge that the legal and constitutional position of the President of the U. S. A. even under normal circumstances is that of the dictator. The



Presidential veto is intractable and absolute. Barring impeachment after he lays down office, there is nothing which could bring an American President to book, both in law and in fact. The position of President Roosevelt is unique in every respect. The scion of a very initial American family, the grandson of a former President, his reputation as an administrator stands very high indeed. Owing to severe economic depression and a complete collapse of the entire national economy, opportunities of a very rare type have offered themselves to him. The National Recovery Administration may be a temporary expedient to stem the tide of national collapse. But, judged from a purely constitutional-legal point of view, it must be conceded that in the N. R. A., President Roosevelt has annexed to his official position, the prerogatives of a dictator. Numerous federal and local laws have been arbitrarily abrogated, before the tentacles of the N. R. A., machinery have been thoroughly sunk into the fabric of the national being. In these days of acute conflict between capital and labour, there cannot be the least doubt about the success of this experiment. When once success is guaranteed to the N. R. A., President Roosevelt is bound to emerge from the ordeal as a bigger man, with unrivalled authority in the land. Even granting failure, the possibility of dictatorial methods sweeping the U. S. A., is imminent. Actually, labour is bound to spring on us a concentrated form of communism, as the present American firmament fully well indicates.

The Land of the Rising Sun is our last example to illustrate the complete collapse of democracy all the world over, even though a few more incidents can be picked up from the South American Continent for a similar purpose. The Meiji Restoration during the last quarter of the nineteenth century is generally supposed to have inaugurated a system of Parliamentary government in Japan. Prince Ito and Admiral Yamamoto were hailed as the nation's saviours with the customary jubilation of the liberal party. The Imperial Rescript was also construed to be the Charter of Liberties of the Japanese people. But in the flush of the series of incident from 1895 to 1933 which brought into prominence Japanese victories in Korea, at Port Arthur, in the Shantung province and finally in Manchuria, no attention was bestowed upon the political situation obtaining in this Island Empire. A brilliant group of admirals, generals and foreign ministers were able to dominate, as a matter of course, the entire political situation during the past forty years. No doubt, the party system and bi-cameral legislature were maintained with the necessary ostentation. But the Rule of the Admiral remains in Japan remarkably coherent and absolute. By scrupulously copying British politics she was able to leave questions of foreign policy from being made the basis of domestic politics, and vast exigencies of foreign military commitments un-

consciously paved the way in Japan for the virtual establishment of dictatorship,—no doubt, a dictatorship of the military class, with this difference that the earlier dictatorship of Samurai is now replaced by that of a privileged school of military and naval leaders.

Nor is this all. The emergence of Fascist versus Communist clashes is a problem of vital importance to the political economy of the Japanese nation. There is every indication that the fascist dice is loaded. The Black Dragon Society is a power to be reckoned with by even the conservative and military interests in the land. People believed that the Mikado is as dead as Queen Anne, but the Mikado is still with us though under another apparel. The unquestioned loyalty which every Japanese woman and man tender to the throne of the Emperor, coupled with the progressive grip of the military classes, abetted as they are by the fascist groups, has reduced parliamentary democracy in Japan to the verge of utter collapse. The Minseito and the labour groups in the Imperial Diet are hoping to achieve their way to the top of the parliamentary pinnacle, but what happened in Italy during the past twelve years by way of suppression of all liberal thought is bound to repeat itself in this land of the Orient.

Our survey of events of the post-War world is now complete. The collapse of democracy is an established fact. Structurally speaking, the vast scaffolding of parliamentary democracy is becoming completely obsolete. Parliamentary democracy has become time-worn, insufficient, and inefficient and utterly unsuited to the modern genius of almost every people in the world. This is the verdict of recent history. Our survey is no doubt inconvenient, but absolutely correct. Such a colossal stampede in favour of dictatorship must have a definite basis of causation. We will now attempt to discover it.

#### THE PATHOLOGY OF DEMOCRACY

Lord Hewart was eminently right when he pointed out that the co-ordinate defect in parliamentary democracy all the world over is the utter unsuitability of parliamentary institutions to the genius of modern races. Parliamentary mechanisms are unwieldy and unworkable. Even if we consider the history of recent parliamentary legislation in England, a country noted for its moderation and for the recognition of the supreme importance of the slogan of Mathew Arnold, "the inevitability of gradualness," we find that the parliamentary Reform Act of 1911 has almost doubled the size of the House of Commons. It is quite possible that the British House of Commons today is more representative of various and varying shades of public opinion in that country, in the vastly industrialized areas in the land, as well as the new groups of civic activity which have been enfranchised as a result of the legislation of Mr. Asquith, later Lord



Oxford. But a House of Commons composed of 615 members is but to be reduced to a babel of tongues. It is on record that on numerous occasions the proceedings in the House of Commons have been reduced to great chaos, in so far as the members thereof were unwieldy of management. Especially when the nation has to take decisions on vital and crucial questions of policy, the procedure inside the Commons is bound to be not only clumsy but extremely tardy. Even the question of cabinet responsibility for the disposal of the larger issues of the nation cannot be deemed to be sufficient in countries where there is a multiplicity of party systems and a congeries of party alliances.

The case of the Chamber of Deputies in France is an instance in point. During the regime of the Third Republic a merry-go-round of short-lived cabinets has been the uniform experience of France. There are on record cabinets which never survived more than the comparatively ludicrous ambit of the diurnal period. It is on record that the late M. Briand was thirteen times Premier of France and twenty-seven times the Cabinet minister. This may be a record in the longevity of French politicians, but it is the sad experience to the French people of twentieth century that the stability of successive governments was uniformly shortlived. This is entirely due to the fact that the constitution of Third Republic is defective. A multiplicity of parties in the lower chamber does not make provision for continuity and solidarity in Cabinet organization. It is again on record that pre-Hitlerian German Reichstag contained sometimes more than thirty parties. Oscillations of party loyalties are to be fully deprecated. Even the Mother of Parliaments has now the irritating experience of at least six parties coming into existence, since the National Government came into power in September 1931. Even though the present conservative ramp can have an absolute majority, it is not altogether improbable that the continental model of a variety of political parties inside the Commons is naturally to take the field.

Another equally interesting difficulty with parliamentary democracy is the growing power of ministerial establishments. Lord Hewart has definitely established the point that a parliamentary Act may with complete impunity be altered beyond recognition by the various permanent secretariats of Government by means of departmental orders. It has been fully demonstrated that especially as regards housing legislation in England the ministry of health has played havoc with numerous parliamentary measures. Considerations of practical necessity may be brought in as the ostensible justification for ministerial decrees and regulations, but the real authority and the ultimate sanctions possessed by the Lower House of any Parliament should not be obliterated by means of this new menace to parliamentary sovereignty.

The ballot box is no longer considered to be the real index of national opinion. New York might have been under the sway of Tammany methods and Chicago under the rule of the racketeers whose political weapon is unmitigated graft. But even in countries like England where parliamentary ethics are supposed to rest on a very secure pedestal, there are still vestiges of the rotten and pocket boroughs towards whose abolition the Reforms Bill of 1832 was brought into existence. Even after a hundred years of regular political education and reform of electoral methods, it has been found in England that predominantly labour districts have consistently returned capitalist members to Parliament, and of late numerous instances have come to light indicating the unrepresentative character of Parliamentary elections in Great Britain. Corruption does not seem to have been fully annihilated even in a country which has six hundred years of parliamentary experience. Small wonder that in a country like India where numerous social and political currents are now operating, the ballot box is entirely at the mercy of privy purses of the contestants in elections. Illiteracy has been demonstrated to be the cause for the sale of votes in India and the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has recently condemned with great vehemence this vote-buying mechanism of our country. But all the world over no purity in election ethics is found to be practically possible. Many-sided pressure has always been brought to bear upon the helpless voter and the free disbursement of largesse by contestants in elections possessing economic and social stability has been found to be extremely reliable as indicators of success. If the revolt against parliamentary democracy and parliamentary mechanism is so insistent today, it is entirely due to the fact that the sanctity of the ballot box is fully exploded.

The post-War political psychosis is yet another important factor in the progressive destruction of democratic institutions. Vast national and international forces, which have been long dormant, have been unleashed and with the discovery of new political theories, new forms of statecraft are also found to be extremely necessary. It is entirely a question of psychology that all the world over there is a rash pursuit of something novel, something startling, something magnetary. The imagination of the masses is entirely seized by hypnotizing forms of syndicalism, fascism, bolshevism, anarchism and numerous "isms". These forms of statecraft have now become parts integral to the political shibboleth, the sanctity of these ideas of statecraft having largely determined the fortunes of parliamentary democracy in every corner of the globe. Countless numbers of men and women have given up their mortal coils for the victory of the religious dogmas right through the historical period. In the frenzied inaction of the intellect there are millions



of people today who are prepared to shed their blood for the vindication of their political beliefs. The reasoned efficacy of parliamentary democracy has no longer any value for these people.

This is the age for a premium being placed on personality, speed, startlingness, romance, sprightliness, mechanization and colour and some of the most loved qualities of our post-War generation. And almost everyone of this and many more go to make that unique something called personality. Mussolini, Kemal, Stalin, Hitler, and Roosevelt possess all these wonderful discoveries of our political intellect. Nothing succeeds like success and the present position of all these leaders and many more dictators of the people is due to the fact that their programmes of political action were no more noted for their relative superiority and utility over the regimes which they have subverted, than for the go-aheadness of their personal career. The significance of Vittorio Veneto is equal in its glamour and efficacy to the romance of the *Bear Cellar Putsch*. Indomitable courage is the one uniform characteristic of the present-day dictatorship. If today the map of the world is dotted with dictatorships, it is certainly due to the fact that the people who brought them into existence were uniformly men of destiny possessing a hundred per cent personality of rare and charmed sanctity.

A contributing cause to the spread of dictatorship in the world is the comparative speed and efficiency which concentration of power in individual hands is bound to possess. As a result of the greatest Armageddon which the world has ever witnessed, the politico-economic fabric of human society has been completely altered. There was paralysis everywhere. The normal community life of the world has almost come to a standstill. Quick results were expected by everyone. But quick results were not forthcoming from the cumbersome mechanism of parliamentary democracy. There was bankruptcy of Government everywhere and an exhausted and war-weary world could not have any patience with the faulty institutions of representative government. Concentration of power was found to be extremely necessary and concentration of power in the hands of one single individual who could fire the imagination of the nations and who could with ease lead his flock on the march of destiny was found to be equally essential. Dictatorships are born out of a deceased political and social mind and dictatorships thrive only in such places where there is paralysis of political action.

The British mind is long accustomed to exult over the point that giving the other man a

chance is not only playing the game but is actually instrumental in producing community adjustments. This doctrine is in playful consonance with the Aristotelian theory of government cycles. The mass mind apparently seems to be in sympathy with a change of format, a change of principle, a change of control in governments from time to time. When nations become exhausted, when governments are obsolete and effete, when statesmen cannot deliver the goods, when the entire mechanism of the administration comes to a standstill, all ideas of democratic governance by means of representative institutions are to be replaced by one uniform, uncontrollable but all-controlling power centred in the hands of one single individual. During the post-War period numerous dictatorships have come into existence more out of disgust with the then existing order of things than out of any real appreciation of the rationale of absolute government.

*Renorgimentos* are continuing their wonderful succession of individual existence. Here and there, there are one or two breakdowns such as in the case of the failure of Amanullah in Afghanistan and of King Alfonso XIII in Spain. Ebullitions of dictatorial effort sometimes lead to tragic effort. The finances of the state might perforce show signs of breaking as a result of the ever-increasing military and police expenditure which is entailed in supporting the actions of the supreme leader. The vast scaffolding of the dictatorial machine might collapse as a result of undue weight being suspended on it. Indeed, there are quite a good number of instances in the world today where dictatorial methods have brought the leaders as well as the nations to grief. But individual failures do not detract from the main thesis that dictatorship combines efficiency and speed in its scope of activities.

It is doubtful if the present emphasis on dictatorships is bound to continue for ever. But a realistic approach to the political problems of today demands a clear recognition of the point that even such a docile oriental kingdom as Siam is now facing the possibility of a republican dictatorship. Political sooth-sayers are indulging in the hazard that out of sheer disgust with dictatorial methods and with an exhausted mind in the leaders there is bound to be a swing back of the pendulum in favour of democratic governance in the world. One can only hope that such would be the future delimitation of world politics. India's contribution to this thesis is bound to be of doubtful value, in so far as there is no finality in our present effort.



## THEIR SACRED TRUST

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**N**OTHING has been left undone to convince the world of the infinite benefit the work of the Occidentals has yielded to the various races of mankind. This work is further said to be the result of their Christain spirit which urges them to leave their dear home land for the good of the people whom they are pleased to call heathen. There seems to be an increasing tendency in most parts of the world to accept this idea as a truth and one can easily detect in this tendency a subconscious recognition of higher manhood in the Occidentals.

But doubt begins to hover around when one ponders over the curious fact that it is the so-called benefactors who are vociferous about their wonderful work and not their beneficiaries. The world hears only the Occidentals talk about what noble things they have been doing and with what a noble spirit; while those who are said to profit by them do not seem to show any such enthusiasm even to publicly proclaim their gratitude, although after a long period of education along that line they may feel persuaded to give their tacit acquiescence. A true benefit rendered with a truly noble spirit invariable excites the sincere feeling of gratitude which seeks expression in a thousand ways. It sounds so peculiar to the Oriental ear unaccustomed to any talk of self-gratulation when, on the contrary, it hears all the hymns of high encomiums come out just from those who are meant by them. It is like the circus clowns acting and applauding as they act while the vast audience simply wonder what they mean. What they mean? Just to think that they are all right by trying to make others think that they are. Being after all human they probably are not altogether deaf to the inner voice from which they do not receive any approbation of what they do. But do it as they must they seek to create a compensatory alternative in the outer voice. As it does

not rise from others they raise it themselves.

If one is inclined to ask why it does not rise from others, the candid reply should be because the story has never been completely told by those professional civilizers. Much of it, perhaps the most significant part of it, has been carefully left out. This part has its varied aspects which, if studied properly, may bring about a good deal of disillusionment.

In the present article I shall confine myself to its two aspects only. Firstly, it refers to the reaction of those primitive races who once lived on this earth their happy and innocent life, but as a result of the work of the Occidentals are now no more. Their voice has been silenced forever without the world being able to catch the last word of their earthly existence and we can only imagine what sort of work it really meant to them. Secondly, it refers to those primitive races that have not yet met with the same fate but are quite on the way. It is so difficult, if not impossible, to reach these unfortunate races who have by long suffering become suspicious of all the so-called civilized people, and to learn from them what they really feel about their civilizers.

It should be remembered here that by Occidentals I mean only those from the West who have engaged themselves in what they call their sacred trust. They are those who are rapidly growing to be a great problem of the entire East as well as of the thinking West.

The forced tutelage of these Occidentals has been the most unfortunate curse upon the world. If they have not learnt to admit it from the dreadful calamity which they have brought upon others, it is because of the intoxication of power, prestige, and privilege, they have acquired by systematic selfishness and of the consequent hardening of themselves so as to ride rough-shod over everything that shows a distinct individuality of its own. They



are so rarely heard to express repentance for what they have done to many innocent races that lived happily among themselves without ever interfering with the lives of others.

So the good English traveller, free from the virus of that rabid Occidentalism, rightly feared what might befall those extremely happy people whom he saw, in 1898, living in a solitary island in one of the African lakes. "Happy little island," writes Mr. Weatherly, "and happy islanders! War never comes nigh them. They know nothing of the outside world. They seem to wish for nothing. Why should they? They have all they want. May it be centuries before civilization with its innumerable attendant evils finds out and robs little Kisi of the peace and contentment it now enjoys." (*Geographical Journal* 1898, p.254.). More than three decades have passed and we do not know that the work of the world-civilizers has done to them. It is so difficult to think and so unnatural that having known of such creatures in this world they have not as yet carried civilization to them. Our curiosity is if they still live as happily or if they live at all.

This is not unfounded. Consider, for instance, the fate of such innocent races as the Tasmanians and the Australians. As soon as the Occidentals entered the island of Tasmania they began their usual work of interference with the native ways of life and according inhuman treatment to the natives for their resistance. This inhumanity was rapidly becoming so unbearable that the natives finally retaliated by murdering some of the intruders. Thereupon the Occidentals found excuse to capture every native adult and child and to slaughter as many as they could. So the native population, which was estimated when the Occidentals arrived there at 7000, was reduced to 120 in 1832. They too were chased from place to place and in 1847 they were only 14 men, 22 women, and 10 children. In 1860 they were 16 in all and in 1869 three women were the only survivors of whom the last one died in 1876. (*Vide* Bonswick's *The Last Tasmanian Race*.)

When the native Australians similarly refused to be assimilated they began to receive from the Occidentals the same inhuman treatment.

"They soon grew to despise the Australian natives and to treat them more like dogs than human beings. As settlement extended the cruelties increased, and the blackman's life was esteemed at no higher value than that of a kangaroo or 'possum.' Indeed in Australia and afterwards in Van Diemen's Land the gun was used indiscriminately upon blacks and kangaroos, and a day's sport consisted of a mixed destruction of man and animal. Some monsters even went further in this inhuman and devilish process of extermination, for it has been established beyond the possibility of successful contradiction that one of the practices often resorted to at the end of the eighteenth and far into the nineteenth century, was to lay poisoned food in places where the natives are certain to find it." (J. G. Grey, *Australasia, Old and New*, p. 24.)

In the two Americas the Red Indians have fared no better. The terrible *mita* system adopted by the Spanish *conquistadores* in South America had swept away already a good many Indian tribes. The oppression was so inhuman that in some places the unfortunate people "killed themselves wholesale by mutual agreement, partly by poison and partly by halter" and the children were murdered by their parents, who afterwards hanged themselves. In some other places, all the Indians "vowed together to renounce all intercourse with their wives rather than furnish slaves for the Spaniards." Thus, civilization continued its work and many a hapless tribe fell one after another leaving the land of their forefathers for the civilizers alone. The population of Espanola originally estimated at about 300,000 was reduced within fifty-six years of the work of civilization to less than 500, and this too had to vanish in course of three decades afterwards. So was it in Peru, in Chancay, and in many other places.

In North America a peculiar system of "capitation grant" for the Indian head was introduced. Most of the older states of the union had established a graded system of bounties for Indian scalps and organized bands were despatched for hunting the Indians. This interesting work was further stimulated by clergymen assuring the people, on that account, of salvation for all eternity. Such pious excursions were generally successful, for they invariably meant death to plenty of Indians, sometimes annihilation of the entire tribe. But they used to make quite a rational assortment of those Indians whom they had captured, into adults and children, the former



being distributed as slaves and the latter sold in the market.

In Africa, that obscure continent of the Negro race, there has been going on among the Occidentals a regular competition in their favourite work. The world has been told so often and so convincingly as to how savage the Negroes are that, till recently, it has seen nothing but a humane feeling in the presence of the Occidentals among them. It has shown but little curiosity to learn as to how civilization has been actually working there. Cannibals, lions, and tigers and a hundred other species of ferocious creatures have absorbed its whole attention. It has, therefore, found a noble spirit of adventure in the Occidentals being there. And they have been there quite a long time. We now know fully well what they see in the land of the black people, but we are just beginning to understand what they really mean to them. The cry of the oppressed, however separated by distance or by a policy of forced isolation, has its notes no longer to be completely suppressed from one another by the organized noise of so-called civilization.

So we may now remember the old story which we are about to forget, that the Occidentals began their work of civilization in Africa by using the Negro people as a sort of profitable merchandise. Torn away from their dearest and nearest ones, their simple native huts, and their joyous natural surroundings, they were packed up like cattle to be sold away in foreign markets. No one cared to know how many thousands died in the transportation over the sea, for the question was not as to how many were dead but what were the sale proceeds. There was even a glazing piquancy in this proud profession of the Occidentals. The slave trade was suggested by some Church fathers in America where, as we have already seen, the unfortunate American Indians were rapidly dying out under the terrible forced labour system. As a pious measure to extenuate the hardship of the native Indians the Occidentals began to import heavy cargoes of Negro slaves to relieve their first victims. Whether such kind of commercial enterprise was right or wrong, the Occidentals, of course have their own way of judging, but one can

only wonder in what sense they were civilizing the people who were forced out of their native land either to die on the way or to live a life worse than death.

But, they say, that is gone,—that profitable slave trade they have given up. In a sense they have, probably because there are no buyers. But have they really given up their pet profession of using the natives as slaves? It is difficult to answer in the affirmative in spite of the law forbidding slavery, the law that was enacted by their home governments to convince the world. "It is now too often conveniently forgotten," writes Professor Cecil D. Burns, "that the forced labour, by which some minerals and some agricultural products are still obtained in tropical Africa, and in parts of the Americas, is slavery in all but name." In Northern Nigeria, East Africa (Kenya) and in the Gold Coast there is an Indirect Rule System by means of which the lands are confiscated from the natives to solve the problem of forced labour. Recently a terrible law called the Contract Service Bill has been passed in British South Africa to enable the Occidental landlords and farmers to use force to contract natives and their families. The bill includes a whipping clause for such purpose. The oppression of the Belgians in the Congo is too well known. "The exploitation of the resources of the Congo," says Professor Burns again, "as organized under King Leopold, seems to have ceased, after having reduced a population of about 12,000,000 to 8,000,000 in twenty years, for the supply of rubber to European civilization." In 1899 forty companies in Paris took complete control of the entire French Congo, to extract rubber for sale in Europe "by the most brutal compulsion of the natives." The compulsory military service in the French African territories has been equally disastrous. This system has driven many natives from their home. They are kept away from their dear ones for several years till they are decimated by diseases. Those few who survive such training return to Africa with tuberculosis and syphilis. So the population in French Congo has been reduced in ten years from 4,950,000 to 2,821,980. Things appear to be no better in Portuguese Africa and even in Liberia. The natives there are so frightened



that they desert their dear little villages, "flee into the bush or stay and feel their race dying under the pressure of civilized industry." M. Challaye says in his *Le Congo Francaise*, "Regions described by the first explorers as inhabited and fertile, have become deserts." Just recently in the Kwango district of the Congo the conditions turned out to be so unbearable that the natives finally revolted and refused to work. They left the palm oil plantations and retired into the forest. There Occidentals of injured prestige went to give them a moral lesson by freely using their machine guns before which the helpless natives fell by thousands.

This organized work of race-extermination has another form which apparently seems to be milder than the one already discussed. In this form the extermination process is not so red-handed, but slow, subtle, and steady. Those primitive races that have somehow managed to survive the first blessings of the Occidentals are also expected sooner or later to disappear. The forced introduction of "civilization" among these races in total disregard of the native morals and customs and of their capacity for adaptation, has caused the disintegration of the native social system and the consequent demoralization of the natives. The various social organizations which upheld some sort of disciplinary principles for the natives, have been swept away because, as Parker thinks, "they differed from our code." This inevitable demoralization has been an advantage, rather than an obstacle, on the part of the Occidentals with their characteristic sex hunger, to freely seek illicit relations with native women. And this has naturally been followed by two things,—miscegenation and the introduction of strange epidemic diseases.

Of these two, let us consider the epidemic first. The idea is not where these diseases originated, but who have been responsible for introducing them among the races that had never known them before. The answer follows,

"Contact with the white race, however, brought in its train a host of diseases for which the aboriginal races had developed no natural immunity. Furthermore, almost from the first minute of contact their time was occupied in resisting the encroachment of the white men, and in providing

for themselves under more and more unfavorable conditions caused by the loss of their most fertile lands and confinement to smaller unproductive regions. The adoption of imported customs, clothing, housing, change of diet, liquor, and the like, all assisted in undermining the constitutional vigor of the native." (Earl E. Muntz, *Race Contact*, p.194)

Possibly not all these diseases were communicated to the natives directly through the sexual relation of the Occidentals with native women. But no one can deny that it was mainly responsible for close contact between the native and the foreigner. It was most likely that the oppressed women contracted the diseases of the Occidentals and then carried them to the people.

Of these diseases those that have been the most ravaging may be mentioned as measles, smallpox, syphilis, consumption, and typhoid. The forcing of an alien civilization upon them naturally demoralized, enfeebled, and constitutionally disabled them to resist the infection of the strange diseases which in many places have very nearly swept off the entire population. It has, however, been found out that those who being infected with some of these diseases run away from all influence of their civilization and "resume the savage life, exposed to cold, wind, and storms, show a tendency to recover."

Miscegenation has been no less an important factor in depopulating the primitive races. The inevitable demoralization brought about by social disintegration and accompanied by a ruthless demonstration of the power of the Occidentals, has caused in the native a sense of smallness coupled with fear. So the Occidentals with their unlimited power have not found it very difficult to freely use the helpless native women for their lust. As a result of it there have been an increasing number of half-breeds and a rapidly decreasing number of full-blooded natives.

In the two Americas the pure Red Indians taken as a whole, are certainly out-numbered by the mixed breeds. Professor Muntz is convinced that "the full-bloods are destined to form a decreasing proportion of the total Indian population and ultimately to disappear altogether." Over in the extreme north the Eskimo race has been worked upon with equal success. "Wholesale miscegenation," says Professor Muntz again, "has taken place



in Greenland, and it is difficult to find a pure-blooded Eskimo on the West coast," and the Hawaiians, those "Polynesians of physical beauty and sub-tropical languor, bathed, fished, plucked the trees of fruits, worked the soil desultorily for a few humble vegetables, sang, danced, fought occasionally and were happy." The Occidentals appeared in the islands and "they were Christianized and clothed by the missionary, taught to drink alcoholic liquor by the trader, and infected with syphilis and tuberculosis by civilization. They are now civilized and dying out. There were 130,000 of them in 1842, and 23000 in 1920." (Nathaniel Pfeffer, *White Man's Dilemma*, p. 220.) The new census report tells us that in 1929 they were 20,479 and the latest information from a sociologist brings the news that they are now about 16000.

In the Pacific islands of larger Asia the diverse racial groups do not appear to be in any better conditions, for there also the same process of work has been going on uninterruptedly. The plantation labour system and the epidemic diseases introduced by the Occidentals, and miscegenation caused by their licentiousness have been no less active in these parts of the world.

"Present conditions in Melanesia can best be described by a few representative cases. Not long ago Fate, or Sandwich Island was well-populated. Today the bush people have wholly disappeared, and there are but few people living on the coast. The shores of the island of Aore are strewn with sherds of pottery which show the former presence of a population of considerable size; now just three inhabitants survive; in E-piritu Santo several villages have entirely disappeared, the sites now being occupied by a few wretched people who have moved down from the interior. Tangoa formerly boasted of three large villages, each with a dialect of its own; today all its inhabitants live in one small village. At Valua twenty years ago there were at least 200 people, according to the district missionary, while today only a handful of natives survive with hardly any children; the village will soon be extinct. In the Banks and Torres Islands population has been reduced at least one half during the last two decades." (Earle E. Muntz, *Race Contact*, p. 197.)

Professor Muntz further continues to describe the decreasing population of such islands as Mota, Motalava, Merelava, Santa Maria, Ure parapara, the Santa Cruz Group, the Solomons, Wango, Mangareva, and so on.

Louis Le Fevre gives more striking facts in his *Liberty and Restraint*. He says,

"The statistics of depopulation in certain

Melanesian islands are startling. The population of Erromanga in the New Hebrides has declined from 8000 in 1849 to 379 in 1910. The population of Efate was estimated at 12000 in 1848 and had decreased to 1150 in 1910. One of the Santa Cruz Group declined from 3000 inhabitants in 1832 to 81 in 1922. In New Caledonia, where the French government met a vigorous resistance from the natives, and therefore, deliberately destroyed the old institutions root and branch, an estimated population of 100,000 in 1853 diminished to 27,100 in 1921. There has also been a considerable falling off in some of the Solomon Islands. There are parts of islands in Melanesia which have not yet been brought under effective white control. And in the savage interior of these islands the population seems to retain its former vitality."

Mr. Julian Franklyn, a British anthropologist, has written an article, in the December number of the *Contemporary Review*, deploring all these things. He appears to be really sympathetic when he writes.

"Twenty years ago, in an essay on the depopulation of Melanesia, it was pointed out that in forty years between 1832 and 1872 there had been a decrease of over sixty-eight per cent and that some islands, once the homes of happy people, were now uninhabited, and in spite of occasional local fluctuations which read superficially as an increase the decline is still steady and fast. The white man, to hide his obvious guilt, claims that the people were a decaying race before Europeans descended upon them; and when anthropologists with annoying insistence state that not only is there no evidence of this but much data to indicate the contrary, there come common slander, misrepresentation of native customs that are not understood, and the written words: "the disappearance of the race is scarcely subject for much regret."

"Native people in general have a very low opinion of whites, and no wonder; for they have learnt to their cost that the stranger in their midst, who in many cases was welcomed to the land as an incarnate god, not only acts as a devil, but an extraordinarily petty and contemptible devil into the bargain, one who teaches truth is sacred and lives by transparent lies; one who preaches that war is wicked, yet slays his fellows. Syphilis is called the white man's disease, alcohol the white man's medicine. We claim to be a superior people, yet contact with us is the touch that kills: tribal organization shatters before the frown of our justice; native arts and crafts expire in the fetid breath of our industry; and the civilizing force of *tabu* and *mana* sinks to death beneath the icy pall of our religion. As theologians, as administrators, as traders, we have brought disease and despair, disintegration and death upon a people whose right to live was no less than our own, and whose title to the land they lived was far greater."

These are telling facts, are they not? The world should gather from them what has been going on around in the name of civilization, lest the precious message of the dead and the dying races be lost to those who cannot afford to lose it without fatal foreboding.



## DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

By ABANI MOHAN KUSARI, M. A.

**I**N a recent issue of *The Contemporary Review*, Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw has revealed to us the dangers of dictatorship in his usual epigrammatic manner. He says:

"If we compare dictatorship with democracy, we may say succinctly that while democracy stands for the force of argument, dictatorship stands for the argument of force; that the appeal of democracy is to reason, but the appeal of dictatorship is to irrational violence; that democracy is based on freedom, but dictatorship on subjection; that democracy counts heads, while dictatorship breaks them."\*

While our sources of information regarding the details of the contemporary European situation are meagre, the British Press itself, our chief informant, strikes discordant notes. It mostly denounces the political practices of the Continent without reserve, but sometimes also urges us to understand that the Continent is suffering from a post-war *malaise* which is transitional in character, and since there are similar instances in all periods of world history, we must view the recent events of the Continent in their true perspective.

If the excellence of a system of government is to be judged from the period of time it occupies in world history, the monarchical system certainly, whether despotic or benevolent, must take the lead. There has been nothing like an inevitable and relentless progress towards democratic government throughout the ages as some of its modern votaries, without historical sense, believed, until very recently. Democracy has been tried from the earliest times,—at first in Greece and Rome and then in mediæval England,—tried and found wanting, and could only survive by occasionally alternating with dictatorships. The Athenian democracy failed because of its unsuccessful imperial and foreign policy. It could neither govern its dependencies, nor conciliate its allies, for defending itself against the foreigner. And even to this government

Rousseau denied the name 'democracy', excluding as it did from all political activities the slaves who outnumbered the citizens by three or four to one and whose toil provided the citizens with leisure. The constitution of the Roman Republic made provision for the office of a dictator who temporarily assumed unlimited power when the stability of the State was threatened. "The office was bestowed in solemn, legal fashion—the auspices were taken in the dead of night, the senate ordering, the consul appointing."\* Even Britain whose political development during the nineteenth century is deemed by some keen observers to be precocious,—even this home of democracy had to pay the price of a premature extension of the powers of Parliament under the Lancastrian Kings in the shape of centuries of lawlessness, dictatorship and oligarchy.†

Let us however admit that the English people trod the path of constitutional progress rather quickly. Whether it be due to a well-defined sea-bound frontier, or to a homogeneous race, or to a well-knit Empire, that assures prolonged prosperity, or to that undefinable quality of anyhow "muddling through" difficulties that usually are solved by revolutions, the English people found themselves towards the end of the Victorian Era in possession of a "government of the people, for the people, by the people". The drama of the achievement of adult suffrage in England complete in five acts,‡ not only made her Poet Laureate sing the glory of a country where "freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent"; it also seemed for some time that constitutional liberty could be gained

\* *The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. V, p. 133. There were eighty-eight dictatorships during 300 years (501 to 200 B. C.), none exceeding six months.

† Sir J. A. R. Marriott in his article on "Dictatorship and Democracy" in *The Quarterly Review*, October, 1934, refers to Bishop Stubbs's monumental 'History' where the rule of the Lancastrian Kings is described as the "trial and failure of a great constitutional experiment."

‡ Acts of 1832, 1867, 1884, 1918 and 1928.

\* *The Contemporary Review*, October, 1934, p. 434.



by transplanting the English system in other countries, regardless of the nature of the soil. It is to counter this rage for imitation, a most dangerous form of flattery in politics, that political philosophers have dwelt upon, from time to time, on the dangers and difficulties of a democratic system introduced *de novo*, on the extreme delicacy of that political machine, on the necessity of a peace-loving, reasonable, and homogeneous electorate which must not only be tolerably educated but also trained in the difficult task of local self-government. Nobody denies the educative value of election and representation. There is a great deal of truth in the saying that there are many democratic virtues—self-reliance, resourcefulness and alertness in politics—which can be learnt only in the hard school of experience. But even admitting that only self-government can lead to the unfolding of true personality and as such people have the right to be governed as well or as badly as they choose, there is such a thing as tradition in politics. There was no encumbering political tradition in the case of the European colonies so that most of them could start with a clean slate and adopt the representative system from the beginning. But the case of the Continent is entirely different. There had accumulated the debris of the past. It is said that Peter the Great had knouted the Russians into civilization. The political past of both Italy and Germany is based on authority and discipline. Not merely political practice; philosophy had also pointed in the same direction. For more than a century these two countries had been under the spell of the teachings of Hegel who propounded the theory of the God-State and confused the attributes of the reigning monarch with divinity. There could also be no question of representative government in countries which were dismembered into many petty states fighting with one another and which achieved political unification only sixty-three years ago.

But we have also to answer the following questions: Must we not adopt, if we have the choice, the best form of government? Must we not learn through trial and error? Is it not true that dictatorship “dopes” the masses with only “bread and circuses” while demo-

cracy is the fountain of liberty, a stuff of which heroes and geniuses are made? The power of providing “bread and circuses” is not a thing to be trifled with in these hard days. “Bread and circuses” may be the condition precedent of the stability of any system of government, whatever might be the spiritual gains it promises. But we shall deal with this economic question at a later stage. Let us, at present, turn to the much-vaunted spiritual gains of democracy, to the sort of culture and civilization it has given us. In no other field of human activity, perhaps, has the assumption of free will been more stultified than in that of democratic politics. Manipulation of elections by bribery, control of Press, and other corrupt practices, is so common in democratic countries that belief in the infallibility of the sovereign people is no longer possible.\* After all, what is the use of expressing one’s opinion freely when that very opinion is based on facts which have been distorted, coloured and presented in convenient forms by a Rothermere or a Beaverbrook? Leaving aside the contentious field of politics which has always been dominated by the powerful, can we say that art and literature and philosophy have been enriched by an atmosphere of liberty? Or must we not rather mournfully confess that the exaltation of the man in the street and the smattering of Greek and Latin that is put into his head have served only to make him opinionated in matters entirely beyond his ken, thus vulgarizing the spiritual side of our life and lowering our scale of values?

So much for the right of saying whatever one likes. Its effects are not really disastrous as long as vulgar opinions can be ignored. But let it not be supposed that the right of saying whatever one likes is unconditional in any democratic State. Freedom of opinion may be allowed when we are concerned with the merits of rival forms of government and speculations in science and philosophy,—but only up to a point. We must know the limit. We must not meddle with the existing economic system which is advocated and

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\* “.....collectively the sovereign people is just as Plato described it in the *Republic*—well-meaning, but ignorant and stupid.” (*The Nineteenth Century*, October, 1933, p. 309.)



maintained by the governing class. The fundamental economic structure of society even under the purest form of democratic government is capitalistic and any serious questioning of its tenets excites feelings to the pitch of "thy blood or mine" and all charters of fundamental human rights are scattered to the four winds. Indeed, the democracies that we actually have have been aptly dubbed "capitalist democracy" by a famous thinker who says :

"Men do not go to jail in England and America for insisting on the virtues of a Fascist system, because a Fascist system is compatible with capitalist principles ; but countless men have gone to jail in both countries for their belief in Communism. There is in every society a body of fundamental principles the rulers will not suffer to be challenged, and the idea of liberty must always be read in the context that it does not offer freedom to violate them."\*

The right of saying whatever one likes, however shadowy it may be, does not discredit democracy so much as the right of doing whatever one likes. Freedom of action is, of course, loved by all vigorous and enterprising people. But the capitalists find in it a special charm because it fits in with the maxim of their every-day life : "Everyman for himself and the Devil take the hindmost." In the getting and spending of wealth this maxim of *laissez-faire* was pursued in the democratic countries for more than a century, and pursued so consistently and thoroughly that it was soon perceived that the right of freedom of action carried within itself the germs of its own antithesis. The masses were on the verge of starvation as a result of the unfettered action of the laws of demand and supply and it was found that economic liberty existed only for a selected few, the capitalists. If the fittest only survived in this struggle, there would be no cause for complaint. But from the standpoint of man's intrinsic worth the capitalists were the fittest no more than were the survivors in Roman gladiatorial contests. And it was futile to expect the unfettered development of man's personality in the starving masses and the hypertrophied capitalists. Compared to the loss of economic liberty, the gaining of civil and religious liberty and a free vote for every citizen was a mere trifle.

It is thus on the hard rock of this question of economic liberty that capitalist democracy has at last foundered. The War which, according to the boast of President Wilson, was to render the world "safe for democracy" has curiously enough opened the floodgates of dictatorship. The world has suddenly become enamoured of efficiency and quick action which it has learnt of the weapons of war and wants to solve the urgent problems of national and international economics with an iron hand. The rise of the Communist and the Corporative State shows that on the Continent, at least, the Benthamite Liberalism of England is bankrupt. Bentham and Mill and Spencer have all yielded their place to new prophets who are not prepared to pay homage to an abstract concept of liberty. Wrote Mussolini in 1923 :

"Liberty is not an end ; it is a means. As a means it requires control and governance...The truth apparent to every one whose eyes are not blinded by dogmatism, is that men are perhaps weary of liberty. They have had a surfeit of it. Liberty is no longer the virgin, chaste and severe, fought for by the generations at the beginning of last century. For the intrepid youth, restless and eager, who present themselves at this new dawn of history, there are words that move them more deeply such as order, hierarchy, discipline." \*

Every civilized country has had to put to itself this question from which there is no escape. Capitalist democracy having failed to do justice between man and man, what sort of economic structure of society are we going to have in its place and what must be the method of transition to this new order ?

The answer, of course, has not been the same in all countries. In Russia, after the fall of the democratic government of Kerensky, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and an approximately communist society. The ineffectiveness of parliamentary democracy in Italy led to a *coup d'etat* by Mussolini who has established the Corporative State. In Germany, the Weimar Constitution had represented the minorities so effectively that their clamorous self-interest made swift legislation impossible in a most critical period of German history, a period when even with a shattered economic system she was bound to pay heavy reparations for the War. To that country, therefore, the National Socialism of

\* Laski : *Democracy in Crisis* (1933), pp. 202-203.

\* Quoted by Odon Por in his *Fascism*, pp. 174-75



Hitler, however undemocratic, was a welcome relief. In imitation of these examples, many other European and Asiatic countries have scrapped their machine of parliamentary government. It is true that still a considerable portion of the world sticks to government by discussion and persuasion. Parliaments continue to function in the U. S. A., England and her Dominions, France, Holland, Belgium, the Scandinavian, Baltic and the Balkan countries. But every country is troubled by its internal problems and secretly envies the swift methods of the dictator. Ever since the Five-Year Plan of Russia, economic planning has been the cry of capitalist democracy. There is something pathetic in the attitude of capitalists ever fond of the rough and tumble of unplanned adventures, asserting with conviction, either we must plan or we perish.\* Even in that traditional home of democracy, England, there have arisen at least three Fascist organizations and one extreme Socialist group led by Sir Stafford Cripps. During the deepest slum recorded in world history, the Congress of the U. S. A. had to delegate dictatorial powers to President Roosevelt to save America from financial ruin. The N. R. A. is as much a planned economy as that of Russia, but of course the Congress had the good sense to delegate the necessary powers to the President and thus save the face of democracy just as the Romans did in ancient times.

It is true that in England and America there has been no such legislative deadlock as in Germany which necessitated a sweeping away of the Weimar Constitution. The fundamental question of a new economic structure of society has not also become so acute in these two countries. In America, especially, due to the prosperity of the masses, class-consciousness has not made such rapid progress as in the Continent, but even in England swift and decisive legislation has become necessary for rendering the people economically contented. English writers have pointed out how intolerably slow is the progress of desirable legislation through their Parliament. It has been shown that an average period of nineteen years was necessary for the unanimous recommendations of even a Royal

Commission to become law.\* The painful contrast of this to the ambitious programme of reconstruction formulated by Mussolini has struck the mind of even a member of that august body, the House of Lords, which is always impressed by the necessity of putting "brakes on rake's progress." With genuine disappointment Lord Ponsonby says: "It has taken about a year to rebuild a large part of Rome. It has taken us three years to say we will not build two bridges in London."† And to our astonishment his lordship shows his willingness to abdicate the right to "mutilate or reject" the decision of the younger and inexperienced House of Commons.!

Let us hope that in England there will be no crisis of constitutional government and that she will be able to put off that fateful day indefinitely by virtue of that spirit of compromise which is one of her excellent national characteristics and by facilitating a rapid equalization of property through her Parliament. We will not enter here into a discussion of the comparative merits of the Communist and the corporative economic systems. Nor will we discuss whether or not the Corporative system is an invention of the Capitalists to camouflage their policy of ruthlessness. We will only say that countries must be saved from the degradation which results from widespread poverty. If for that purpose a particular country finds the parliamentary machine unavailing, and whether by intensifying class-consciousness or taking the edge out of it establishes the dictatorship of one party,—a party, be it noted, with a definite programme of social welfare,—we have no right to point to it the finger of scorn. Democratic government, though ideally the best form of polity, must suffer from the limitations of our economic systems. History affords no parallels to the simultaneous experiments of the dictators of the century, whose schemes are not merely gigantic and far-flung but also prospective, spreading out into the future when their fruits will be garnered and their innovators might cease to exist.‡ Theoretic-

\* *Political Quarterly*, 1930, p. 314.

† *The Contemporary Review*, February, 1933, p. 152.

‡ The schemes of the eighteenth-century benevolent despots are insignificant compared to these. Moreover,

\* Cf. Arthur Salter, *Recovery, Passim*.



cally, of course, democracy is compatible with any kind of economic system. But during a period of innovation it is idle to expect that an entire country will be agreed about any particular scheme. And if dissidence and recalcitrance throw the whole country into a turmoil, it will gladly welcome a man of destiny whose authority will prevail. It is under such conditions that the German *Fuhrer* and the Italian *Duce* have emerged. He who wills the end wills also the means,—and the dictator must decide upon the necessary cruelties for the stability of the government. These cruelties will naturally be shocking

they had no roots in the minds of the people. In hasty reforms none could excel the well-intentioned but muddle-headed Joseph II of Austria, of whom it is said that he took the second step ere he had taken the first and dug out seeds planted by him to see whether they are sprouting.

when they take place under our nose. But if we sift out of them examples of racial hatred like the expulsion of the Jews from Germany and of the Hungarians from Jugo-Slavia, a policy of which democracy might as well be guilty,—and if we see the remnant in the perspective of world history we will find that the sacrifice of life and the confiscation of property are none too great compared to the end in view. A time may come though it may be too long in coming when a country will agree on fundamental economic questions and agree to differ on minor matters,—and then government by discussion and persuasion, the ideal for all ages, will be gladly adopted. But meanwhile let each country have a free hand in solving its own peculiar problems in its own peculiar way.

## THE IMAGE OF GOLD

By SITA DEVI

A great 'dighi' (big tank) was being dug in a certain part of Murshidabad. The local zamindar was having it done, to commemorate the name of his mother, who had passed away recently. The zamindar was by no means a philanthropist, but he had loved his mother, and the 'dighi' was to be named Gouridighi, after the departed lady.

A batch of coolies had arrived early in the morning. Each man carried a spade. A few had begun to dig, the rest had not yet got rid of their lethargy. A clerk of the zamindar had come with them as supervisor. He sat under a tree nodding drowsily. A thin curtain of mist still hung over the countryside and a cold wind was blowing. No one felt much inclination for work before the sun rose and warmed them up. But as they were much in need of a full day's pay, they had come as early as possible.

Mohan Bagdi was feeling very much bored. He was feeling extremely cold besides. He poked his brother Madan in the ribs and silently pointed to his spade. They both began to dig after that fast and furiously. Others, too, joined them one by one till a good batch was soon working.

Suddenly a loud metallic ring was heard.

Madan started in dismay and drew back with his spade. "What is the matter, Madan?" asked his brother.

"My spade struck against something," said Madan, "It must be some metal buried there."

The band of coolies began to look excited. Murshidabad was the grave-yard of an ancient monarchy and tales of buried treasures were by no means rare. Many people had found many things, while digging. So, as soon as Madan had spoken, everyone became alert at once. It must be hidden treasure! They all formed a ring round the hole where Madan had been digging and stared intently at it, as if the treasure would come out of itself to satisfy their curiosity.

The clerk noted their behaviour from the distance and shouted, "What is the matter there? Has anyone been bitten by a snake?"

They all shouted something in reply. The clerk could not catch it properly. He rose up unwillingly, guessing it must be something pretty serious. He approached them and cried out in an angry voice, "Can't you say what the matter is? Why are you all staring at the ground?"

Again they shouted in unison. But this



time Shrikantha understood. "But why, then, are you standing still, gaping like fools?" he cried. "Dig, you wretches, dig, for all you are worth. If you are lucky, you won't ever have to dig earth again for your livelihood."

Mohan and Madan claimed the first right to dig, since it was Madan's spade that had struck the treasure. The brothers began to clear away the earth from the hole, making it bigger and deeper, while others began to dig all around.

Something began to be visible. The coolies whispered excitedly, "It's an image, an image!"

It was really an image, made of some kind of metal. Nearly half of it had come out of the earth. The coolies lowered their spades, out of reverence. They did not want to incur the displeasure of some god or goddess, by striking the image. Shrikantha bowed down to the image with folded hands and cried to Madan, "You are freed from the sin of being born an untouchable. You have rescued the Mother from the earth."

The coolies now began to clear away the earth that still partially covered the image, with their hands. Soon the whole of the image came out on the surface. It was very beautiful and exceedingly well preserved, not having received even a dent anywhere. The figure was that of a woman but the unlettered coolies did not know whom it represented. It could not be Durga, since it had only two hands. It certainly was not Kali, since it was not nude. It was not Saraswati also, since it had no 'vina' in its hand. It might have been meant for Lakshmi, though there was no symbol to signify that. As Shrikantha was the only learned person amongst the crowd, he decided that it was Lakshmi. He pushed back the coolies from the hole, crying "Move back, move back, you wretches. Let not your unclean shadows fall on the image of Mother Lakshmi. None of you must dare to touch it, since a Brahmin alone has that right. I am sending word to the Master. Oh, what a fortunate being he is! He is blessed indeed! This is the divine Mother's own doing. Otherwise, why should the old mistress die just now, after living for ninety years, and why should her son take it into his head to dig a big tank in her name?"

The coolies looked more excited. They would have been far more pleased if it had been real wealth in the shape of gold or silver coins. They had very little use for the image of the goddess of wealth. But luck was against them. They had acquired merit indeed by bringing the goddess up from her dark abode, but they had not acquired anything else.

Two of the men ran off at full speed to inform the zamindar babu. He must come immediately with the family priest, so that the image might be taken out, with proper ceremony.

Shrikantha stood on guard over the hole, while the coolies sat at a respectful distance surrounding him.

The news soon spread all over the countryside. The zamindar arrived in hot haste and within an hour the huge plain became crowded with people. The district magistrate, too, was heard to be coming soon. Everyone tried to push his way nearer to the hole, to have a sight of the image. Those who stood by the hole, resisted, with the result that the place was in an uproar very soon.

The zamindar had brought his family priest as well as two or three more Brahmins. He got very much annoyed at the conduct of the people and ordered his men to push back the crowd, otherwise the crowd would push them inside the hole, in no time.

The uproar increased still more, due to the action of the Zamindar's men, but the crowd fell back a bit from the immediate vicinity of the hole. Then the Brahmins chanted appropriate Sanskrit mantras and lifted the image up from the hole. It was really a work of art, exquisitely beautiful to look at. It was nearly three feet in height. "What is it made of?" asked the zamindar, "it looks like brass."

"We shall have to clean it up properly," said the priest, "before we can be sure. It has become nearly black with age."

Nitai, the goldsmith, had been peeping at the image from behind the priest's back. He could not restrain his enthusiasm any longer and cried out, "Will you let me examine it once, please? I think it is not brass, but the real thing."

"What do you say?" cried out the zamindar in great excitement, "you mean to say it is gold? Come near and have a good look."

A goldsmith had not the right perhaps of touching the image of a goddess; but all forgot it for the present. Nitai came forward and began to examine it very carefully. "It is really gold, sir," he said after a while.

The crowd set up a roar of enthusiasm. They would have come to a scuffle with the Zamindar's men then and there, but for the opportune arrival of the magistrate at this moment. He had brought a historian and an archaeologist, too, with him. The crowd fell back at once at the sight of the magistrate's car.

The three newcomers proceeded straight to the place where the image lay, and stood around it. A furious debate arose and the historian and the archaeologist nearly came to blows over the question whether the image represented Lakshmi, or a Padmini or a Yakshini. It did not look much like any one of them. It seemed to be the image of a beautiful girl, with flowing hair and plenty of ornaments on.

It became very hot, as the sun had risen high in the heavens by this time. But no solution was arrived at. Nobody could prove



# SILVER JUBILEE

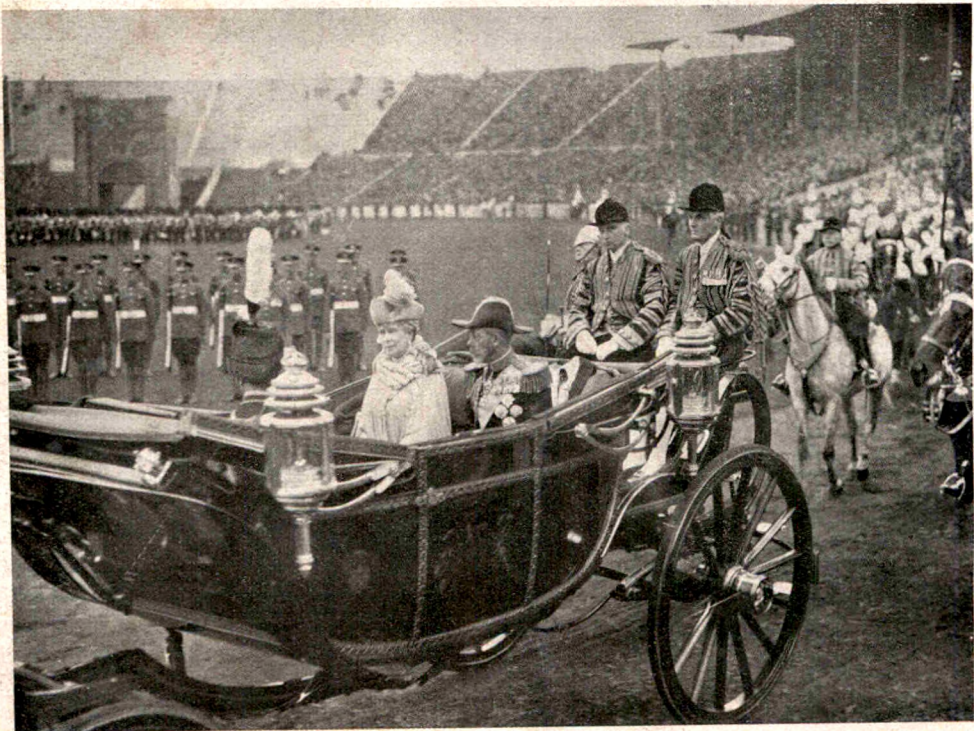


Their Majesties George V and Queen Mary



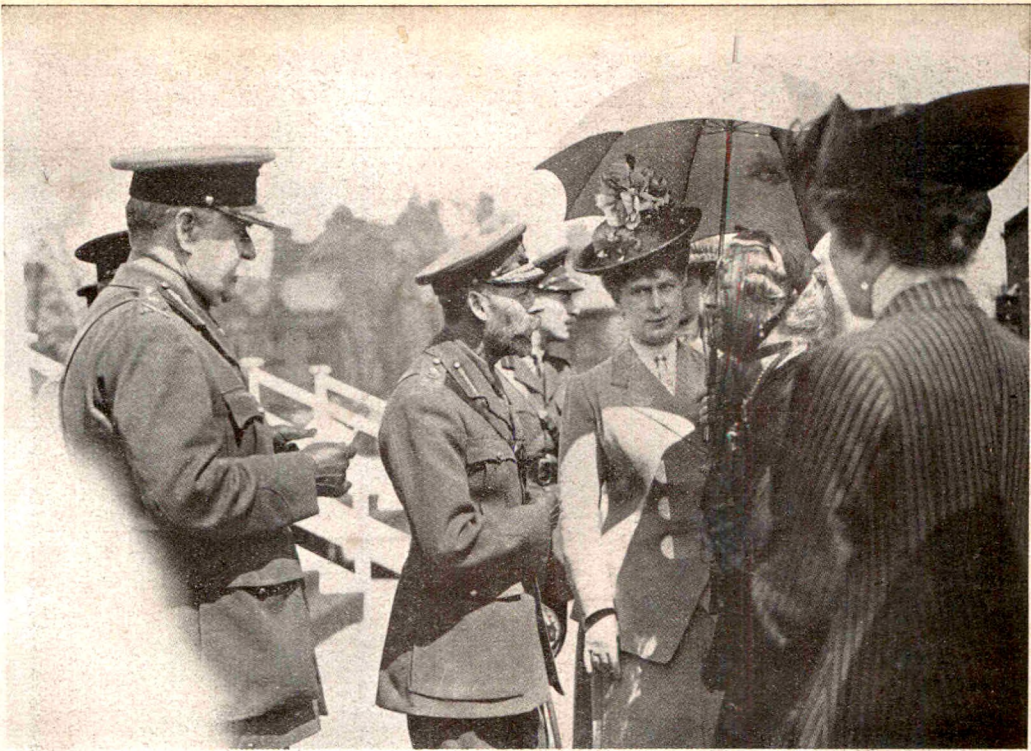


The King Emperor, Princess Mary, Lord Lascelles, Queen Alexandra and Queen Mary on the balcony at Buckingham Palace on the occasion of Princess Mary's wedding, 1922.



Their Majesties on their way to Wembley Exhibition 1926





Their Majesties at the presentation of Medals at Ches<sup>t</sup>er Castle



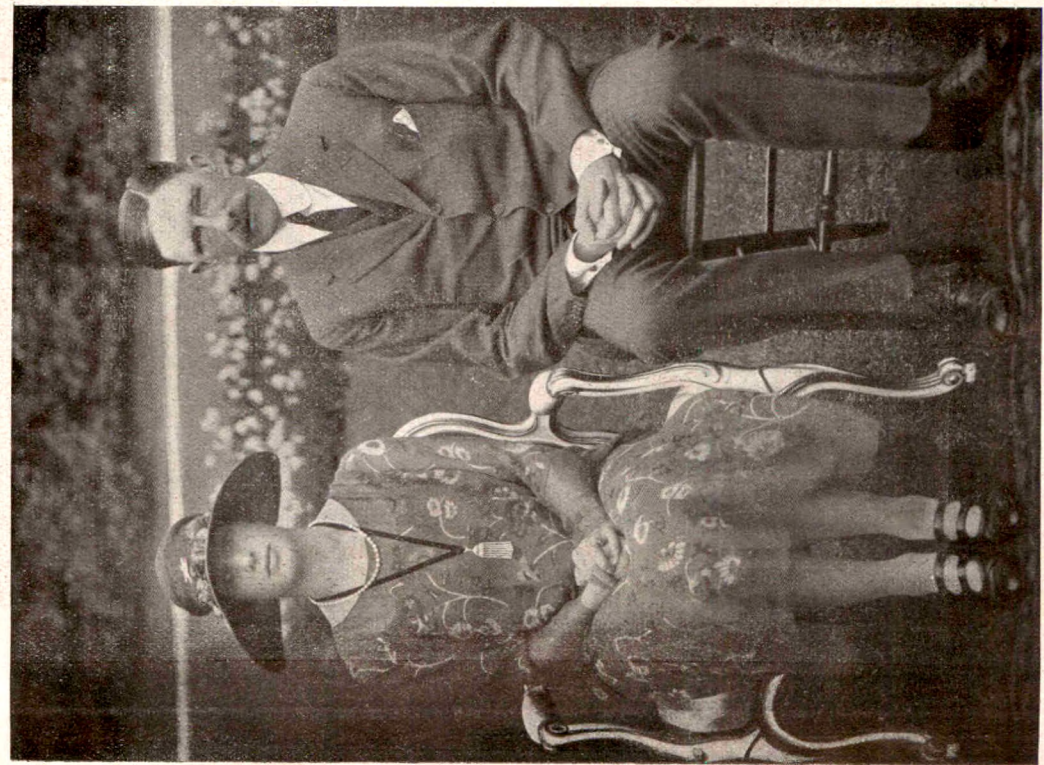
Princess Elizabeth, the Duke and Duchess of York, Mr. C. Capel Smith arriving  
at the Richmond Royal Horse Show



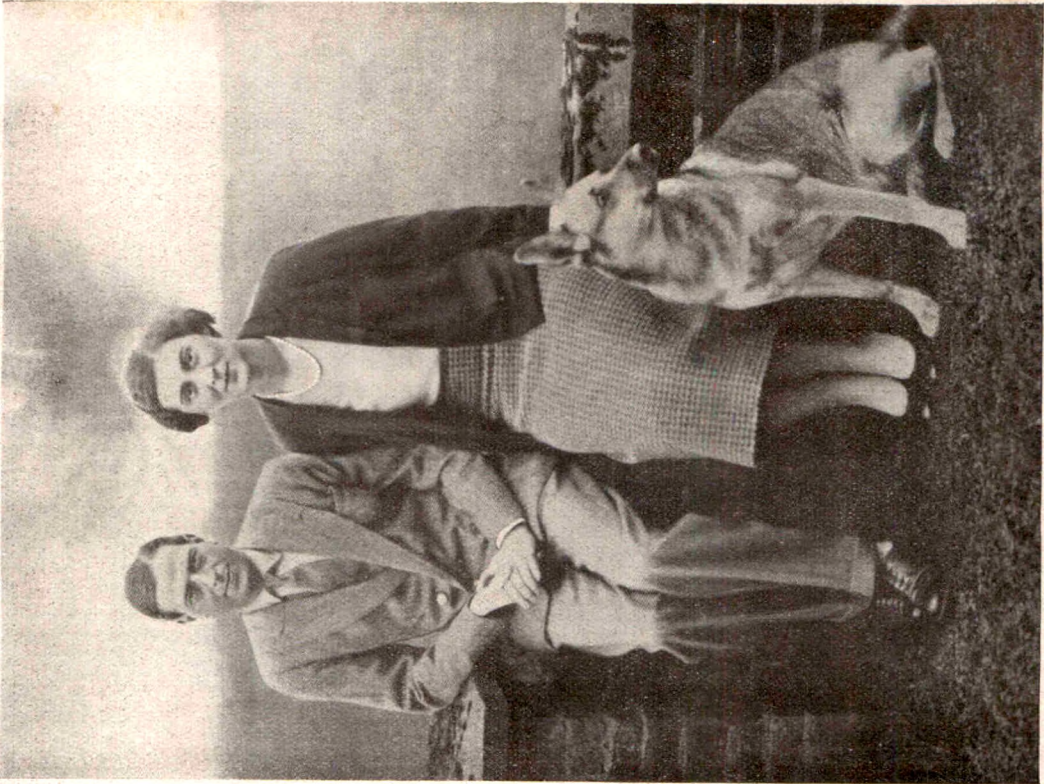


The Wedding ceremony of the Duke of Kent and Princess Marina at Westminster Abbey



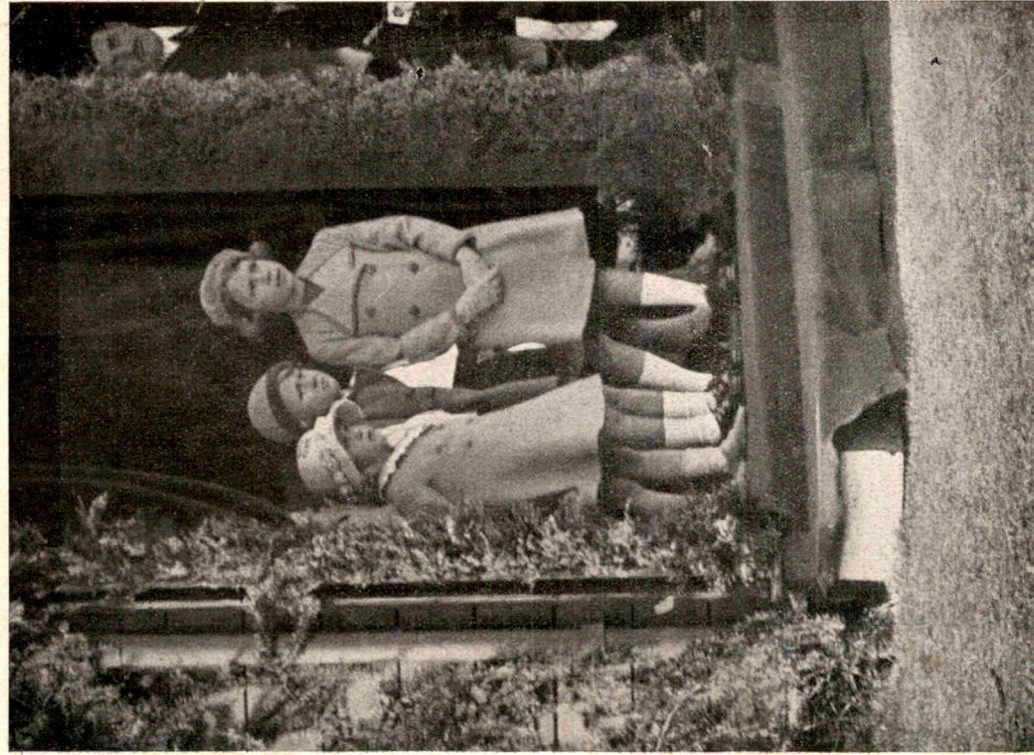


Princess Royal and Lord Harewood.



The Duke and Duchess of Kent





Princess Margaret Rose, Miss Margaret Elphinstone and  
Princess Elizabeth



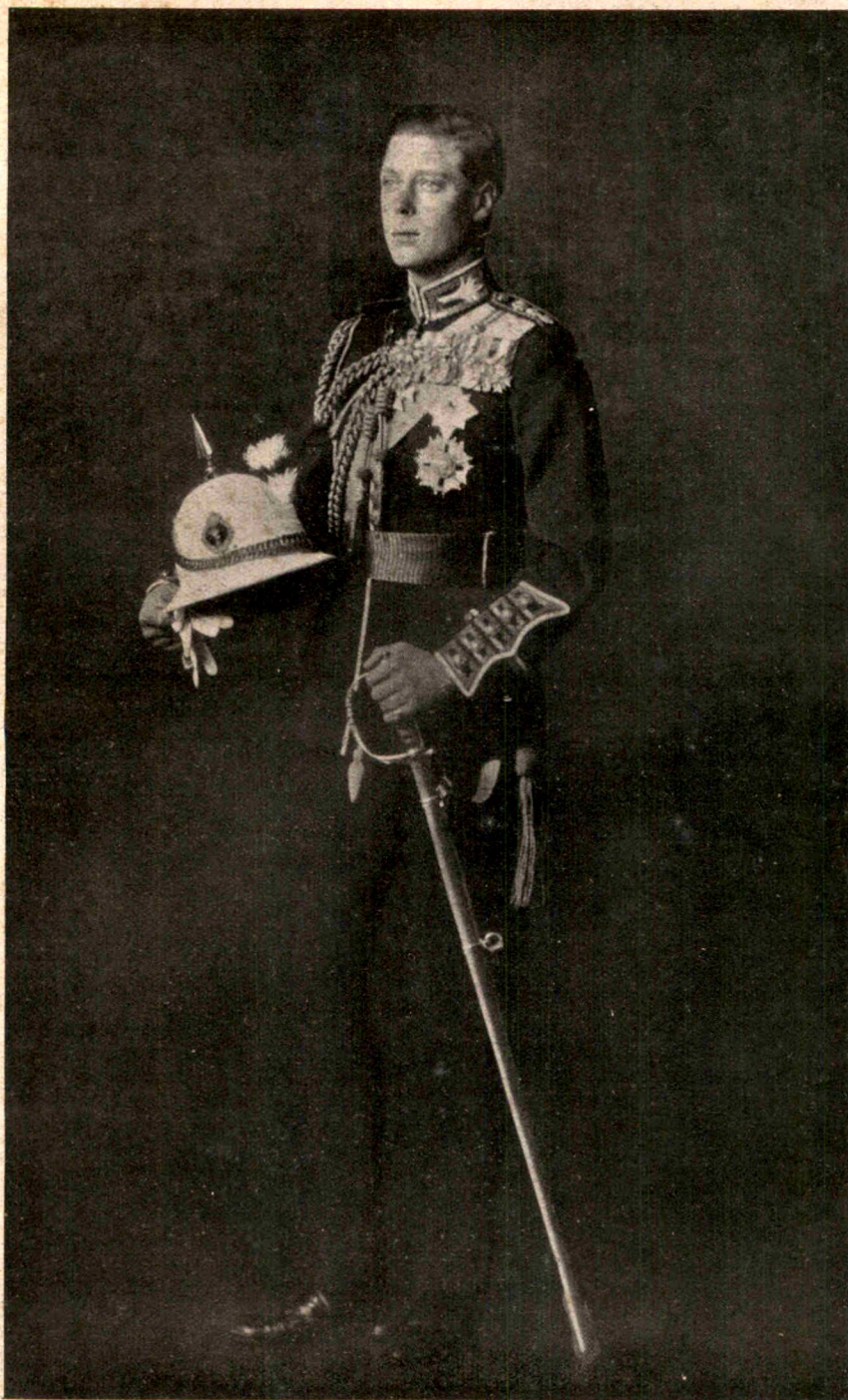
The Duke and Duchess of York





The daughter and sons of George V and Queen Mary





H. R. H. the Prince of Wales



that it was Lakshmi, so it could not be taken straight to a temple. But whatever it was, Padmini or Yakshini, it was made of pure gold. The magistrate refused to part with it. So it was decided to leave the image with him for the present. After taking expert advice, the future course of action would be determined. If it was really the image of Lakshmi, the zamindar would have it and build a temple for it. If it was the image of a Padmini or Yakshini, the local museum would get it. If it could not be proved to be anything in particular, it would be counted as the property of the State.

The image was a heavy one. The magistrate ordered the coolies to carry it to his car. Nobody dared to object now. The crowd parted to make way for it, and bowed down reverently as soon as they caught sight of it. The car set up a roar, as the magistrate got in, and sped away the next moment, leaving the resentful crowd far behind. The zamindar swallowed his anger as best as he could, and went back to his home. The digging of the tank did not proceed any further on that day.

For sometime a controversy went on about this image. Historians and archaeologists arrived from many parts of the land, each advancing a theory of his own. Innumerable photographs of the image were taken and published in magazines and newspapers. Many articles were written and many comments made. But to the last, nothing was conclusively proved. The magistrate ordered Madan and Mohan to be rewarded ten rupees each, thus settling the matter once for all. The zamindar seemed to burst with suppressed anger. The people of the countryside talked about the image day and night for sometime, then forgot all about it. After a while the image was sold off, unknown to all, and left the shores of India, in a steam boat, for its future home. The people had ceased to bother about it.

## II

The image was not that of a goddess. Its real history is somewhat out of the way. Nearly a hundred and fifty years ago, this part of Bengal was bordered by deep and dense forests. The people were brave and strong and thought nothing of meeting wild elephants or tigers daily. They took it quite as a part of the day's business. Guns were not much in use, but they hunted these fearsome creatures with the help of spears, swords and other indigenous weapons and did not think it at all unusual. Even the women were accustomed to handling weapons and if need arose they confronted wild animals or wilder men with great intrepidity.

Rajballabh Roy was the zamindar who ruled over these parts then. The people of the countryside called him Raja Rajballabh out of

love and respect; so wide had the fame of his bravery spread.

His private life was not happy. His forefathers had snatched away the land, cheating as it were, the denizens of the forest. So Rajballabh's kith and kin seemed to fall a prey to the undying vengeance of these beasts ever and anon. His father had lost his life, while out hunting elephants. His younger brother had fallen a prey to a man-eater. His son-in-law had been drowned and there was a rumour that a crocodile got him.

His family had now dwindled to four or five persons. These were, his son Debakinandan, his widowed daughter Yogamaya and his granddaughter Chandra. Chandra's mother too was living, but she was so extremely unwell all the time that she was never seen by anyone. So everybody had almost forgotten her existence. If no son came to Debakinandan, Rajballabh's dynasty would come to an end. This thought preyed upon the minds of all. Chandra was nearly eleven years of age, and her mother had not borne any more children. Everyone whispered that Debakinandan ought to marry again without delay. Debaki was quite aware of this, but he was so busy hunting big game that he had no thoughts to spare for marriage. It was an age famous for brave men, but Debaki had achieved fame even then as the bravest of the brave. His father looked after the estate and his sister looked after the establishment. Nobody looked after his wife, and everyone looked after Chandra, who was the apple of her grandfather's eyes. So Debaki could give all his time and attention to hunting.

The autumnal season is famous for calling men out-of-doors. Kings went out to conquer new lands, merchants went on business cruises and hunters went a-hunting. The rains that precede autumn, confine men indoors forcibly and made them feel bored to death. So the sight of the blue skies seem like the beckoning of unseen hands. Everybody goes out, or tries to do so, on some excuse or other.

Debaki too was making ready now to go out on a big hunt with his party. This year tigers had been spreading havoc and ruin amongst the villages of the countryside. Especially, the depredations of a man-eater had roused wails of grief in many of the houses. It was a mighty beast, possessed of unusual courage and cunning. Even its appearance was reported to be supernatural. It was so big in size, that from a distance it looked like a large horse and not like a tiger. From its fearful eyes issued flames of hell. The most unusual thing about it was that it seemed to possess three eyes instead of two. There was a curious mark on its forehead which strongly resembled an eye. The villagers were ignorant and superstitious and soon a tale gained credence amongst them that it was not a real tiger, but the incarnation of some god



This belief made the tiger's job easier than ever. It roamed about fearlessly at its own will and even entered the huts of the villagers and dragged its preys out. The frightened villagers ran before it as chicken before a fox. They soon ceased to believe that it could be destroyed through human agency.

Debaki too had heard all these tales about the tiger. He used to laugh and say, "Let the skies clear, then I shall put out the fire in all three of its eyes." His followers would laugh loud at this saying.

He was preparing to start so soon for the purpose of killing the tiger. Only three or four days remained before he would start. They would travel on elephants the first part of the journey, then they would have either to go on foot or take to boats. He was determined to find out the lair of the beast, even if it took him six months to do it.

Debaki used to enter the inner apartments only once during twenty-four hours. It was for taking his midday meal. On that day, as soon as he had sat down to it, little Chandra threw herself on his back, saying "Father, I want the skin of the big tiger you are going to shoot."

"Why my dear?" asked Debaki with a laugh, "are you going to become a 'sanyasini'?"

"I really want it," cried Chandra, "I shall use it for sitting on."

"Now get down from your father's back", scolded her aunt Yogamaya, "and let him eat in peace."

Chandra got down. "Your wife has asked you to go to her room once," said Yogamaya as she fanned her brother.

"Why?" asked Debaki.

"Goodness gracious!" said his sister, "Has she got to show cause for it? Is not she human and does not she ever feel like talking to her husband?"

"Very well, I shall go," said Debaki. He finished his meal rather hurriedly.

Chandra's mother Nibha had been suffering from asthma from her childhood. Her people had hoped that she would get better as she grew older and got married. But their hopes did not come true. Her illness went on increasing till she became completely bed-ridden. For the last three years, she had not left her bed and she had not known any comfort or rest. She could not eat and she could not sleep. It was an infliction for others to look at her. So gradually everyone had given up visiting her excepting her old serving woman Tarini. She tended Nibha day and night and dragged little Chandra to her mother once or twice daily by main force. Chandra would run away as soon as she could. Yogamaya paid the invalid a visit of courtesy every day and did not bother more about her.

This afternoon Debaki was obliged to pay his wife a visit. As soon as he entered, Tarini rose up from the foot of the bed, where she had

been sitting tending Nibha, and left the couple alone.

Debaki drew forward a heavy chair and sat down, "Why did you ask me to come?" he asked.

Nibha lifted her skeleton-like body and sat up straight. She was a great beauty once, but no trace of it had remained. Only her eyes were as large as before, but these too had sunk in their sockets.

"Your father and your sister both want you to marry again," she said. "Why don't you do it?"

Debaki looked very much displeased. "Did you send for me in such haste to tell me this?" he asked. "It could have waited."

"What is the harm, if I say it now?" asked Nibha. "You don't stay at home for five minutes together. I don't blame you for that. There is nothing here that can attract you. A person who looks at me once, does not want to look twice. But you must not give up home and family, simply because you have given me up. I won't last much longer. But there is Chandra, you have got a duty towards her and towards your family. You must not forget it and roam about like a hunter, killing animals. You must mend your ways, marry again and settle down at home. You are no longer very young."

"Why such a long lecture?" asked Debaki. "Has anyone told you that I am dying to marry again?"

Nibha panted after speaking so long at a stretch. She leaned back on her pillows and said, "Nobody would have blamed you, if you were. You are not an old man yet, and you would be perfectly justified in marrying again. But this shooting expedition, is this good? You know, you are the only surviving child of your father. And one never knows what may happen where that demon of a tiger is concerned."

"I wonder how a bed-ridden patient comes to hear such tales!" said Debaki. "If I don't go and kill that tiger it would be a sin. The victims are all our tenants. Is it not my duty to try to save them?"

"Is not there anybody else to do it?" asked Nibha. "You don't seem to realize how valuable your life is."

"That is woman's talk," said Debaki. "A man can never think that way. My life may be very valuable, but for that I cannot hide under a bed to save it. Shame on such a life!"

Nibha fell back flat on her bed this time. "I knew it was useless my saying anything to you," she murmured. "You have never listened to me, why should you listen now?"

Debaki got up. "Why do you ask the impossible, Nibha?" he said. "You ask Rajballabh Roy's son to hide himself in his bedroom for fear of a tiger. How can I keep such a request?" He marched out of the room with heavy steps.



The three remaining days passed off. On the fourth day Debaki started with his retinue of hunters and horses and elephants. He took leave of everyone except his wife. "You will get the tiger's skin," he said to Chandra.

There was no railway then, so it was very difficult to send news home. One could only send a messenger, who had to walk on foot most of the way.

Debaki's family heard from him first, after five or six days. He had passed all the villages and was about to enter the forest. The few days he had been there, the man-eater had not come near the villages.

There followed another interval of silence. Then like a bolt from the blue, came the terrible news and seemed to petrify everyone. Debaki had been killed by that fearful beast. Before others could rush to his rescue, the tiger had done his worst, and disappeared in the thick of the forest. The dead body was being conveyed hitherin a bullock-cart.

The tragic party arrived in the evening with the dead man. The body was washed, anointed and garlanded, then laid out in the spacious courtyard. Rajballabh came and stood by the bier. Chandra came and took him by the hand. She had been sobbing, but the terrible frown of her grandfather silenced her sobs. From the inner apartments came the sound of piteous weeping. It is Yogamaya.

Rajballabh spoke in a voice of thunder. "Hear you all. I swear in the name of Goddess Kali that I shall give Chandra in marriage to the person who slays that beast. But he must be of my own caste. If a man of another caste kills it, then I shall give him my estate and go away to Benares. Go, proclaim it everywhere."

The crowd began to melt away. The kith and kin of the dead man now came forward. The body must be taken to the cremation ground.

Suddenly loud wails from the inner apartments were heard. Everybody looked at that side, surprised. A skeleton-like figure, draped in rich crimson silk and heavily jewelled, was advancing towards the bier. It was Nibha. She was smiling. She bowed down at Rajballabh's feet, saying "Bless me, father. May I die before my husband in my next birth."

"Go, my daughter, may you attain the heaven of the chaste," said Rajballabh in a calm voice. Chandra cried out aloud. Yogamaya and the other women pulled her away and took her inside.

The news of the tragic death of Debaki and the self-immolation of Nibha spread all over the countryside. Rajballabh's oath, too, became known to everyone. All the famous hunters of the day vowed to kill the three-eyed tiger, but the beast seemed to have disappeared completely. Its thirst for blood seemed to have been fully satiated after taking the life dearest to the lord of the land. So he never approached human habitation again. Rajballabh's palace looked like

the abode of eternal gloom. From a distance, it looked completely deserted, there did not seem to be any inhabitants within this mighty structure of brick and mortar. The few servants, who were still left there, moved about with noiseless feet and seemed frightened to breathe even. Rajballabh spent all his time in the temple of Kali. Even at night, he stayed on there frequently. His widowed daughter remained virtually alone in the palace, shedding tears of sorrow for the dead. Chandra played about the gloomy and frowning palace like a streak of lightning in the midst of dark clouds.

The years passed on slowly. Again, rumours of a tiger began to be heard. But nobody could say whether it was the same animal, or another.

Time had healed the poisoned wound in Rajballabh's heart, though imperfectly. He drew Chandra to him one day and said with a smile. "My darling, there does not seem to be a man left in the land. I am afraid you will be driven at last to accept me as your bridegroom."

"Go, I shall never marry a bald old man like you," said Chandra and, pushing him away, ran off from the place.

These words of Rajballabh also spread from mouth to mouth. The young men frowned in anger, but the tiger roamed about at its own sweet will undaunted. But it seemed to have become rather wary, for it never entered villages or human habitation, as it had done before. But woodcutters and cowherds would often meet this beast who seemed to be death incarnate.

Years passed on. Chandra was now nearly fifteen. In the first flush of approaching youth, she seemed too beautiful to be a daughter of man. She dazzled men's eyes like moving flame.

It was autumn. Nearly four years had passed since the day when Debaki met his death. Rajballabh was becoming old and weak. He called his daughter and his grand-daughter to him one day and said, "This year I have decided to sacrifice one hundred buffaloes to the goddess Kali at the time of her worship. Perhaps she will be pleased then to infuse some courage into the hearts of these sheep whom we call men, otherwise there is no hope."

The great goddess of power seemed to hear Rajballabh this time. Even before the great sacrifice took place, he realized that all were not sheep or lambs, but there were tiger cubs also in his land. News came to him that two men had vowed to kill the three-eyed beast before the month was over. One was Bhabaniprasad Choudhuri of Jhankuria and another, Naranarayan Guha of Kumarpur.

Rajballabh smiled and spoke to Chandra again, "You have become just like a princess from our classics, my darling," he said. "Let us see, who wins you through prowess." Chandra ran off again, her anklets twinkling musically.

The worship of the goddess Kali was performed with due pomp and splendour. People



came from far and near to witness the pujah and the sacrifice. Everyone believed this to be the last worship, offered by Rajballabh. There was none in the family, who could carry on these ceremonies after his death.

Next the image of the goddess was carried in procession to the river and immersed.

Next morning, as Rajballabh was returning from the temple, two of his attendants ran up to him. They had brought information that the tiger had been killed. Its body was being carried here in a bullock-cart, accompanied by all the villagers of the countryside and the hunters.

Rajballabh stood still for a minute. A deep sigh escaped him. He remembered vividly again that fateful day when his dead son was carried home in like manner. They were bringing his slayer today to him, he must meet it in a fitting manner. Besides it was going to be the wedding day of Chandra, so it must be celebrated accordingly.

He sent the men on, in search of his Dewan, and proceeded slowly towards his house. As soon as the women heard about it there was no end of excitement. The deep gloom that had lain over the house so long, seemed to be lifted in an instant. Yogamaya sought out Chandra and began to deck her out in rich silks and jewels. The women came out and stood looking out for the body of the man-eater. The neighbours gathered in the courtyard in large numbers. The servants cleared and swept the place at the order of the master. The space in the middle remained empty for the hunters, the crowd stood all around waiting expectantly.

As the party was sighted at a distance the excitement increased tenfold. Many ran forward to welcome them, others stood where they were.

The party poured into the courtyard tempestuously. They had taken off the bullocks from the cart, and were dragging it themselves. The body of the huge dead beast lay on it, its head completely severed.

Such a big animal had never been seen by the people of the locality, though they saw tigers nearly every day. Those behind began to push their way forward to catch a sight of the third eye of the tiger.

The cart came to a halt in the middle of the courtyard. Two men separated themselves from the party and took up their positions on either side of the cart. The man on the left was short in stature, but very strong in build. He had long curly hair and carried a blood-stained spear. This was Naranarayan Guha of Kumarpur. Bhabaniprasad Choudhuri of Jhanakuria stood on the right. He looked younger than Naranarayan, was very tall and rather slight in build. His complexion was dark, but he was unusually handsome. His body was covered with blood. Rajballabh came forward. He stared gloomily awhile at the dead beast. Then he spoke to the two hunters. May the blessings of Kali, the great mother, be showered

on you; you have lifted the disgrace that had been resting on the manhood of the country. But I must know definitely who killed the tiger, as I must give my grand-daughter to him."

Yogamaya now came out, holding Chandra by the hand. Her glowing beauty drew all eyes on her. The two hunters also looked at her, but turned away their eyes soon.

"We killed the tiger together," said Bhabaniprasad, "but for Naranarayan's timely help, the animal would have got the better of me. But we are ready to accept your choice."

Rajballabh was in a fix. Both were suitable matches in every way. Whom should he choose and whom refuse?

He looked towards the family priest Pashupati and said, "Advise me, venerable sir, what must I do?"

"Ask your grand-daughter to choose for herself," said the Brahmin with a laugh. "The situation is very much like that of a story from the classics, so let the decision be of the same sort."

Rajballabh looked at Chandra. She stood hanging down her head in an excess of shyness. She had not the courage to make a choice.

"No sir," said Rajballabh. "My grand-daughter is not made of the same stuff with Sita or Savitri. She won't be able to choose a husband. Find out some other way. I must keep my oath, but let none be cheated."

The priest thought awhile, then said, "In ancient times the wife of Lord Krishna once gave away her husband as a gift to the sage Narad. As the sage was about to go away with him, all the wives of Krishna began to cry. Then the sage agreed to take gold, of the weight of the Lord Krishna, in exchange for him. You, too, do the same thing. It is not possible to give one girl in marriage to both. Give Chandra to one, and a statue of gold to the other. This is quite in accord with the Shastras."

"Very well," said Rajballabh. "But the man, who gets Chandra, gets nothing else. It will take all I possess to make a statue of gold." He looked at the hunters. Bhabaniprasad came forward and bowed down to him, "If I get your grand-daughter, sir," he said, "I shall think myself the luckiest of mortals."

"You are young yet, my friend," said the other with a laugh.

Chandra was given to Bhabaniprasad on the next auspicious day. On the same day, Naranarayan got the image of Chandra done in gold. Rajballabh left for holy Benares after that with his daughter. He died there in ripe old age.

The family of Bhabaniprasad is still extant. Naranarayan's family died out and his estate passed into the hands of strangers. But the famous image disappeared. Nobody seemed to know where Naranarayan hid it at the time of his death.



## FIVE-SIXTEENTH RESTRICTION OF JUTE— WHAT IS THE MAGIC IN IT ?

By BHUPENDRA LAL DUTT

I

**T**HE Rural Development Commissioner, Bengal, on the 9th January last, gave publicity, through the Press Officer, Government of Bengal, to the following :

It has been decided that the extent of restriction which the Government consider to be necessary in the area under jute should be announced not as a percentage (*which the cultivators might not understand*) but as being so many annas, sixteen annas representing the acreage under jute last year.

The figure decided upon is five annas : in other words the area to be planted with jute should be eleven annas of last year's acreage.\*

We have no intention, at the very outset, to pick a quarrel with the Government on what the cultivators might or might not understand. The Government, which always measure land by acres, not by bighas, which the cultivators might easily understand, and weigh things by pounds and tons, not by seers and maunds, have at last grown wiser and have discovered that, at least for propaganda among the cultivators, it is advantageous to resort to a purely indigenous method of counting.

The expression 'last year', we hope, will cause little inconvenience. The announcement coming at the beginning of 1935 naturally suggests that the expression means the calendar year 1934. But, as we all know, the Government count the financial year from the first day of April of one year to the last day of March of the succeeding year. We may be excused, if we ignore, for the purpose of this article, the January-December English calendar year (which the cultivators might not understand !) and prefer the April-March financial year, as this very nearly coincides with the cultivators' own Baisak-Chaitra calendar year.

Mr. S. C. Mitter, Deputy Director of Industries, Bengal, put the estimate for jute

crop for 1933-34 at 79.33 lakhs of bales. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, President of the Institute of Economics, stated it to be 79.90 lakh bales. Again, *Monthly Survey of Business Conditions in India*, issued monthly by the Statistical Research Branch, Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, India, shows the figure to be 80.12 lakhs. Neither Mr. Mitter nor Mr. Sarker made any mention anywhere that their figures were for Bengal alone. The Government forecast for Bengal during the same period was 70.92 lakh bales.

The estimated area and out-turn of jute crop in India for 1934-35, as published in the Final Forecast by the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, are as follows :

Province	area in acres	yield in bales
Bengal (including Cooch Behar & Tripura)	2,186,100	7,216,000
Bihar and Orissa (including Nepal)	165,600	450,000
Assam	145,300	297,800
Total...	2,497,000	7,963,800

Indeed it is the Bengal Government that have launched the restriction of crop campaign, but this is no reason why the restriction should be confined to Bengal alone. Provincial autonomy—whatever its worth—has yet to come and the Central Government cannot suffer the provincial Governments to have their own way and follow different and opposite principles on one and the same question. We may ignore the subordinate sovereign states of Cooch Behar and Tripura as well as the independent allied kingdom of Nepal as, restriction or no restriction, the yield in these places is too small to be taken into consideration.

Restriction in the area of cultivation means and is meant for reduction in the yield. The Government of Bengal have 'decided upon' five-annas restriction. Eleven annas cultivation means eleven annas yield. Taking 7,963,800 bales, the total forecast estimate

\* Italics in this article are mine.—Author.



for 1934-35, one may find, by simple arithmetic, that the yield the Government desire is 5,475,112.5 bales. This means 2,190,045,000 lbs or 977,698.661 tons.

## II

The industrial production of jute for 1933-34 has been shown in *Monthly Survey of Business Conditions in India* as follows :

Months	Tons (000)
April	68.52
May	84.70
June	77.73
July	74.52
August	83.11
September	68.19
October	77.48
November	77.86
December	72.16
January	77.07
February	71.54
March	72.68

This makes a total of 905.56 thousand tons.

The financial year 1934-35 is just over and we have not been able to learn what the total industrial production for that period is. The December issue of *Monthly Survey* (the latest that we have received) shows an increase over the previous year's production.

Months	Tons (000)	% change (+or--) over last year
April	71.15	+4
May	86.12	+2
June	74.97	-4
July	81.34	+9
August	83.21	***
September	74.51	+9
October	79.51	+3
November	80.48	+3
December	79.59	+10

Though we have not yet got the figures for the remaining three months, we have reasons to believe that they are in excess of the figures for the same months of the previous year. The Indian Jute Mills Association made all the mills affiliated to it limit the working period to forty hours a week and seal fifteen per cent of looms. Indian mills which are outside this Association were, on the threat of an ordinance, we are told, forced to accept the same principle. The Association released, on and from the 1st November 1934, two and a half per cent out of the sealed looms. These released looms, according to one estimate, were to manufacture

4,500,000 yards per month. Accepting for argument's sake that the figures for these months remain the same, the total industrial production for 1934-35 cannot be less than 932.17 thousand tons.

In 1935-36 we expect a bigger industrial production, for, we are informed by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (May 3, 1935) :

At a meeting held on Thursday afternoon, the Committee of the Indian Jute Mills Association have finally decided to release 2½ per cent looms in August and 2½ per cent looms in November next. If there be improvement in trade demand the Committee will consider the question of unsealing 5 per cent more looms from February, 1936.

It may be noted that the mills under the Agreement had been working 40 hours a week with 15 per cent of the looms sealed up. From November 1934, 2½ per cent. of the looms have been unsealed and it was decided to re-open 2½ per cent more from May next. As a result of the above decision the mills will release 10 per cent of the sealed looms by November next with the possibility of re-opening the balance of 5 per cent from February 1936.

Thus we see that the total jute manufacture in India for 1933-34 was 905,560 tons, in 1934-35 it cannot be less than 932,170 tons and in 1935-36 it must rise higher still.

We have it on the authority of the Jute Enquiry Committee Report that every pound of jute grown in the land is not available for mill consumption. There is a pretty big domestic consumption which is estimated at 5 lakh bales a year. If we deduct the 5 lakh bales or 89,285.7 tons from 977,698.7 tons—the expected yield under the restriction scheme, we have only 888,413 tons. This is much less than the quantity manufactured in 1933-34, not to speak of the years 1934-35 and 1935-36.

The 'mills on the Hooghly' have always a big stock of raw jute—at least a year's stock at the beginning of the year according to Sir Nazimuddin. They have also a stock of manufactured goods. At the end of March, 1934 it was as follows :

Hessian Cloth and Bags 8.5 crores of yards.  
Sacking Cloth and Bag 9.4 crores of yards.

With such a big stock of raw jute and finished products the mill-owners become the masters of the situation. They can, in the language of Mr. S. C. Mitter, "depress market



by remaining out of market for a considerable time." Further, in case any purchasers venture to appear in the raw jute market, these mill-owners can at once make their appearance and can purchase, at the low price at their choice the whole lot which, thanks to the restriction scheme, is not in excess of what may be requisitioned for a year's consumption. The other parties must withdraw before they can purchase a single *chatak* at mill-owners' price, to offer and make the purchase at a higher price would even be impossible. Thus we see that this restriction scheme is a clever move to starve foreign mills on the one hand and to prevent Indian industrialists on the other hand

to enter into the field of jute manufacture in days to come.

We remember the lamentations of a friend of European interests in India that 'cultivators *grow freely*', that Bengal mills 'cannot take more than a *certain percentage*', that 'the rest is flung at the heads of the foreign mill-owners', that 'other lands reap benefit' and that 'restriction of jute growing is necessary if the *industry* is to return to health'.

And now, five-annas restriction has come with sixteen-annas benefit to 'the mills on the Hooghly'!

But the poor grower is asked "to restrict his sowing of jute in his *own* interest"!

## ARTHUR WING PINERO

### ACTOR AND PLAYWRIGHT

By BENOYENDRA CHAUDHURI, M. A.

[Born May, 1855, in London; Educated for the legal profession; first appearance as an actor, Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, 1874; first appearance in London, Globe Theatre, 1876; Married Mrs. Myra Emile Moore Hamilton, 1883; first play, *Two Can Play at that Game*, produced at Lyceum Theatre, 1877; knighted in 1909; Died November, 1934.]

WITH the death of Sir Arthur Pinero, there passes from England a man to whom more than anyone else, the rise of the modern drama is due. After him, greater men have come indeed but all the pioneering work in England had to be done almost single-handed by Pinero. He began to write plays before Ibsen was talked about in England and though his best plays were to come after the waves of Ibsenism had disturbed the still and stagnant waters of the English Drama, his earlier plays were not absolutely without that promise which ultimately fulfilled itself in the great plays like *The Thunderbolt* and *Mid-Channel*.

Like many other distinguished dramatists of England, Pinero began as an actor and ended as a playwright. At the age of nineteen in 1874, he joined the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, as an actor and removed to London two years later to play at the Globe Theatre. His first play to be produced there was *£200 a year* and that was late in 1877; and though *The Money Spinner* was successful, he did not show his

real promise till his first serious drama, *The Squire*, was produced. And from this time to well over forty years, he had been writing one play after another, some of which are great and can easily be regarded as masterpieces of their kind. Though his Muse was rarely without some sort of flaw he could occasionally rise to the heights of dramatic greatness in his later pieces and then can certainly be ranked with Shaw and Galsworthy as a master of theatrical workmanship and pure drama.

In the few years between 1883 and 1886, he produced quite a number of plays of which the three successful farces, *The Magistrate*, *The Schoolmistress* and *Dandy Dick* earned for him the reputation of a successful playwright. All these farces are delightful and display the originality and comic invention of the author. *Dandy Dick*, probably the best of the three, is the story of the discomfiture in no end of ways of a portly and very dignified Dean owing to an unthinking act of indiscretion on his part. But it is a pertinent and pleasant question to debate as to who caused more mirth, the Dean falling into absurd and undignified scrapes or that picture of a sturdy English constable, Noah Topping. It is also unfair not to mention the not unlovable mannish sister of the Dean, Georgiana, known more truly perhaps as George Tedd. Pinero's next venture was a sentimental comedy, *The*



*Sweet Lavender*, which was followed by another of its kind, *The Weaker Sex*. Both these plays were successful on the stage and the former enjoyed numerous revivals since its first production. Pinero's next play was a serious drama again and was hailed in 1889 as 'the strongest piece of original drama that the stage had seen for many a long year.' *The Profligate*—for that is the name of this play—deals with the problem of morality or rather with that of the difference in the standards of morality applied to men and women.

Leslie Brudenell, the heroine, loved and married Dunstan Renshaw whom she considered to be an angelic sort of man but was disillusioned when it was brought home to her that her husband had seduced and ruined another girl. The story ends with the suicide of Dunstan. Though this play is not without defects—and some of them are serious—it shows at times considerable power and has quite a number of poignant situations. Though the main situation on which the tragedy lies,—that of Leslie's meeting the girl when she had been staying with her husband to pass their honeymoon, is obviously faulty inasmuch as it is a chance coincidence and though the fatuous sermons of the 'saintly idiot' Hugh Murray are positively annoying, yet the author more than compensates these by the way he has toyed with the suspense of the audience by deferring for a considerable time the fall of doom of the terrible knowledge on poor Leslie's head. This play has a further importance. Its *motif* in its variations had a charm for Pinero. He has often dealt with the problem of sex and marriage and, one must admit, with very little else in his serious plays. This is, perhaps one of the most important failings of Pinero, his imagination was not as rich as it was strong. Indeed, another play to follow the *Profligate* very soon, *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, deals with the converse of the problem discussed in the former. The sensation that this play created when it was produced belongs not only to passing history of the time but to future history as well. This play made Pinero quite a European figure and has opened a new prospect for English drama. Perhaps it is not too much to say that this belongs to the group of modern plays which will survive the test of time and is the first distinct modern play of a type to be improved upon a great deal indeed by later men like Shaw and Barker and others.

Aubrey Tanqueray's first wife was a cold, Roman Catholic woman caring more for religion than for the happiness of her married life so much so that before her death she caused her husband to send their only child, Ellean to a convent. At the age of forty-five, Tanqueray married a twenty-three-year-old woman much below his rank and of disreputable character. Paula was in fact not a bad woman and more or less a victim of her circumstances. Before

marriage, she gave Aubrey a letter containing a confession of her past life which, however, Aubrey destroyed without reading. The married couple removed to a country house and Ellean joined them there. But the peace and happiness Aubrey had so eagerly looked forward to bringing in Paula's hitherto miserable life remained a dream. What with Paula's jealousy for Ellean who did not love her and what with the ostracized life at the country house and her inferiority complex, she was miserable and made the whole house miserable. As things appeared to be brightening up for Paula when Ellean in her happiness of first love could afford to be kind to her, all her hopes and prospects of happiness were dashed to pieces at the cruel coincidence fate had set in store for her in the form of Ellean's lover turning out to be the young man with whom she had lived as a mistress. The inevitable happened: Ellean lost her lover, Aubrey's dream of happiness vanished and the second Mrs. Tanqueray committed suicide.

This play like its predecessors has faults and the chief of them is similar to that in *The Profligate*. The situation on which the tragedy turns is a chance coincidence again and not such as is inherent in the characters or in the given set of circumstances. In *The Profligate*, the excuse was 'a strange freak of fortune' and in this play, 'the world's very small,' but this does not prevent the plays from lacking the element of inevitability, so essential to a tragedy. But whatever the faults are and however serious some of them may be, this play, though by no means the best of Pinero, is great in its art and power. It has all the elements of a problem play not excluding even the element of discussion of which Shavian plays are at times too full. It is perhaps difficult to say what according to Pinero was the solution of the problem Aubrey Tanqueray faced by marrying Paula. Ellean's last word ending the play is: 'If I had only been merciful.' One is tempted to accept this as the author's own view but certainly this cannot be the whole truth for Ellean's mercy and even love could not undo Paula's past with Hugh Ardale, Ellean's lover.

*The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith* is, not, indeed very far from *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* in its *motif* and would have been a great piece if only Pinero had a true conception of a free-thinking woman. Agnes, the heroine, is neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring. She has all the weakness of an ordinary woman and all the eloquence of an obstinate free-thinker. If Pinero had wanted to give the picture of an ordinary religious woman deceiving herself to believe she was a prophet of free-thinking, that would have some value as a character. But he sincerely seeks to portray a real free-thinker and betrays a lack of first-hand knowledge and understanding



of such a woman. Agnes Ebbsmith was the daughter of a free-thinker whose married life was made extremely unhappy by the shrewish character of his wife. She was taught to disbelieve all religion and tradition set up by the society. She, however, retained her love and faith and married a young man whom she loved passionately. But soon her married life became as unhappy as her parents' and after eight years of torture, death of her husband released her from her bonds. Agnes came out with a determination never to be fettered by the bond of marriage and to further the cause of free-thinking and carried out her mission with such a fanatic zeal that she was termed 'mad Agnes'. Ultimately she meets a married young man, Lucas Cleeve, with whom she falls in love and lives. Lucas is ultimately won back to his family partly by the ingenuity of his relative Duke of St. Olpherts. The reason why this play could not become either a true problem or a true human play is perhaps the faulty conception of the heroine. But this play gives us one character as true and vivid as it is interesting. This is the Duke who is a clever, genial, middle-aged man who was recklessly dissipated in his youth. Pinero is delightful in the creation of such men. His particular fondness for this type of aristocracy is responsible for another play, *Gay Lord Quex*. This is also not particularly a great play and has much trivial detail quite unnecessary for the drama, but one understands that his fondness for Lord Quex leads him to such unnecessary elaboration. Lord Quex, a middle-aged man of forty-eight, whose past is by no means unimpeachable in morals, falls in love with Miss Eden who, however, has got a lover already. Sophy Fullgartney, the friend of Miss Eden, backs up Miss Eden's former lover, but is ultimately won over by the gallantry of the Lord to his cause and helped the latter to win his beloved. This play was also successful on the stage.

By this time of course, Pinero became secure in his front rank position among dramatists. He was popular indeed, from the very first, but dramatic critics were divided in their opinion about the excellence of his plays, owing mainly to some lapses in the form of rather out-of-date thinking. About his dramatic sense there was but little difference of opinion.

Before he quite reached his climax, he had passed through another stage when among others, *Iris*, *Letty* and *His House in Order* were produced. The themes of *Iris* and *Letty* are complementary to each other and one was written close after the other. Each deals with the story of a woman under hopelessly difficult circumstances, one ending in tragedy, another not far from it. *Letty* is indeed a more powerful play in so far as its heroine, 'Letty' is a woman of strong character. She had to choose between the status of a mistress to a kind-hearted married man and

that of a lawful wife of a rich, blunt, coarse fellow. She ultimately casts her lot with none of them and marries instead a poor photographer with whom she lives a hard, toilsome life.

In almost all the plays, up till this time, Pinero could not be free from flaws, though indeed, they often display real dramatic genius. But two of his plays, produced one in 1908 and the other in 1909, are not only great, but perfect things of their kind, and Pinero's masterpiece must be chosen from them in which his powers have culminated. These are *The Thunderbolt* and *Midchannel*. He has written plays since indeed, but here he reaches his climax and has never again produced any play equalling, not to say surpassing, them.



Arthur Wing Pinero

*Midchannel* is the story of a disaster in the married life of a couple having no great pre-occupation in life. The pity of the whole thing is that they did not lack love, but as the woman says to a friend of the family they are 'on each other's nerves. . . . Sick to death of each other.' Each is impatient of the other and when their friend wisely suggested a tour in the continent to tide over 'midchannel' or the middle period of their married life which was dangerous but to be crossed at all costs to ensure safe and happy voyage through the rest of life, both the man



and his wife agreed but their differences broke out again at the choice of a not-fashionable hotel by the husband. Hard words were exchanged and as a result, Theodore Blundell the husband left the house.

Zoe Blundell, the wife, left London for the Continent alone and was joined there by a young friend, Leonard Feris, one of her 'tame robins' while Theodore tried to console himself with a society girl in a flat in London. But both of them found little pleasure in the new life and through the mediation of Peter met again. Zoe forgave Theodore for his lapse, but his jealousy was so much stirred at Zoe's confession that pity could not gain an upper hand. Though the play ends in suicide of the heroine, it is unlike the cheap cases of suicide with which tragedy so commonly ends. The situation has been so skilfully managed that it appears inevitable. This play resembles to some extent his first great play, *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*. It is easy to sympathize with Zoe and even at times with Theodore. The failure of their married life must be put down to more than one cause. The main reason is certainly got hold of by Zoe in the Third Act.

"Zoe : It (the married life) was doomed from the moment we agreed that we'd never be encumbered in our career with any brats of children. [He partly turns in his chair to listen to her.] I want you to tell Peter of it.

Theodore. Yes, it suits you to rake that up now—  
Zoe. [Passing her finger to her temples.] If there had been "brats of children" at home it would have made a different woman of me, Theo ; such a different woman of me—and a different man of you. But no, everything in the earlier years of our marriage was sacrificed to coining money to shoving our way through the crowd—to "getting on," everything was sacrificed to that.

Indeed, this play is a cold, ruthless criticism of the social system of which Zoe is a victim, who, in spite of all her native goodness, high spirits and cleverness, had to perish. *The Thunderbolt* written earlier than *Midchannel*, though not so compact and perfect in construction as the latter, is a far more moving play and is perhaps more dramatic and universal in its appeal. It lacks the stifling atmosphere of *Midchannel* and has dramatic relief in the comic exaggeration of the trivialities and stupidities of the Mortimore brothers and their wives. It is the story of a crime perpetrated at a time when the criminal did not know whom her crime would harm and whom she knew and loved afterwards to an extent that made her confess her crime and make it up to the girl at whose expense she had planned to thrive. The play has more or less a happy ending and perhaps just a little touch of the farcical in the portrayal of the selfish stupidities in the two elder brothers, their wives, their sister and her husband and these prevent its being called a tragedy, but it certainly is Pinero's nearest

approach to a real tragedy and is easily his most intense and appealing play and withal most human. One finds such humanity very rarely, if at all, in Shaw and only now and then in John Galsworthy who, however, is not shy of the human touch in his plays.

## II

We have discussed some of the more important of Pinero's plays setting out some problem or other and incidentally giving a picture of the contemporary social life of England. In his thoughts he is not often very up-to-date and he has not the intellectual gifts of a Shaw to initiate anything like a Shavian discussion in his plays. He has depicted some situations not less dramatic than those of Shaw, only he is not as rich in his imagination as Shaw ; and his message is not as unmistakable as Shaw's ; in a word, he is not a propagandist. But his technical skill does not suffer by comparison with that of his greater successors.

His are usually four act plays. The construction is simple. The entire first act is devoted to unravelling of the threads of the plot and they are developed to their full in the next two acts, the third act ending in the crisis from which fourth act is a gradual fall ending in catastrophe. He generally adheres to this principle in the division of his four-act plays. In the *Midchannel*, at the end of the first act, we know the trouble of the Blundell family, the attempt of the family friend to patch up the quarrel, the tendency of the wife to lead a fashionable life with her 'tame robins' and the impatient matter-of-fact-ness of the husband, indeed all the fundamental factors which culminate in the tragedy. Indeed, there is nothing in the later acts that does not follow from the first and the end satisfies our sense of dramatic probability. From the point of view of construction, this play has no weakness whatsoever and is easily the best of Pinero. *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith* is also admirably constructed but the dramatic effect is spoiled owing to the lack of dramatic probability occasioned by the faulty conception of the character of the heroine, a dramatic representation of whose fate is also a very important part of the *motif* of the play.

The readers of modern three-act plays might think Pinero's pieces suffer in rigour and compactness seeing that he has recourse to four instead of three acts. But that is not the case. He is a very clever contriver and he introduces his subject almost instantly with the opening of the play, and he has few or no touches that have no significance in them. He is often clever at arousing curiosity for the hero and the situation in which he is to be placed before actually the reader knows them. He is often full of dramatic irony and at times, as in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, brings forth with its help the main situation of the play. Cayley



Drummle brings information of the marriage of Sir George Orreyed and Mabel Hervey and gives a frank expression of his opinion on this *mesalliance* to his friends, one of whom is Aubrey Tanqueray himself who is going to be married next day and whose marriage is to be just like Sir George's. This method of introducing the subject is certainly highly dramatic and Pinero does not leave out this George-Mabel episode and uses it to intensify by contrast the main story of Aubrey and his wife. We have already mentioned that Pinero has often nothing in the later acts that does not follow directly from the first. This is true not only of the plot but also of the characterization. Aubrey's experiment proves a failure. The reasons are suggested in very light but significant strokes in the first act. For instance, Paula's frivolous and jealous nature was one of the most important reasons of failure of their marriage. This side of her nature is subtly hinted near the end of the first act. She comes to Aubrey's chamber in an unearthly hour to his embarrassment and sees the remnants of a dinner on the table. Her jealous suspicion is aroused at once and all this is of course before marriage.

Paula.....[*Looking round*] Oh, indeed! A snug little dinner!

Aubrey. Three men.

Paula. [*Suspiciously*] Men?

Aubrey. Men.

In the same subtle and delicate way Pinero has sketched the fastidious, demonstrative, impatient yet attractive character of Paula. There was indeed very little prospect from the beginning of any agreement in the future between such a nature and Aubrey's conventional, yet liberal temperament.

The construction in *Gay Lord Quex* is loose but it has one act—the third ending in the crisis of the play—which, so far as individual acts can go, is certainly the most powerful in Pinero and can compare with any best act of any first rate dramatist. The battle of Sophy Fullgartney and Lord Quex is grandly conceived, faultlessly executed and is a brilliant example of high dramatic tension. It recalls the battle between Napoleon and the lady in Shaw's *Man of Destiny*, which is intellectually more varied indeed, but dramatically less poignant and intense. It is not possible to detach any part of the act for illustrative purpose for which the whole act must be quoted.

It is difficult to say what exactly is the

message of Pinero, for unlike his successors, he was not a preacher. He was a writer of plays and hence chose themes and situations capable of a dramatic treatment. The chief aspect of modernity about him lies in the fact that he found enough drama in the contemporary social life and had not to fall back upon the stock themes and artificial mannerisms that had stilted the English drama and brought it down to a very low level when he began his career. The problems that occur and perplex the modern man—and sometimes also the eternal man, have found place in his plays and if they are not discussed in their endless variety and intricacy with anything like the intellectual brilliance of the later writers, they are genuine, happily conceived and often provoke thought and sympathy. Questions of love and marriage and happiness under different circumstances attracted him most and perhaps it is not rash to infer from his plays that with the weaker sex his sympathies often lay, maybe because they are weak. Certainly, Paula gets more sympathy than Dunstan Renshaw and Zoe is liked more than Theodore is hated. He is not indeed free from the habit of ending his tragedies in suicide, that conventional ending of tragedies, but at his best as in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* and *Midchimmel*, the suicide of the heroines is not only probable but inevitable. He has not neglected the study of crime and criminals altogether and has happily a broad and sympathetic outlook on such matters. He has the discernment and sympathy to understand that the criminals are not often the worst people and may sometimes have better qualities and are more human than those who can only keep themselves off from crime. Indeed, his most moving play, *The Thunderbolt*, furnishes a powerful example of this attitude: Phyllis is certainly a lovable woman in spite of her crime and is altogether a more valuable character than all her sisters-in-law put together.

The modern drama has vindicated its ideal and is a growing force in English literature now. Within less than half a century it has created history, starting from a very obscure beginning indeed but reaching a glorious stage now. At this hour of the day, when drama is at such a high level we are apt to ignore the contributions to its making by a man whom literary history cannot certainly afford to neglect,—contributions which certainly marked the beginning of a glorious process of creation and have merits occasionally that are to be valued not only on historical grounds but must also be recognized as first rate in creative literature.





# LACQUER WORK OF BENGAL :

## ITS PAST AND FUTURE

BY MANINDRA BHUSAN GUPTA

### HISTORY AND GENERAL FEATURE

**I**N the days of the East India Company there was a thriving lacquer industry in Bengal.

It was confined to a single village named Ilambazar in the district of Birbhum. This industry continued practically in the same fine condition even up to fifty years ago. When the industry was in a flourishing condition, the village of Ilambazar was very prosperous. Several families of the caste of Nuri made their living from the lacquer industry. The craft was practised by the Nuris alone. As the lacquer industry declined, the craftsmen were forced to leave their trade and take to some other occupation such as agriculture. The trade in lacquer work depended upon the patronage of the European merchants. When the European merchants gave up the factories at Ilambazar, this trade became slack owing to want of enterprise and loss of the local market.

The lacquer work done at Ilambazar consists of toys of various kinds,—animals, birds, fruits, and paperweights and bangles of various sizes. A skilled craftsman could imitate a fruit reproducing its exact form and colour in every detail.

It is to be noted that lacquer work in China, Japan and Burmah is of a different kind and that it is not done with shellac, an organic matter, which is used everywhere in India in lacquer work; so what is known as lacquer work done by the Mongolian races is a misnomer.

In Japan and elsewhere the varnish is made out of the sap of a tree. It is known as Urishi in Japan and Thisi in Burmah. This sap is extracted from the tree known in Japan as "Urishi no ki" in the same way as rubber is extracted. This Urishi is better than Indian lac in many respects. Pots and furniture varnished with Urishi can bear Alkali, acids, etc., and it can stand heat upto 160°c.

In Europe the varnish used for protecting furniture is made of lac dissolved in mythelated spirit, and it is known as French Polish.

There can be a good market for lacquer work, if one can improve it. It is a very profitable business. A table, a chair or a box can be very beautifully embellished with lacquer work.

An attempt towards this has been made at Visva-Bharati in its crafts department of rural reconstruction with considerable success. Furniture decorated with lacquer work, paperweights, boxes and ash-trays produced there have been appreciated at various exhibitions for their

workmanship, and also they have created a market where there is a demand for them.

In this article I intend to give a short description of the method of preparing lac and its application, as it is practised in Bengal.

Lac is derived from the sanskrit word *laksha*. This substance has been in use in India from times immemorial. The Mahabharat mentions a house known as "jatugriha." This house was burnt by fire. It was perhaps a wooden house embellished with lacquer work. Lac is an easily combustible substance.

Lac is a gummy resinous substance produced by insects called coccus *lacca* (*Lākshā Keela* in sanskrit) which form an incrustation round the twigs of trees. 'Kusum', 'Kul', 'Palas', and 'Pakur' trees have been found suitable for the production of lac. The lac brought fresh from the jungle is commercially called stick lac. There is a lengthy process, by which lac is refined and finally transformed into what is known as shellac. Lac is found in the market in the last form for various kinds of commercial purposes. There is a bye-product of shellac. It is the lac-dye. In the vernacular it is known as *alla*, sanskrit *alakta*, used by the Hindoo ladies to decorate their feet. In India lac-dye was known in very ancient times. But its use in Europe is very recent. The East India Company, like many other things, first took lac-dye to Europe. It is used there for dying silk and wool. The best lac-dye is exported to Europe from Calcutta.

### THE PROCESS OF EXTRACTING LAC-DYE AND REFINING LAC.

The stick lac is broken into pieces and the twigs are separated from these. These particles are kept in an earthen jar and allowed to soak in water for twenty-four hours. This stuff is then rubbed with the hand and the liquid matter is passed through a thickly woven basket and then strained through cloth, after which the liquid is allowed to dry in large earthen vats.

The residue then is to be rubbed with soda and strained through cloth. This process is repeated several times till the red matter is completely separated. The liquid portion dried in the vats is lac-dye.

The residue that is left is seed lac. This is mixed with resin, the proportion of lac and resin being 4 to 1. The mixture then is placed inside a bag of cloth something like a pillow-case and melted over fire. It is then



squeezed out and spread out in thin sheets, and the preparation of shellac is complete.

To give the exact amount of heat is a very difficult performance. It depends entirely upon practice. If the heat is not enough, nothing will come out from the bag, if the heat is too much, the whole stuff may come out too suddenly or may be even burnt.

What remains in the cloth, after the melted stuff is squeezed out, is mixed with sandy clay and it then becomes crude lac.



An earthen pot for the fire.

Stick lac, seed lac, shellac and crude lac are known in the vernacular by technical names of *Jo*, *Baragala* and *Matigala* or "Motagala."

#### THE PROCESS OF COLOURING LAC

A piece of shellac or *Baragala* is heated on charcoal fire and when it becomes soft and pliable, it is modelled in the shape of a cup with the hand. Powdered dye-stuff is then put in the cup. The cup with this stuff is kneaded, beaten and then alternately heated till the whole of it is thoroughly mixed up with the lac.

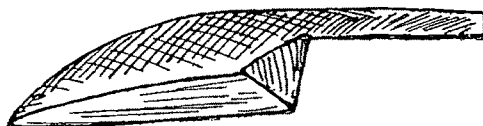
Red (vermilion), green, yellow, blue—all these colours may be used. Bronze powder gives a very glittering appearance. It goes well



A block of wood 2 or 3 feet long

with the green colour. Gold leaf also can be used with lac. The process is the same. To mix the colouring matter with the lac, the dye-stuff should be mixed gradually till the desired grade in the colour is obtained.

When the colouring matter is thoroughly mixed, it is made into sticks and cut in small cakes, which then, fixed at the end of bamboo sticks, about a foot long, are ready for use.



A wooden ladle with a small handle

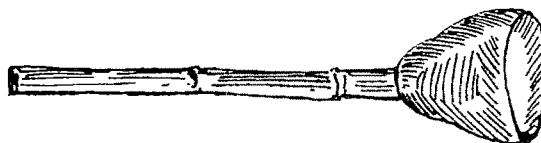
#### TOOLS USED FOR THE LACQUER-WORK

The tools used for the lacquer work are very simple and easily obtainable.

(1) An earthen pot for the fire. The pot is placed over three bamboo rods tied in the middle in a triangular position. Charcoal from sal wood is always used for making fire.

(2) A block of wood 2 or 3 feet long.

(3) A wooden ladle with a small handle, having no hollow in it. In vernacular it is called "hātā".

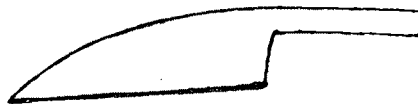


Two small rods, with round lacquer knob

(4) A blunt knife with a broad blade. It usually goes by the name "chair".

(5) A pair of tongs.

(6) A small rod, with a round lacquer knob, the top being flat as if a ball is cut into half. This knob is made of crude lac. This knob is very useful for preparing toys, etc. It will be found that a newly prepared knob gives much trouble, as the knob made of lac melts when kept over fire to heat a toy or paperweight,



A blunt knife with a broad blade

attached on its flat end. After much use it hardens and can stand heat to a certain extent. At least three years of use are required to make the knob properly serviceable.

In a family of craftsmen, this tool passes from one generation to another. Our craftsman



told us that the tool which he had was from his grandfather, and it was fifty years old.

In vernacular this tool is technically called "karār jorā kātī".

#### A FEW DETAILS ABOUT THE PROCESS OF LACQUERING

Good lacquer work depends upon long practice. Its process seems to be very easy, when one sees the craftsman doing it. But when a novice tries his hand at the lacquer work for the first time, he will find himself in deep water. But I think a 'fresher' can master the technique of lacquering, if he works for two years with a skilled craftsman.

The crafts department at Sriniketan affords this opportunity.

It is to be noted that the lacquer work done in other provinces of India is done on round materials such as the legs of a cot or *charpai*, a lampstand and so forth. It is because the lacquer work is done on lathe.

The Panjab, Guzerat, and Sind are well reputed for such work. The process in Bengal is quite different from that of other provinces, as lacquer work here is never done on lathe.

The lacquer department of Sriniketan has made a new departure in the craft of lacquer work in Bengal. The local craftsmen had hitherto been satisfied only with toys and trifling ornaments. They never tried to do lacquer work on wood or furniture.

The artists who were in charge of the department have given an impetus to this craft. Two or three years were taken in experimentation to find the proper technique for lacquering on wood. Wood gave much trouble, as it did not take in the lac, which splitted or came out in blisters. But experimenting on various kinds of wood suitable wood at last has been found out. In vernacular the best wood is known as *gambhar*. It is found in large quantity in the districts of Chittagong and Jalpaiguri.

Teak wood is not suitable for lacquering. After a year or so, it has been found that blisters come out on the lacquered teak. Sāl wood is fairly good, but as it is not good for carpentry work it is not of much use to try lacquer work on it. Wood that contains oily substance is not good for lacquer work. Three-ply wood such as venesta board is quite suitable. It can be used for the lid of a box or the top of a table. Wood should be well seasoned.

#### HOW TO LACQUER A WOODEN BOX

The wood and coloured lac attached to a stick should be simultaneously heated before the lacquering is done.

Much difficulty will be found in the application of lac, if the heat is not properly given. The actual heat necessary for the application can only be learnt by experience and practice. For

want of proper heat the following trouble may arise: (1) Wood may not take in the lac, (2) Lac will come out from the wood in thin shreds like hair, (3) Lac may gather thick at one place, more than what is necessary.

When lac is applied, it is made plain by brushing it with a piece of reed flatly drawn over the surface. Then the *hata* or the wooden ladle is rubbed well over it. In this process, the wood is to be heated now and then just for a second or two.

The final polishing is done with a piece of palmyra leaf. Variegated colour is done by applying one colour over another in the same way as above.

#### TO PREPARE PAPERWEIGHTS

First the required shape is modelled with clay; which when heated is covered up with crude lac. It is then stuck to the lac knob and heated. Coloured lac is then applied and the article is polished as above.

#### TO MAKE A FRUIT WHICH IS HOLLOW INSIDE

A big-size fruit—mango, etc., is not made solid, as it will consume much lac. So a hollow is made within it by this process. A rope is wrapped round the end of a stick, over which crude lac is applied and modelled to the required shape. On this colour is applied and polished. When the whole thing is finished, the end of the rope is slowly drawn. As the whole rope comes out a hollow is produced within the fruit. The rope is to be wrapped on the stick in a special manner, so that it comes out when one end of it is drawn.

In the case of some fruits, such as mango or apple, there is a mingling of colours. The red colour gradually vanishes in yellow. This mixture is done in this way. First the fruit is done in yellow lac. Then red powder kept in a piece of cloth is applied to this when heated. When polished with a palmyra leaf, the combination of yellow and red will give a very realistic appearance.

#### TAPE DESIGN

There can be various kinds of designs in lacquer, which, of course, depend upon the artistic taste and originality of the worker. There is a special design, which can be done with lac-tape. Coloured lac is heated and drawn into thin tapes. When any design is to be made of lines, these tapes are heated and applied to the objects on which designs are to be made.

This article of mine does not pretend to give all the information about the lacquer work, but it is attempted to give a fair idea about its technique as it is practised in Bengal.

I do not know whether the Indian soil and climate are suitable for Japan's Urishi plants. It rests with the agriculturists to experiment on that. If it is found to grow in India, artists can try to do lacquer work in the Japanese style and give a new phase to this industry.



# BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

### THE HILL BHUIYAS OF ORISSA :

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., "*Man in India*" Office, Ranchi, 1935. Price Rs. 8. Pp. iv+320+xxxviii.

The Bhuiyas form one of the most important tribes of the Orissan hills. At one time they were politically the most powerful tribe in the area ; and there are even now some customs which are reminiscent of their ancient political supremacy. Culturally these people belong to the same stock as the Mundas, the Birhors and the Oraons. The Oraons speak a Dravidian language, while the Bhuiyas speak a dialect of Oriya ; but still both of them belong to the same cultural stock as the Mundas or the Santals or the Birhors. That culture was formerly characterized by hunting and a predatory form of horticulture, absence of the use of milk and its products, domestication and sacrificial use of fowl, goats and pigs ; a totemistic organization of society, bachelors' dormitories, importance of love-marriages, bride-price, familiar relations between grand-parents and grand-children, cross-cousin marriages, levirate ; ancestor-worship, burial, shamanism ; tattooing and dances, and so on.

For the last twenty-five years, Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy has been engaged in describing the culture of tribes belonging to the above group. He has already given us several accounts of the Mundas, the Oraons and the Birhors ; and now he has presented us with a description of the Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa. The salient features of the culture of the Bhuiyas, and more particularly those connected with their religious and social life, have been set forth in great detail. There has also been a decided improvement over his previous works in so far as a careful and detailed description has been given of the physical characters of the tribe.

It is clear from Mr. Roy's description of Bhuiyas' social life, that their territorial or political organization, too, is more important than that based upon clanship. This is a very significant fact ; for the tribe is

known to have been politically very active before their conquest by their present rulers.

Mr. Roy believes that the totemistic clan-organization, so characteristic of the other tribes studied by him, was originally absent among the Bhuiyas. This observation raises some very important questions in Ethnology. How did the Mundas and Birhors then come by this organization ? Were the Bhuiyas an immigrant people who maintained their own social organization while adopting the material culture of the conquered ? Or, were the Bhuiyas originally organized in clans, which subsequently fell into decay as territorial units increased in importance due to political activities ? These are some of the questions which have to be followed up in connection with the cultural history of the tribe.

The ceremonial life of the Bhuiyas, as described by Mr. Roy, amply testifies to the strong influence exerted by Brahminism upon them. Not only are Hindu deities worshipped now, but, in one section of the tribe, Brahmin priests are even employed. Hindu ceremonial elements like fasting, ceremonial bathing etc. have also been adopted by other portions of the tribe.

The material culture of the people has also been described, but less fully than their ceremonial or social life. It would be very interesting to know in what productive relation the Bhuiyas stand with their neighbours, the Goals, the Juangs or their conquerors, the Kshatriyas and the Brahmins. The passing of the Arms Act in the last century, the reservation of forests, the enforcement of ground-rent, the importation of iron from outside, the introduction of agriculture have all brought about fundamental alterations in Bhuiya culture ; and it would be interesting to find out what changes in social organization have been due to the above influences. It would also be interesting to find out how much food and clothing and comforts the Bhuiyas get out of their labour and their technical knowledge, how much of it is spent in securing food and shelter, how much in luxuries, and how much in the



maintenance of the social superstructure and the State.

Although these questions have not been specifically entered into, yet the book gives ample materials for a study of the above questions, as well as the allied questions of cultural contact and ethnological history. As such the book deserves to be carefully read by every student of Indian ethnology.

We hope the learned author will give us, in future, some more accounts of the allied tribes of Orissa, and finally a comparative study of their culture, as well as a general cultural history of the highland area which he has chosen for his labours.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**A WORLD IN DISTRESS: THE REMEDY AS SEEN BY THE THEOSOPHIST:** *By C. Jinarajadasa, Rt. Rev. C. W. Leabfeater and L. W. Rogers. As. 4 only. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

Gross inequality in the distribution of wealth and food, the swallowing of small estates by banks and money-lenders, the rapid decline in the incomes of industrial earnings, mass unemployment, and all these operating on a large scale have contributed in bringing the world to its present most distressing condition—a unique condition full of alarming signs of a fast approaching all-round decay. Plutocracy, inventing gold standard and protective tariff, has no doubt been mainly responsible, and theosophy can offer a remedy for this disease,—recognition, in idea and practice, of the underlying unity of the Human Race. On this fundamental idea must be based all “plans” of future safety and prosperity—we must promote Brotherhood and the viewpoint also must be changed, so that the future cry will be—not “There must be money for all” but—“There must be more money for all.”

A highly important advice which we cannot afford to ignore. An inspiring pamphlet, expressing the fundamental ideas governing society in clear and forceful language.

**AUTHORITY:** *By G. S. Arundale. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.*

A spirited exposition of the limits of authority or the power of individual judgment, together with a generous admission of the beneficence of authority in certain stages of life. Clear ideas and lucid exposition.

PRIYA RANJAN SEN

**SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF MOTI LAL GHOSE:** *By Satya Gopal Datta & Bros. A. B. Patrika Office. Pp. vii+157. Price Re. 1-4.*

In this small volume, the editors have chosen only a few, (to be exact 15) of his writings. This selection is neither typical, nor exhaustive of any particular topic. Moti Lal was a humorous journalist and a great political thinker; and his humour deserves to be preserved as well as his writings for the benefit of future generations. We hope the editors will give us more of Moti Lal in the next volume. We have suggestions to make: if the editors would add short notes on the line Sir Thomas Raleigh added notes to Lord Curzon's speeches the value of the book will be greatly enhanced, and be more useful to the general reader.

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

**A REPORT OF THE BIHAR EARTHQUAKE AND ON THE MEASURES TAKEN IN CONSEQUENCE THEREOF UP TO THE 31ST DECEMBER, 1934:** *By W. B. Brett, C. I. E., I. C. S., Relief Commissioner, Bihar and Orissa. Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, Patna. Price Re. 1-12-0.*

This official report contains a description of the area, and describes the earthquake, immediate action taken in the districts, immediate measures at headquarters, the initiation of reconstruction measures, finance, measures of organization, scientific investigation into the earthquake, the problems arising out of changes in the level of the country, the sand deposits, the marketing of the sugar-cane crop, the water-supply problem, the reconstruction of Government property, the reconstruction of the property of district boards and municipalities, the damage to private house property, the distribution of financial assistance to owners of houses, the construction of semi-permanent houses, town-planning operations, the organization of supplies, charitable funds and the work of the relief societies, relief operations in the large estates, and the attitude of the public, the Press and the Legislative Council.

In the last chapter the author observes that “Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, after a flying visit to Bihar, published an article in which it was suggested that the Bihar Government had ceased to function for some days after the earthquake. This calumny found no response among the people of Bihar, who knew the real facts.”

We are unable to appreciate this criticism (we will not call it “calumny”) of the Pandit, particularly as he cannot repel the attack from prison. His visit would not have been a flying one if he had not been sent to jail by Government. He went to Bihar to serve the people as long as might be necessary. As for “the people of Bihar,” who very highly appreciated his services, their attitude can be ascertained only by means of a plebiscite conducted under the auspices of a third party, a neutral party. Who will be this party?

This official Report contains two well-executed coloured maps and numerous clear photographic illustrations.

**THE INDIAN EARTHQUAKE:** *By C. F. Andrews. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Price 2s. 6d.*

“The profits derived from the sale of this book will be given to the relief of those who have suffered from the great earthquake and from the floods which followed during the monsoon.”

Regarding Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's work in Bihar, Mr. Andrews writes:

“Among the All-India leaders the very first to go forward into the devastated area, in order to render personal service, was Jawaharlal Nehru. He led a party of workers, and helped to clear away the debris, and also to organize relief parties at a most critical time when immediate action was needed.

“Just as general satisfaction was expressed when Rajendra Prasad was released, so there was great disappointment everywhere expressed when Jawaharlal Nehru was prosecuted and imprisoned. For this happened just when the Government and people appeared to be drawing nearer together in a common humanitarian work. It was generally felt that a great opportunity of showing good will had been lost.”



Mr. Andrews has divided his book into 13 chapters and has also written an introductory note. It gives a vivid idea of the devastated area, of the all-India response, how Government acted, etc. Some chapters are devoted to what science tells us, to Mahatma Gandhi in Bihar, to the spirit of service, to the monsoon floods and to international help.

It is to be hoped the book will find numerous purchasers and readers in India and abroad.

**CITY OF BIRMINGHAM HANDBOOK, 1935:** *A publication of the City of Birmingham Information Bureau, from which copies may be obtained.*

This handsome volume is a review of the civic administration of England's second city. It is full of information and is profusely illustrated. It tells the reader all about Birmingham's trade and industries, its museums, art gallery, public libraries, parks, recreation grounds, cemeteries, and city orchestra, its public works; town-planning; public health service, mental hospitals, and mental defectives; the educational service, including colleges and schools; the city estates; police and fire protection; the salvage service; public baths; finance; gas; the water supply; electricity; transport service; the city markets; the municipal bank; the British Industries Fair, motor car parking places, and hotel accommodation.

The authorities of all our municipalities, large and small, and the city fathers individually would do well to get a copy of this book and read it.

**THE METHOD OF FREEDOM:** *By Walter Lippmann. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 4s. 6d. net.*

Mr. Walter Lippmann is the author of *A Preface to Morals*, and other works, and is as distinguished in England as in America. His present work, which is a brilliant treatise on the status of human liberty today, is made out of lectures delivered at Harvard on the foundation established in memory of Edwin Lawrence Godkin. It is a clear, ably considered statement of the case for the middle class. The author shows lucidly how the historic part is joining with the crisis-present to ensure a greater future. He also includes an outline of principles to be maintained "if a nation of free men can make liberty secure amidst the disorders of a modern world." He states plainly that "the free man's way of life rests upon the conviction that no man and no set of men are wise enough or good enough to determine the destinies of mankind." "However much they (free men) may alter their methods... their basic conviction is that the State is the servant of the people and not the master of the people."

**AFGHANISTAN: A BRIEF SURVEY.** *By Jamal-ud-din Ahmad, B.A., B.T., member, bureau of education, and Muhammad Abdul Aziz, M.A. With a foreword by Sir Muhammad Iqbal. Three Maps and 70 Illustrations. The frontispiece is a fine coloured portrait of Nadir Shah, the late King of Afghanistan. There is also another fine coloured picture, viz., a portrait of the present King of the country, Dar-ul-Talif, Kabul. Price not mentioned.*

This very interesting work is a sort of gazetteer and year-book of Afghanistan. It begins with a

description of the country, followed by its geography. Then there is an outline of Afghan history. The three concluding chapters are devoted to the Sovereign, the Policy and Constitution, and the Administration. There are ten appendices, containing a short bibliography, the names of the Emperors, Amirs and Kings of Afghanistan, Proceedings of the *Loe Jirga* held on 18th November 1933. Administrative Divisions, Calendar and Standard Time, Periodicals, postal information, telegraphic information, customs, and passport regulations. There are also tables giving Kabul temperature and rainfall in summer and winter, and genealogy of the reigning house. The Maps give the location and names of minerals, communications and irrigation, and the physical features.

The book is tastefully bound. There is a pictorial jacket.

**PROBLEMS OF LENINISM:** *By Joseph Stalin. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York. Price one dollar.*

Joseph Stalin has written this book as a companion volume to and an extension of *Foundations of Leninism*, in which he had systematically presented the fundamentals of the revolutionary movement. Here he elucidates and develops further several questions already dealt with in the previous work which led to discussion and disagreement. In replying to his critics he states the basic policy of Leninism concisely. This includes the dictatorship of the proletariat, the victory of socialism in a single country, etc.

**"LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER. AN ATTEMPT AT A POPULAR DISCUSSION ON MARXIST STRATEGY AND TACTICS.** *By V. I. Lenin. International Publishers. 381 Fourth Avenue, New York. Price one dollar.*

This is the basic discussion of the Marxist strategy and tactics of the post-War period.

**FASCISM OR SOCIALISM? THE CHOICE BEFORE US.** *By Norman Thomas. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 7s. 6d. net.*

In this book the author has given a clear and well-written account of the political and economic situation in the world today, and its underlying principles and emotions. He discusses the break-up of the old order and shows what is worth saving out of it. He has chapters on Fascism, on Socialism and Communism, on the New Deal in America, and on Social Forces in America. With regard to the present situation, which he describes, he writes: "Today by common consent Europe stands at the brink of war." He proceeds to point out in vivid language the choice that lies before the occidental world—War and Chaos, or a Co-operative Commonwealth founded on socialism. In the concluding chapters he writes how and on what principles this Commonwealth might be established.

**THE STORY OF THE NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS IN LITERATURE.** *By A. K. Seyn. With a foreword by Prof. Amaranath Jha, M. A., Head of the English Department, Allahabad University. Eastern Publishers, Allahabad. Rs. 2-8.*

Besides biographical sketches of the Nobel Prize Winners in Literature, this book contains the story



of Alfred Bernhard Nobel's life, Nobel centenary, the story of the first Peace Prize Award ceremony of Christiania, Henri Durant and Frederic Passy, the story of the first scientific and literary awards, ceremony of Stockholm, How to apply for a Nobel Prize, Statutes of the Nobel Foundation, special Regulations for the Section of Literature, the Origin of the Swedish Academy, Chronological List of Nobel Laureates, none of which are easily available. Portraits of some of the Laureates have been given. There is a fairly full bibliography of the published works of every one of them.

Mr. Seyne has done his work well. As Professor Jha says: "Journalists, librarians, and students of literature are sure to find this a valuable work of reference." But it is not as dry reading as many works of reference are. It can be read through with pleasure and profit.

C.

ART: *By Eric Gill. The Bodley Head. 2s. 6d.*

The author has appealed to the common sense of people in general in his attempt to (what he calls) "debunk" Art. The tragic degradation of the ideals of Art owing to the 'industrialistic commercialism' of the age has long been felt and there is nobody abler than Mr. Eric Gill, himself an artist of repute, to raise the voice of protest in the hope of reviving the lost prestige and aesthetic interest of the fine arts.

The author has traced the different stages of the degradation of art to what he calls 'a skill in making' at the present day, and he is ready with the reason. "For," he says, "industrialism has reduced the workman to a subhuman condition of intellectual irresponsibility, so the workman becomes less and less peculiar, more and more one of a herd taking its food, clothing, housing and amusement in tins, off tailors' dummies, by national housing schemes, from Hollywood and Broadcasting house." It was the peculiar achievement of the nineteenth century, in which art is being spelt with a capital A, to separate, in thought and in practice, the idea of work from the idea of art, the activity of the "workman" from the activity of the "artist," and to make the artist a special person, removed and exalted above the common ruck of human beings. This leads to the conclusion that the "best work of art is simply the most dexterous; that dexterity in workmanship, cleverness, *tour de force* and that sort of professional neatness which is called "trade finish" are the marks by which we may recognize the good work."

The strong and systematic argument of the author, in a vigorous and forceful language, will convince the reader that art has really become the skill in making, to suit the commercial interest of the industrial 'bosses' of the present age.

TARAKNATH GANGULY

HEIL: *A Picture Book compiled from authentic material. Published by The Bodley Head: John Lane, London. 7s. 6d.*

For following several of the contemporary events in Germany found figuring greatly in the Press it is of course exceedingly important to know the leading figures; persons who have taken a significant part in bringing the new regime on saddle and those in the front of today. This is specially so in the case of Germany or the Third Reich in view

of the "Fuehrer principle" proclaimed by the National Socialist Party in Germany.

The book "Heil" is an illustrated survey of the leading figures in the National Socialist regime, classified under four categories: "Gods" (four originally, but from which one, Captain Roehm, has fallen); "Demigods" (ten); "Local Deities" (fifteen); "Legends" (two); "Midwives" (three); and "Nature Spirits" (three). The accounts, with general trend of taunt and sneer and attitude of "show up" keenly at play, are short and declarative with references to many incidents varying, amusing, interesting, surprising and startling.

In the long list of prominent figures, one with a significant role to his credit is missing,—Dr. Meissner, that remarkable person, Secretary in succession to all three Presidents in Germany at the President's Office after War and Revolution, in order, Herr Fritz Ebert the Social Democratic leader, the Conservative Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg, and the National Socialist leader, Herr Adolph Hitler. Otherwise the list is fairly fully representative.

WOMEN: *By Winifred Holtby. The Bodley Head: John Lane, London, 3s. 6d.*

This volume, in one of the new and notable additions to the useful series known as XXth Century Library. It deals with the history of women's movement from the earliest times to the present day. The general survey encompasses references to developments in particular countries in so far as they at periods constitute significant changes or landmarks in one direction or other.

That there should be at all a women's movement when we have no reference to a men's movement itself calls for reflection. In a way this marks the approach to the volume. One is here taken through the history of a long and hard struggle—not yet over and with set-backs in many places—of immense significance to humanity as a whole. The story of this struggle is told ably and clearly. It is well documented and covered with many historic references and quotations. It deals with the varying and extending aims of the women's movement with the march of time. The labour movement has given the aims, so to say, fullest extension. The book examines the Fascist attitude to women and on the other side describes the view-point put forward in Soviet Union with the opening shown by it. The practical expression of this opening as relating to certain fundamental spheres are narrated by Maurice Hindus in his latest book—"The Great Offensive" to which interested readers would do well to turn.

Winifred Holtby's book is a valuable addition to the literature dealing with women's movement. It is an informative and stimulative study well worth careful reading by all those interested in the issue dealt with, and they include all.

N. N.

THE SOIL UPTURNED: *By M. Sholokhov and I LOVE: By A. Avdeyenko translated from the Russian. Published by the Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U. S. S. R. Moscow.*

With the Bolshevik Revolution the old Russia was dead! Such was the naive prognostication of the Western Europeans, who nevertheless had soon to admit that death of a nation is seldom so absolute



and on such a wholesale scale. Chaliapin and the "Song of the Volga" seemed not exactly a swan song to the enthralled audiences facing the half-starved artists in exile. Pitoef literally stormed the stages of post-war Europe especially that of Paris with his masterly presentation of Tolstoy's "Power of the Darkness". The élite of the Parisian artists were still hypnotised by the weird representation of Dostoiivsky's "Brothers Karamazof," by Jacques Copeau. So *Revolutionary Russia* was very far from being dead! The great upheaval seemed to be but a change of front of history symbolized in "The Soil Upturned", which should be read with the provoking commentary of Maurice Hindus: "The Humanity Uprooted" (1930) Russia is actually breaking new sods to develop undreamt of potentialities. It is an age very much remote from the "Virgin Soil" of Turgeniev. Western European romanticism is replaced by a ruthless Slav realism, no less in the *technique* of presentation than in the *language* used by the new types of men and women crowding the stage—new and old at the same time—the hitherto "unenfranchised" in literature suddenly dominating the show! This is such a surprise as to bewilder the most accommodating of critics. Maxim Gorky is still alive and directing the Soviet brood of *litterateurs* but he seems to speak a different language. Chekov that master dramatist of the last generation, is a vague reminiscence with the new novelist Sholokhov who opens his books under review with "The Cherry Orchards smell good when the first thaw comes in the end of January." Yet what a colossal difference from the haunting "Cherry Orchard" of Anton Chekov!

New Russia is in the grip of a new hunger, not the metaphorical "Great Hunger"; and her hungry generation shows for the present an almost pathological pre-occupation with the *food* motif. Hence we get plays like "Bread" from Kirshon and "Tempo" from Pogodin (Vide *Six Soviet Plays*, Gollancz, London), both crowding the stage with peasants, engineers and old order cultivators resisting the collectivization of agriculture. The Five Year's Plan propaganda is too obvious yet to allow the Hunger and the Hungry to soar above the utilitarian plane leading to the creation of convincing literary types. The new agricultural programme through prolixity of details and reiteration smothers the plot and the reader, through sheer fatigue asks what about those who have a different problem and a different Five Years plan? That obsession apart, *The Soil Upturned* should grip the attention of all those who want to follow the destiny of millions rooted to the soil, vegetating hitherto and suddenly lashed into fury of productive labour. Industrialism of the 19th century had her epics in the lands of Industrial Revolution. It seems as if the Epic of the Soil would come from Soviet Russia. Her ultra-modern Industrial Proletariat and her age-old conservative Peasantry would, through an inevitable conflict and possibly remote reconciliation, offer to world literature, a new worm of social adjustment and new types of men and women worthy of the incomparable galleries of Gogol and Tolstoy, Dostoiivsky and Chekov. Critics should have patience while the creation is still in the melting pot. Sholokhov, through his highly promising portraits of Davidov Razmetnov, and Lushka has raised great expectations. He has forced us to follow the process of painful ploughing and the sowing of the soil. What of the harvest? Who can say? Atleast it is remote still from the purview of literature.

I Love of Ardeyenko the engineer-novelist is the

telling story of a boy hero of ten who comes to be a character of the underworld. For the reclamation of such gutter snipes the Soviet has nobly organized the *Commune of the Homeless Waifs* which gives them full liberty and opportunity to learn and work. Participation in the common fight for social reconstruction cures the past evils and infuses new health and creative urge in this refuse of Society. The social welfare in Soviet Russia gets a vivid advertisement through this novel acclaimed, as one of the best recent creations of Soviet literature. Dostoiivsky made his "Idiot" a deathless character in world literature and this thief of Ardeyenko is the happy augury of a renovated Humanity through an uncompromising faith in man and his future.

KALIDAS NAG

### SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS:  
VOLUME V—THE VEDANTA SUTRAS OF  
BADARAYANA WITH THE COMMENTARY  
OF BALADEVA: Translated by the late Rai  
Bahadur Srisachandra Vidyarnava. Published by  
the Panini Office, 49, Leader Road, Allahabad.  
Pages i-iii, i-xxv, 1-772, i-vii, 1-54, 1-13, i-xxii,  
and i-vi. Second Edition, 1934, Cloth Bound.  
Price Rs. 14.

This is a timely reprint of a well-known work, in view of the great interest which eminent missionaries of the Gaudiya Math appear to have succeeded in arousing in England and other foreign countries in the religion of Love proclaimed by Śrī Chaitanya throughout the length and breadth of India in the fifteenth century A. D. Baladeva was a follower of Śrī Chaitanya who was himself a disciple of Iṣvarāchārya, one of the great teachers of the Madhva way of life. Madhva, Rāmānuja, Viṣṇusvāmī and Nimbārka are the modern founder-philosophers of the four-fold method of theistic worship and spiritual self-culture collectively known as Vaisnavism. Śrī Chaitanya considered that the system represented by Madhva was most suited to the needs of the modern world.

According to Madhva the correct attitude of man towards God and the world should be one of loving service. He therefore teaches that 1. God is the Supreme Being, 2. All revelations proclaim Him, 3. The world is real, 4. The souls are different from God, 5. The souls are the servants of God, 6. The worship of God with pure devotion is the means of salvation, and 7. The proofs are perception, inference and authority. These doctrines have been fully explained by Baladeva in his commentary.

Though Vaisnavism in Bengal is affiliated to the Sampradāya of Madhva, Baladeva does not appear to have followed its tenets blindly. He has drawn inspiration from the celebrated commentaries of Rāmānuja, Viṣṇusvāmī and Nimbārka as well; and, as the translator points out, Baladeva's explanations are in many places really an improvement upon those of his predecessors. The translation also is more in the nature of a paraphrase than a literal translation. The translator has not hesitated in expanding the author's arguments and supplementing his short references by fuller quotations from the Sacred texts, with the result that he has presented to the world an eminently readable, instructive and informative volume, simple, lucid and graceful in style and language, so that even lay men unaccustomed to the subtleties of



philosophical discussion can easily understand and profit by its teachings.

Among other interesting and useful features of the volume before us we note the twenty-five pages of contents which furnish practically a complete analysis of the whole work; appendix I. containing a learned Note on the Origin of Bhakti Doctrine; appendix II. giving in full with translation the philosophical teachings of Sri Chaitanya embodied in the work styled Prameya Ratnavali by Baladeva; alphabetical indices to the Sutras and the words appearing in them and the Bibliography.

In two places the learned translator has expressed opinions which may raise controversy and provoke criticism. We refer to his Note on page 149 where it is stated that Sutras I. iii. 26-38 break the continuity of the aphorisms and appear to be an interpolation of some later author. So far as we are aware, this is the first time that the genuineness of some of the Vedanta Sutras has been seriously questioned by an eminent scholar. It will be for the masters of the Vedantic lore to settle the issue.

Secondly, in the Note on the Origin of the Bhakti Doctrine the learned translator observes: "But it may be fairly urged, on behalf of the opposite view, that the worship of Child-God is something new in Hinduism and requires to be explained. It is this Infant that is considered as the fullest Avatara: and unless passages are produced from the Ancient Indian literature to show the worship of the Child Krishna, the position of Mr. Kennedy appears for the present unanswered." This gives rise to a very interesting question of the development of thought and form of worship due to cultural contacts, which can be settled only by unbiassed students and scholars of comparative religion. We may, however, point out that the reference to Gopala Krishna, the child Krishna, in the Bala Charita of Bhasa appears to answer the challenge thrown out by Mr. Kennedy. For Bhasa wrote the drama before the birth of Jesus Christ.

N. S.

### PRAKRIT

#### PRAKRITA-SUBHASHITA-SANGRAHA:

(Collection of Prakrit moral verses with introduction and translation in English). Compiled by V. M. Shah, M. A., Professor of Ardhamagadhi, M. T. B. College, Surat. 1935. Price Re. 1-8-0. 8".

Here we have a very fine selection of 500 verses in Prakrit arranged according to topics of which there are twenty-three. We have beautiful verses here on the virtuous, the wicked, wealth, poverty, women etc. The selection will be welcome not only to students of Prakrit alone but also to the general student of literature who can enjoy the anthology through the English translation appended at the end. An indication of the sources of the verses and the addition of a Sanskrit *Charya* would have increased the popularity of the work and appealed to a larger section of readers and scholars.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRABARTI

### BENGALI

**BANGIYA SABDAKOSH:** By Pandit Hari Charan Bandyopadhyay of Santiniketan. Vol. I, No. 21. Price per Number As. 8, postage one anna.

This, when finished, will be the most comprehensive and the biggest Bengali dictionary. It is a

scholarly production and is being carefully compiled. In 664 pages Demy Quarto, the author has reached the word "ekatra."

**BANGIYA MAHAKOSH:** or *Encyclopaedia Bengalensis*. Chief Editor Professor Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan. Price per Number As. 8.

Three numbers of this great encyclopaedia have been published. The chief editor has been able to secure the collaboration of numerous scholars in different branches of knowledge. The contents betoken expert knowledge and the editing is thorough. The paper, illustrations and printing are excellent. The work, when finished, will be a great help to the diffusion of scholarship and culture, and a thing to be proud of.

**SANTINIKETAN:** Parts 1 and 2. By Rabindranath Tagore. Visvabharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 656, Crown 8 vo, two parts. Price of each part, paper covers Re. 1-8, cloth Rs. 2.

These two volumes contain the author's sermons and spiritual discourses in the Santiniketan *mandir* or chapel and elsewhere, selected and edited by himself. They are inspiring reading and, though the poet's thinking is not fettered by any orthodox ties, show that there has been no break with India's ancient spirituality as voiced in the Upanishads.

**SESH SAPTAK:** By Rabindranath Tagore. Visvabharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 170, Crown 4to. Cloth. Rs. 2.

This is a collection of 46 prose-poems by the Poet. They are his latest productions. The volume was published on the 8th May, his last birthday. They are not metrical.

Most of the poems may be spoken of as 'autobiographical.' But the autobiography is not concerned with the happenings of his external life. They afford glimpses of his internal life and the workings of his spirit.

C.

### GUJARATI

**VALMIKI NUN-ARUNADARSHAN:** By Ratilal Mohanlal Trivedi, B. A., Ahmedabad: Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 135. Cloth bound. Price Re. 1-8-0.

Mr. Trivedi, a young and promising writer and observer has tried to study the epic of Valmiki from a thinker's and a detached point of view. He finds in it an attempt—of course a successful attempt—on the part of the great poet and seer, to link with matters mundane and worldly the soul of Truth—Truth Incarnate—represented by Rama—and the soul of Purity, Beauty, Chastity—represented by Sita. The lessons extracted from the incidents of their crowded and varied life all tend to accentuate the triumph of Truth and Beauty. The spiritual side of Valmiki's *magnum opus* is tried to be brought into relief; it is a difficult task, because what stirs the popular imagination and impresses the common people, the masses, is not the spiritual bearing of an incident but its everyday aspect. The three concluding chapters on Ramchandra are very well written. Altogether it is a well thought out work and we are glad the author has tried his hand in this direction.

K. M. J.



## AMERICAN SHIPPING DEVELOPMENT

BY GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

**R**ECENT developments in the shipping policy of the United States of America are full of interest and deserve more consideration than has been given to the subject. The United States Government have always been keen to develop national shipping and *they reserved their coastal trade to ships flying the national flag as early as 1817*. Even before that date, the higher tonnage taxes levied under an Act of 1789 resulted in the practical exclusion of foreign shipping from the coastal traffic of America. Other methods successfully adopted by the U. S. A. Government to foster national shipping were to encourage ship-building within the country by exempting all foreign materials used in ship-building from schedule Customs duties and to grant postal subventions to specific lines operating on certain routes in foreign trade. Since the war, however, there has been a remarkable growth in the maritime ambitions of the American people. Sir Arthur Salter states in his "Allied Shipping Control" that America's was the most notable effort at ship-building during the War. Her output of shipping which was about two lakhs tons in 1913, rose to nearly forty lakhs in 1919. The United States Merchant Marine Act of 1920 was the result of the strong popular demand for the development of American shipping and ship-building. The preamble to the American Merchant Marine Act of 1920 clearly defined the importance of a mercantile marine in the life of a maritime nation :

"That it is necessary for the national defence and for the proper growth of its foreign trade and domestic commerce that the United States shall have a merchant marine of the best equipped and the most suitable types of vessels sufficient to carry the greater portion of its commerce and serve as a naval or military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency, ultimately to be owned and operated privately by citizens of the United States, and it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to do whatever may be necessary to develop and encourage the maintenance of such a merchant marine."

This Act directed the United States Shipping Board which was established in 1916

to investigate and determine what steamship lines should be established and put into operation from ports in the United States and to determine the regularity of sailings with a view to furnishing adequate, certain and permanent services. The preamble to the American Shipping Act of 1916 reads as follows :

"An Act to establish a United States Shipping Board for the purpose of encouraging, developing and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States within its territories, and possessions and with foreign countries."

The Act of 1920, commonly known as "Jones Act", provided among other things for preferential railroad rates for goods carried in American vessels, authorized the shipping Board to encourage American marine insurance as an adjunct to the merchant marine out of revenues derived from operation and sales of its steamers to cover the vessels, plants and materials belonging to the U. S. A., and to set apart 25,000,000 dollars annually for a period of five years to encourage ship-building in the United States. This "Construction Loan Fund", as it was called was to be used in aid of the construction of vessels of the best and most efficient type for the establishment and maintenance of service on lines considered desirable by the Shipping Board. This Act also required that all mails of the U. S. A. were to be carried by American-built and American-owned vessels. It was calculated ten years ago that the United States spent, 2,695,287 dollars per year, out of public revenues in aid of national shipping. The result is that today the United States of America occupies the second place as regards the tonnage of merchant fleet with 13,357,799 gross tons, which constitute nearly 19.66 per cent of the world tonnage, Great Britain leading by 32.12 per cent.

Shipping has been in the forefront of the National Recovery Plan of President Roosevelt. Ever since Mr. Roosevelt assumed office, the



administration has been studying the shipping problem. Several of the Government Departments, such as those of Commerce, Post Office, Treasury and the War and Navy Departments, have appointed special officers to study the shipping situation as it affects their interests. On the 9th August, 1933, the Shipping Board was abolished and its activities were transferred to the Department of Commerce. In last June, an Inter-Departmental Committee on Shipping Policy was appointed to study the situation and make such recommendations as to future shipping policies as in the Committee's opinion would serve to develop and maintain an adequate merchant marine. The President is, in fact, determined to develop a national shipping policy. Early this year, he declared that the American mercantile marine must be developed as an integral part of the nation's economic life so that such number of vessels as are necessary as an auxiliary to the navy and for national defence may always be available and that no advantage on this line would be surrendered to foreign nations. In accordance with this plan, the President has proposed to substitute a new system of direct aid through "straight subsidies" for the American merchant marine in place of mail subventions, which constitute Government aid in an indirect form. In order to comprehend fully the policy of the U. S. A. Government in respect of shipping, it is necessary to examine its principal aspects, namely, those relating to coastal trade, ocean-going trade and ship-building.

*As regards coastal trade, it has already been observed that the whole of the water-borne domestic traffic of the U. S. A. is and always has been reserved exclusively for vessels under the American flag and its merchant marine has been developed and employed mainly for the purpose of such trade. Only last January the United States Supreme Court upheld the exclusive right of American-flag ships to the coastwise traffic of that country and held that the Government were justified in seizing freight which a non-American Company was transporting between ports in the United States. Even vessels which are built with foreign materials have not been allowed to engage in the general coastwise trade reserved to American-owned*

vessels for more than six months in each year, although they might engage in the trade between the Atlantic and the Pacific Ports of the United States. *For the full benefits of coastwise legislation are to be derived only by vessels of American ownership built in American shipyards with materials manufactured in America.*

American opinion holds that a merchant marine of some proportion is necessary to the welfare of every maritime nation and that shipping must be regarded from the point of view of defence as well as trade. The possession of shipping under the national flag is therefore considered essential to the prosperity of a maritime nation in its foreign trade. The Congress, in enacting the Shipping Act of 1928, suggested the establishment of a merchant marine large enough to carry at least half of the foreign trade. It is worthwhile quoting in this context President Roosevelt's defence of Government aid to the shipping industry in his famous message to the Congress last March. He stated that there are three reasons for the United States having an adequate merchant marine.

"The first is that in times of peace subsidies granted by other nations, shipping combines and other restrictive or rebating methods may well be used to the detriment of American shippers. The maintenance of fair competition alone calls for American-flag ships of sufficient tonnage to carry a reasonable portion of our foreign commerce."

The second reason mentioned by the President is that

"in the event of a major war in which the United States is not involved, our commerce, in the absence of adequate American merchant marine, might find itself seriously crippled because of its inability to secure bottoms for neutral peaceful foreign trade."

In the third place, the President stated that

"in the event of a war in which the United States itself might be engaged, American-flag ships are obviously needed not only for naval auxiliaries, but also for the maintenance of reasonable and necessary commercial intercourse with other nations."

For all these reasons, the President held it necessary to maintain a reasonably adequate American merchant marine. It was with a view to developing national shipping that mail subventions have been granted. Until the



end of the last year, ocean mail contracts were in force on 44 routes involving a total of 298 vessels. The contracts required the construction of 51 vessels, of which 31 had already been built. Eleven other vessels were constructed with the aid of Government loans making a total of 42 launched as a result of the Merchant Marine Act of 1928. The cost of the mail contract for the last fiscal year over and above what would have been required to carry the mails on a poundage basis was approximately 26,000,000 dollars. Pending the adoption of the mail subsidy programme, the Post Office has made its plans to have Congress appropriate 28,850,000 dollars for ocean mail requirements during the fiscal year of 1936, but in fact, 32,851,000 dollars would be needed if all contracts were fulfilled to the letter. It will be remembered that in referring to these ocean mail contracts, Mr. Roosevelt observed that the Government is paying annually about 30,000,000 dollars for the carriage of mails which would cost under normal ocean rates only 3,000,000 dollars, so that "the difference of 27,000,000 dollars is," he added, "a subsidy and nothing but a subsidy." The President was of opinion that it was unsatisfactory to have this subsidy under such a disguised form and recommended that a direct subsidy might be substituted in its place. While the President did not specify the amount of the subsidy, he defined the aid as being sufficient to offset "threefold differential." Said he:

"A subsidy must be based upon providing for American shipping Government aid to make up the differential between American and foreign costs. It should cover, first, the difference in the cost of building ships; second, the difference in the cost of operating ships; and finally, it should take into consideration the liberal subsidies that many foreign governments provide for their shipping."

The President asked for legislation providing for adequate aid to the American merchant marine and he publicly stated on the 21st March that he would like to see early action on the proposed Shipping Subsidy Bill so that it becomes law before the Congress adjourns in July next. As to where the funds for ship-building would come from, it has been indicated that the President may agree to

Government loans being renewed for ship-building purposes, as it is recognized that funds for this purpose cannot be raised in the capital market or through private investment channels. Unless a definite assurance is given that direct aid would be forthcoming over a period of years covering the commercially useful life of the ships to be constructed, private capital would hardly venture in this unchartered field. It is realized that the time is at hand when plans should be made for the replacement of worn-out ships and the modernization of fleets. One of the methods suggested is that of consolidating the existing American Companies in order to strengthen their financial structure. In any case, it is presumed that the subsidies to be granted to the shipowners would be sufficiently large to induce them to invest their capital in the construction of new liners or some clear assurance of direct aid would be given.

It is not necessary to dilate at length on proposals which are being considered now in regard to reorganization of Federal machinery for administering the various shipping acts and for supervising the aids to navigation. The Inter-Departmental Committee recommended, for instance, that a merchant marine naval reserve should be created to provide for the proper training of 20,000 officers and men and it is recognized on all hands that something must be done to encourage American nationals to take up a career on sea. Similarly, in addition to subsidies, the scheme adumbrated by the Inter-Departmental Committee provides both for a "fighting fund" to be used in meeting possible rate war competition and a "trade penetration fund" to develop the American merchant marine through the acquisition of commerce in various parts of the world. Latest advices from America show that the new United States Shipping Subsidy Bill which is to be known as the "Merchant Marine Bill of 1935" has already been introduced and referred to the Senate Committee of Commerce and the House Merchant Marine Committee. It provides *inter alia* that the United States shall have a merchant marine (i) sufficient to carry at least one-half of the foreign commerce of the United States and to provide shipping services on all routes essential for maintaining the flow of national



commerce at all times and (ii) capable of serving as naval and military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency. Under the proposed Bill, a Board is to be created known as the "United States Maritime Authority" which will, among other things, determine the amount of direct financial aid to be paid, to report on the scrapping of old or obsolete tonnage, on tramp shipping service and the advisability of participating in such service with vessels under United States registry, etc. The subsidy is to be paid on the basis suggested by the President, namely, that the difference between the cost of building in the U. S. A. and foreign countries will be paid directly to the builder, the owner to pay only the difference. As to the subsidy to the owner, the Authority is to enter into contracts for the maintenance and operation of services and pay an amount per voyage based on the difference in the cost of insurance, maintenance, repairs, wages and subsistence of officers and crew in the operation of American vessels as compared with those of foreign countries including the effect of Government aid or subsidies in such foreign countries as may be determined by the Authority. The Authority is empowered to grant sufficient subsidy if an owner wants to develop a line for which he considers the subsidy inadequate and to enforce just and reasonable maximum or

minimum rates which would apply to United States and foreign vessels in the foreign trade of the United States. The Authority is, moreover, to have power to use funds "to give aid and support to the holder of any contract under this Act to meet any unfair competition or practice by any foreign vessel" and to support a "fighting ship". It is possible that some limitations might be placed upon the profits received by shipping companies receiving Federal aid and safeguards might be provided to protect the interests of shippers and tax-payers, but the fundamental need of developing a national mercantile marine is fully realized. President Roosevelt only re-echoed American national sentiment on this question when, in concluding his March message on shipping, he made the following declaration :

"An American merchant marine is one of our most firmly established traditions. It was, during the first half of our national existence, a great and growing asset. Since then it has declined in value and importance. The time has come to square this traditional ideal with effective performance. Free competition among the nations in the building of modern shipping facilities is a manifestation of wholly desirable and wholesome national ambition. In such free competition the American people want us to be properly represented. The American people want to use American ships. Their Government owes it to them to make certain that such ships are in keeping with our national pride and national needs."

#### KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE

##### Mahendra and King Tissa of Ceylon

King Tissa of Ceylon was once out on a hunting expedition, when in the Mihintal Hills he met a Buddhist Bhikshu who was no other than Mahendra, the son of Asoka the Great. This meeting marked the triumph for Buddhism, for soon after Tissa adopted the faith of the sage of Kapilavastu and led Mahendra to his capital.



## QUESTION

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

### I

The father comes back from the burning ground.

The seven-year-old child, bare-bodied, with golden amulet round his neck, stands alone by a window overlooking the lane.

What he is thinking he himself does not know.

The morning sun has just gleamed on the top branch of the *neem* tree in the house in front ;

The vendor of green mangoes has done his hawking in the lane and gone back.

The father comes and takes the boy in his arms ; "Where's mammy ?" asks the child.

The father, raising his head, says : "In Heaven."

### II

That night the father, faint with grief, moans now and again in sleep.

The lantern burns dimly by the door, on the wall sleep a couple of lizards.

The open terrace is nigh ; the child comes and stands there, none knows when.

The houses around, their lights all out, stand and doze like sentinels of a giant's castle.

The bare-bodied child keeps looking up skywards.

His mind, which has lost its bearings, asks, nobody knows whom, "Where's the way to Heaven ?"

No response in the skies ;

Only the tears of the dumb dark glisten in the stars.

Translated from the Bengali original in Rabindranath Tagore's *Lipika* by Principal Hrisikesh Bhattacharya. M. A.

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## "SOCIALISM AND KHADI"

(A REJOINDER)

By SAMPURNANAND

Professor Kripalani has contributed a very interesting and characteristic article on "Socialism and Khadi" to the April number of *The Modern Review*. The article is interesting, not because it contains anything original or thought-provoking but because it throws a flood of light on the mentality of the learned Professor and those of his way of thinking. It is characteristic because it bears a strong family resemblance to the many cheap criticisms which are being levelled against us ever since Socialism became an important factor in Indian politics. His arguments are directed against 'Communists and some Socialists'. The Communist Party was declared illegal long ago

and there are ever so many people, including Mahatmaji himself, who call themselves Socialists that it is difficult to understand whom Prof. Kripalani is really aiming at. There is of course a Congress Socialist Party which, we all know, is a night-mare to the Professor and the group he represents. Probably he intends to refer to this body, though he does not condescend to name it.

### THE SO-CALLED COMMUNIST ARGUMENT

He begins by setting forth what he calls the Communist argument. Characteristically, he distorts what all sensible Socialists, Communists or non-Communists, say on the subject under discussion and then



proceeds to demolish—a by no means very difficult task—the caricature he has produced. If he is correct in his reading, Socialists seem to believe that revolutions are inevitable, if the economic condition of the people becomes insufferably bad. We must, therefore, deliberately proceed to reduce the people to the most abject penury and physical degradation. All talk of ameliorating the condition of the people as a whole, or any class thereof, is therefore definitely anti-revolutionary and must be sternly repressed. I suppose it would be ungenerous to say that Prof. Kripalani has here deliberately sought to misrepresent the Socialist point of view. So I have to fall back on the other assumption that he has signally failed to see things from the Socialists' angle of vision. Quite possibly, he did not make a serious attempt to do so; in any case, he has made himself responsible for a silly travesty of the truth.

#### SOCIALISM AND FATALISM

In the first place, the Socialist is not a fatalist. He is certainly a determinist in the sense that he believes that every thing is determined by causes, that nothing happens because of the sudden, un-caused and free, caprice of any person, human or Divine; he also believes that while human wills and intellects have an important role to play in the drama of history, it is material, economic, causes which have a preponderating influence on world-affairs and condition, the mental and bodily activities of men. But all this, as is quite clear, does not make him a fatalist and while he may and as a matter of fact does, believe that certain conditions are suitable for the outburst of a revolution, he does not swear by the inevitability of revolutions. If the psychological conditions, the necessary subjective preparation, not only certain economic conditions but a consciousness of those conditions and the hope of, and active wish for, bettering them, are lacking, if there is no political party to take the lead and utilize the objective environment, there will be no revolution. Again, no mature socialist has ever said that bad economic conditions by themselves will create a revolution. They may give rise here and there to a disorganized bread riot, a frenzied orgy of senseless bloodshed but that is almost all. Prof. Kripalani has either forgotten his history or imagines that, for all their dialectic analysis and scientific interpretation of it, Socialists have no knowledge of the subject when he tries to put into their mouths the baseless opinion that scarcity or starvation necessarily leads to revolution and must, therefore, be fostered by all means.

#### REFORM AND REFORMISM

Since, therefore, the socialist does not look upon hunger as the sole or the principal driving force in revolutions he is by no means the sadist, Prof. Kripalani tries to make him out. He does not take a pleasure in spreading disease and famine and is not opposed to any ameliorative measure any body may be able to devise to relieve the people of some of their wretchedness. But he wants even this work to be undertaken in a particular spirit and he certainly insists on calling a spade a spade. If you are afraid of politics, if your profession makes you abjure politics, if certain regrettable convolutions in your brain make you look upon politics as something unworthy of you, go ahead with ameliorative work with the Seva Samiti label on your forehead. But if you must dabble in politics, if you want it to appear that your humanitarian work is linked up

with your political activities, then a different standard will have to be applied to you. Do Seva Samiti work by all means, but not with the Seva Samiti spirit. Feed and clothe people by all means, but in the very act, let your beneficiaries become pucca socialists, do not leave them to find their politics for themselves but make them realize how their miseries are caused and how they can be radically eliminated. Better people's condition, if you can, by means of Khadi or your new fad hand-pounded rice; we do not quarrel with you there, but do not lose sight of the end in view. Do not become a reformist while engaged in this work for reform. Let your aim be not merely to create a body of well-fed men and women but a body of soldiers, inspired by the same discontent that inspires you and me. It is immaterial what Jawaharlal or any body else did in the face of a terrible catastrophe, like the Bihar earthquake which for a time diverted us all from our normal activities; what really matters is the day-to-day work. In this work I repeat, while you may co-operate with other people in the flesh, there can be no common ground between them and you in the spirit.

#### THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE A.I.S.A.

I observed above that we have no particular aversion for Khadi or any other means of ameliorating peoples' economic conditions. This means that we do not attach any mystic significance to the spinning wheel or look upon khadi as a harbinger of Swaraj. We refuse to subscribe to the khadi cult, although we are quite prepared to look dispassionately at all the various measures, khadi among them, that may be proposed for the economic uplift of the people. We confess we fail to see anything in the charkha but the handloom probably still has potentialities in it. But be this as it may, there is nothing to enthuse over in the activities of the All-India Spinners' Association. It started with a capital of nearly fifteen lacs and after over a decade of active work it has succeeded in providing some sort of a livelihood to three lacs of people. As most of them depend upon the charkha, their average daily earnings come to something like -2/- or -2/6 per day. It is also supposed to have added something like two crores to our national income which comes to less than one anna per annum per head. During this period, the population of the country has risen by over three crores. There is no reason to suppose that the Village Industries Association will have a more brilliant record. On the other hand, there is every ground for asserting that all this money, and the energies of the men engaged in this work, could have been better employed in what may be called purely political work. Our efforts so far cannot even be called honest tinkering with the problem and there is no possibility of our resources developing to any much greater extent. The same is true of the Harijan Sabhas. The work can and should have been left to others. It was an almost criminal blunder to take it up in the midst of the 1922 campaign. It diverted people's attention from the main issue, and allowed shirkers and cowards to put on a sanctimonious cloak over their moral weakness.

#### TRADE UNION AND KHADI ORGANIZATION

This brings us to another argument put forward by Prof. Kripalani. I should say, rather, to two of his arguments, for he is not the General Secretary of the Congress for nothing. He has acquired from his masters of the Working Committee the knack of mixing up a



number of irrelevant and disconnected things with a fine disdain for logic. He accuses Socialists of inconsistency in fostering Trade Unions and Kisan Sabhas, while criticizing the scheme of things for which the A.I.V.I.A. and the A.I.S.A. stand and in proof of the essentially sound mentality of himself and his group says that Khaddarites have been in the fore-front of the fight in the 1931-32 campaigns. Let us take these items seriatim. I should not like to insult Prof. Kripalani's intelligence by assuming that he seriously believes all that he says about Trade Union and similar work. It is true enough that such unions and sabhas are organized with the immediate objective of ameliorating, so far as may be, some of the immediate disadvantages from which peasants and workers are suffering. But they are organized on a definitely class basis and with the ultimate view of demonstrating to the exploited class the un-ameliorability of their condition, so long as the present capitalistic economy prevails, buttressed up by the forces at the command of imperialism. The day-to-day struggle of these classes is meant to develop their class-consciousness and powers of resistance and to raise from among them a group of leaders who will take part in the fight against imperialism. Militancy is thus the key-note of the whole organization and the fight inaugurated apparently for merely reformist and ameliorative purposes is really a stepping-stone to the real fight to be waged against imperialism and capitalism. It is really meant to usher in socialism. This is not the case with the sort of organization Prof. Kripalani contemplates. Class struggle and class-consciousness are taboo, so is all talk of anti-capitalism. The organization which he and his friends have nursed with such loving care is not meant to produce a militant spirit in its clientele. Prof. Kripalani waxes eloquent over the warlike achievements of the Khaddarites but who were these people after all? Every Congressman, certainly every active Congress worker, wears Khaddar; even Congress Socialists are among the regular customers of the Khadi Ashrams. Surely, Prof. Kripalani cannot claim any credit for the participation of such workers, even when they happened to be active members of Khadi producing and selling centres in the Satyagrah Campaign. But the important thing is that though they had been so many years in existence, the various Khadi organizations were not able to contribute any fighters. Their spinning and weaving centres were just so many industrial concerns and nothing more. One looked in vain for battalions of spinners and weavers whom the workers of the A.I.S.A. and the Gandhi Ashram had welded into a revolutionary, anti-imperialist force but one's expectations were not realized nor is there any reason to believe that the much-advertised Village Industries Association, with a brilliant galaxy of millionaires at the helm, will prove any more militant. There is no comparison, therefore, between these organizations and bodies like Trade Unions. The former are meant solely to divert popular attention from the national goal and, by preaching a false philosophy, unrelated to present-day objective conditions, and raising false issues of violence and non-violence, tend to confuse people's minds and make them really unfit to take any active part in that anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist fight in which alone lies their salvation.

### REVOLUTIONS AND *Coups d'état*

That portion in his paper where Prof. Kripalani talks about the revolutions led by Sivaji and Chenghiz Khan and the other great fighters of history offers very depressing reading. Surely a man of his position in the educational world should know the difference between a revolution and a *coup d'état*. It is perfectly true that at some stage in every revolution, a *coup d'état* has to be effected, the nerve centres of Government have to be captured, the machinery of State has to be turned against the very people who have so far been using it. All this may sound very violent but then we are talking here about revolutions not of truces and honorable compromises with the enemy. It is no revolution which does not bring about a re-alignment of Society along new cultural and politico-economic bases, which does not bring about the transference of power from one economic class to another. There is no revolution where the old gods are not hurled down from their pedestals and ideals which have vitality enough only to enthrall the souls of men are not thrown on to the scrap-heap. But a *coup d'état*, even when it substitutes a republican for a monarchical form of government, need not necessarily imply all this. That is why we cannot accept the proposition that Sivaji or Chengiz Khan, Garibaldi or Washington, Chiang-Kai-Shek or Massaryk had anything to do with revolutions. They were rebels, brave soldiers, noble patriots, if you please, but the movements associated with their names were not revolutions. As a matter of sober truth Buddha and Christ were greater revolutionaries but they were as much embodiments of the time-spirit as Lenin or the group that guided the French Revolution.

### SLAVES AND REVOLUTIONS

Shall I finally try to explain to Prof. Kripalani why there were no revolutions among the galley slaves or the negro slaves of the ancient and the modern world? So far as the slaves of the Roman world were concerned, the historian in him must be knowing that there were general revolts and uprisings. He cannot be unaware of the almost successful Spartacist rebellion. The spread of Christianity was in itself a slave revolution. But in all these cases, some of the essential conditions of a revolution were lacking. In the first place the slaves, ancient and modern, were so many foreigners in the midst of a vast indigenous population, separated from them by all the ties of religion, blood and culture. They did not, therefore, represent the aspirations of the people in the same way as the sweated worker of today represents the inchoate socialist yearnings of the vast mass of his contemporaries. There could only have been a *coup d'état* with a very unsympathetic background. And tyrannical as the slave-masters may have been, their system of production was essentially capitalistic and, therefore, an advance on the primitive communism which alone the emancipated slaves could have substituted in its place. Therefore, the economic pre-requisites were also lacking. As for that heterogeneous body, the galley-slaves, they could certainly have seized a ship here and there, as rebellious crews sometimes do even now, but it is doubtful if they could have put up even a respectable *coup d'état*.





## GLEANINGS



### The Philippine Islands and the U. S. A.

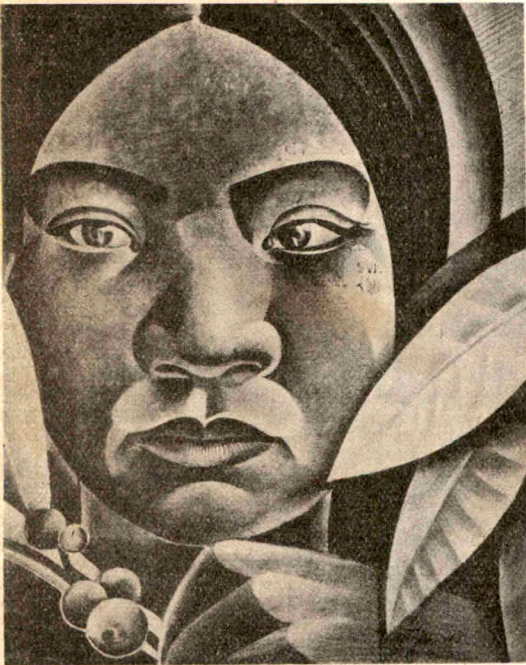
The population of the Philippine Islands has doubled in the past twenty-five years. As a result, there are at the present time in the Islands eight million people who have never worn a pair of leather shoes. There still are only about forty thousand motor cars. There are only thirty thousand radio sets. There are probably less than a hundred thousand safety razors. Transportation in the Philippine Islands, with their eight thousand miles of first class road, is just beginning and is dependent, of course, upon government appropriations for public works.

Domestic insecurity and instability are an invitation to outside interference. If the Philippine Islands are unable to maintain a stable and

necessarily anti-Japanese point of view. It is simply a recognition of the fact that Japan, with

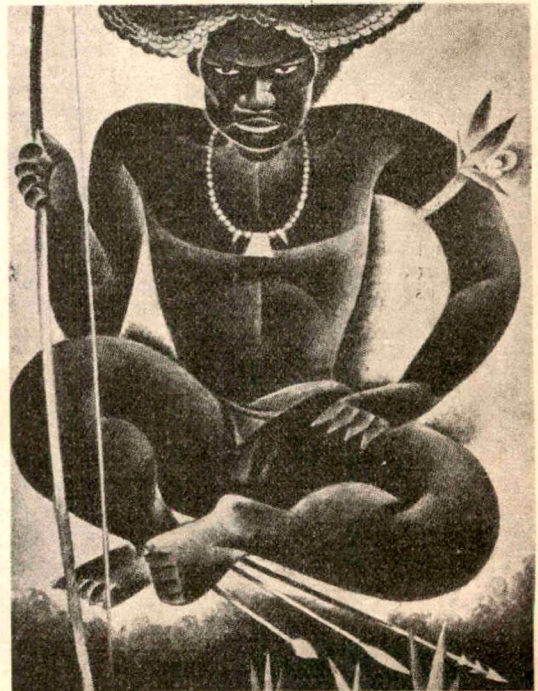


Apayao Dance, Mountain Province



Kalinga Girl and Cacao Tree, Mountain Province, the Philippines

vigorous state, there will exist an ever-present excuse for intervention by Japan under the guise of protection of her nationals. The history of Korea, Formosa, Manchuria and North China has demonstrated this point amply. This is not a criticism of the Japanese, nor does the recognition of this fact in many Filipino minds constitute a



Negrito Headman, Cagayan Province

an already established Asiatic policy of expansion and control, can see clearly the value of the Islands to her, even if the United States cannot.



The danger from domestic instability in the Philippines is heightened by some peculiar administrative problems. During the past thirty years the Filipinos have made extremely rapid strides. The basic disunity of the archipelago, however, has not yet been touched. There persists, and will continue to persist for another quarter of a century, a sharp division between the Christian Filipinos and the large group of non-Christians. The most important of the latter are the Moros, or Mohammedan tribesmen, who are concentrated chiefly on the Island of Mindanao and in the Sulu Archipelago. They constitute less than one tenth of the total population of the Philippines, but inhabit approximately forty per cent of the total area. In addition there are a number of pagan tribes, the Kalingas, the Apayaos, the Bontocs, the Ifugaos, the Igorots and others—mostly concentrated in the Mountain Province of Northern Luzon. The Moro of the southern islands is pictured as fierce, warlike, brave, sturdy, aggressive, possibly dangerous to the future of the Philippine state because of the possibility of civil war. Very little of this picture fits the facts. The Moros actually are a depressed people, living in undeveloped regions, suffering from disease and superstition, existing under conditions anything but conducive to an active and valuable participation in a modern state. The recently drafted Philippine Constitution suggests that the Moros be given an elective participation in government as soon as this is feasible. It will be years before such an ideal state can be achieved. Administration in the Moro districts constitutes a problem which the present Philippine government, with its comparative prosperity, with its authority of American sovereignty, with its trained men particularly suited for this work, has not yet been able to solve.

There is a phase of the Philippine population problem which adds importance to any consideration of the economic future of the Islands. The curve of increase in population has followed almost exactly the rising curve of Philippine expansion in the major export crops. As a result there are 2,000,000 people in the Philippine Islands dependent upon the sugar industry, 4,000,000 people in the Philippine Islands directly dependent upon the coconut industry and 1,400,000 dependent upon the abaca industry. Without those industries the natural agricultural wealth of the Philippines sustained a population of approximately 6,000,000; with them, the islands sustain a growing population approaching 14,000,000. The inference is obvious. Remove the major export crops of the Philippine Islands and the archipelago is already badly over-populated.

It seems reasonable that the United States and the Philippines, realizing the advantages which might accrue from their future association and realizing the perils and disadvantages which are certain to accrue from a too precipitous divorce of their interests, should be able to work out

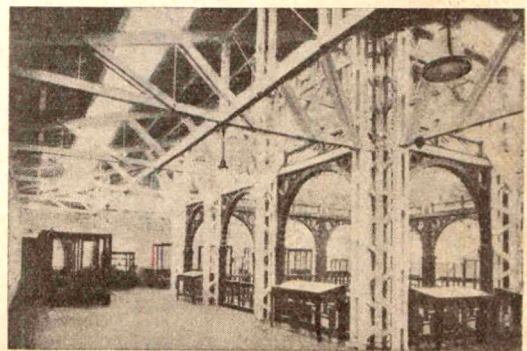
some plan which will take into more adequate consideration the real facts in the case. The Philippine Islands exhibit at the present time the rising action of a new Far Eastern drama—an opening of new channels in commerce and trade,



Bontoc worker in the Rice Field, Mountain Province

an expansion of policy, a crescendo in human values. It remains to be seen whether the United States will continue in her apparent determination to ring down the curtain on the Philippine drama in the middle of the first act.—Asia

#### Japan's New Earthquake-Proof Buildings



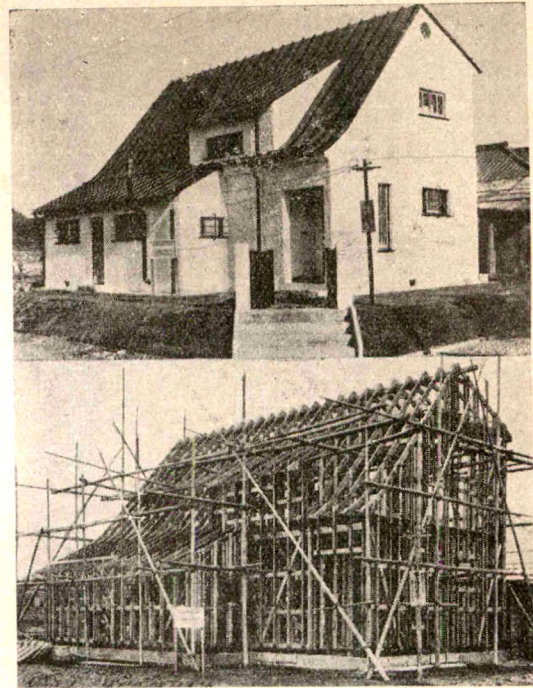
Interior view of the gallery of the Science Museum of the Kobe College of Engineering





All new buildings of several stories are of earthquake resisting steel-concrete rigid frame construction similar to the one shown here, the clock tower of the Tokyo University of Engineering, completed in September, 1934.

Since the Great Earthquake of 1923, remarkable development has taken place in architectural technique in Japan. Most notable among recent improvements are the so-called "Engineer Wooden Frame Construction" and the "Monolithic Steel-Concrete Rigid Frame Construction," both based on the newly-elaborated principles devised by Japanese engineers for earthquake-proof building. It is interesting to note in this connection that the old European and American style masonry construction and the curtain wall



*Above* : A new earthquake resisting wooden frame house. It has an attic instead of the ordinary upper story. Open construction, which is less resistant to earthquake shocks, is avoided by making windows, door-ways and other openings smaller.

*Below* : Frame construction of the house shown above. Members are assembled in a cage-like form, and a number of diagonal braces are used to strengthen the walls.

construction in brick, hollow tile or stone have now become completely obsolete in Japan. Several photographs of recent earthquake-proof buildings constructed in this country are reproduced here through the courtesy of Prof. Heigaku Tanabe, Dr. Eng., of the Tokyo University of Engineering.

*Japan in Pictures*





## HIROSHIGE

(A Review)

By A. C. BANERJI

THE substantial volume forming the subject of the present contribution deals with the life and productions of Hiroshige—one of the greatest artists of Japan.\* His works were all colour-prints. The Japanese colour-prints are of immense charm and extreme fascination. With their gentle as well as rich and glowing but harmonious colouring they have now become famous throughout the civilized world.

The method of production was very simple. The final copy was the result of the labours of three separate individuals: the artist, the engraver of blocks and the printer. The artist (specially Hiroshige according to Strange) began by making a rough sketch of the subject. This would be redrawn in clean line on thin paper to the scale selected for publication. The drawing was done by brush and as a rule in black. This drawing now went to the engraver, who pasted it face downwards to a block of cherry wood. The paper was then rubbed away sufficiently to leave clear impressions of all lines. The outlines were then incised with a sharp knife and the superfluous wood removed. Registration marks, signature and seals were cut at the same time. The wood block, it must be remembered, was cut plank-wise and not across the grains. The block then went to the printer and was regarded as the key-block of the whole design. From this the printer took proof 'to the extent of one for each colour proposed to be used.' On this the artist 'dissects his design' and indicates on each the precise position allotted to it. The engraver then manufactured one block for each colour. The printer did the rest. Within these stringent limits the crafty little Japanese achieved splendid results. This is specially true of Hiroshige, who was able to express 'distance, atmosphere, indeed the whole gamut of Nature's music, in a way that has been never surpassed by any other practitioner of any graphic arts'.

Mr. Noguchi's splendid volume deals with the art of one of the most illustrious artists of the Ukiyoe school, meaning "the mirror of passing (contemporary?) world." In other words, the artists of this school were engaged in delineating the subjects drawn from the day-to-day life of the common people—subjects considered by the aristocratic and the so-called cultured classes as vulgar. The founder of the school was one Iwasa Matabei, a man of noble birth, who lived at the end of the 16th and through the beginning of the 17th centuries.

Hiroshige's people were of humble origin, his father being a teacher of archery at old Yedo. He was born in 1797 A. D., and was adopted into a family of firemen—his adopted name being Tokutaro Ando. From his infancy Tokutaro (Hiroshige) displayed an inclination towards art and received his early teaching from an amateur artist, named Okajima Rinsai. In his fifteenth year he tried to become a pupil of Toyokuni—a famous Ukiyoe artist, but the studio of that great man could not accommodate him, so he joined Toyohiro. Some time

after 1809, when his adoptive parents died, Hiroshige entered the family profession of fireman. He still remained a fireman even in 1812 when he obtained his diploma as an artist designer from Toyohiro. He seems to have resigned his appointment in 1823. It was in this year that he made a journey from Yedo to Kyoto along the old Tokaido Road—a journey that produced his most famous series, *Views of fifty-three stations of Tokaido*. This series established his position as a great artist. Sometime before 1823 he had married a samurai lady and had a son by her named Nakajiro. She died in 1840. Nakajiro too died in 1845. Hiroshige married again, and had a daughter by name Tatsu or Otatsu. He also adopted a son named Shigenobu (later known as Hiroshige II). The latter married Tatsu. The girl later on separated and married Shigemasa (Hiroshige III). His house was always in Yedo (modern Tokyo). When Toyohiro passed away in 1831, Hiroshige was invited to succeed his teacher, as Toyohiro II; but refusing the offer with thanks, he pursued his own independent mode of living, producing work constantly, which brought him everlasting fame. In 1841 he made a trip to Koshu. He visited the provinces of Awa and Kadusha in 1852. In 1854 he undertook a survey work on behalf of the government. Hiroshige died in 1858 of Cholera.

Hiroshige was a great producer. It is estimated by Minoru Uchida that the total number of individual pieces produced by him would be more than 8,000, of which 5,500 are colour-prints large and small. There is also another reason for which Hiroshige must be assigned a special place amongst the galaxy of great artists of Japan. His entrance into the actual field marks the climax and conclusion of the landscape art of old Japan. Not only the landscapes of the popular school but also the Nishikiye prints in general ended with Hiroshige's death. With the dawning of the new era of awakening in Japan, wood-blocks, once so eloquent and full of life, became mute. The artists who, by their magic touch, could turn a cold block of wood into a violin of most delicate tones were no longer forthcoming.

The colour-prints of Hiroshige may be conveniently divided into three groups: I. His early tentative experiments in the conventional manner shortly before his first journey along the Tokaido; II. In the second period (which begins from about 1831) we meet rather suddenly with undoubted evidence of the true greatness of the artist. To this period belongs the 'Kisso Snow Gorge' which has been declared by the competent authorities as the greatest landscape painting of the nineteenth century; III. Then came the revelation of the great Tokaido series. In these designs Hiroshige verily interprets nature in terms of common humanity. According to Strange the Tokaido series may be classed with the works of Rembrandt, Hobbema or Constable. Henceforth the dominant feature of his work is his dependence on his own observations with slight leanings towards distant Chinese ancestry. He has broken with traditions of ages and instead of an olympian aloofness we find in his pictures a hint of cheery comradeship. It was these by which Hiroshige made his mark it was these, which made him one of the greatest landscape painters of the whole world.

Hiroshige is fondly remembered as the master.

\* HIROSHIGE: By Yone Noguchi, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Limited, London; E. Weyhe, New York City; Kyo Bun Kwan, Tokyo, 1934. Price £ 3. Pp. 155+99 plates. A critical appreciation.



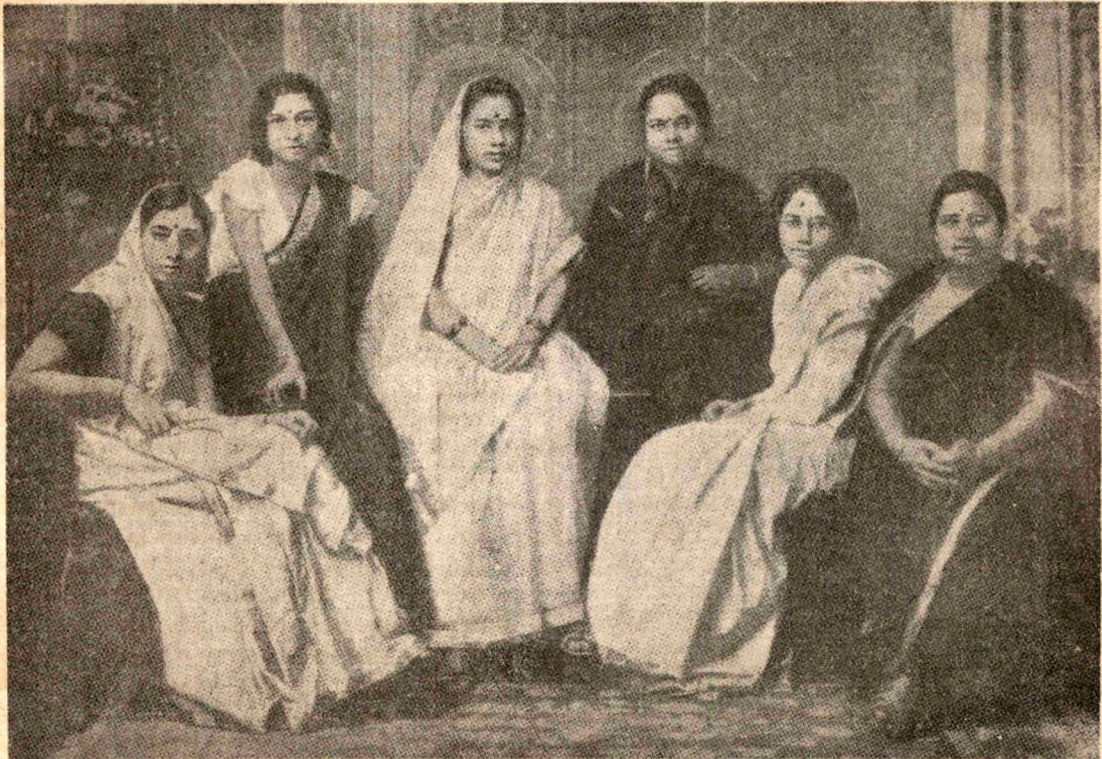
artist of 'moon, rain and snow.' All his famous pictures 'transmit and convey those rare phases which nature reveals in her blessed isolation.' The 'Twilight Moon at Ryo-goku Bridge,' produced about 1831, has a charm of its own. The technique here is just crude enough to invigorate the inner spirit of the work. Hiroshige's crudity in this series is a thing that broods working its own mystery, therefore it is not undeveloped childishness at all. The large autumnal moon is slowly rising over the dark mantle of the dusk. The last dying rays of the sun still give a rosy tinge to some flakes of cloud high up in the blue firmament. The whisperings of the gathering solitude are beautifully spread over the whole scene (the Frontispiece).

It has already been stated that the Tokaido series was his greatest work for more than one reason. According to Mr. Noguchi, in this, Hiroshige like a knight errant successfully rescues the Ukiyoe art from the ruins of corrupted conventions where most of the print artists of the day idled away their time in callous cleverness or trifling vulgarity. Hiroshige was thus the saviour of the popular art. 'Shono' is one of the greatest pieces of this series. It is only a common scene by the high road, where the sudden rain storm made havoc among the travellers,

mostly peasants or kago-bearers. 'The freshness of it that gives almost a drenched feeling,' 'integrity of vision' and 'clearness of pictorial vocabulary' constitute the greatness of the scene. The uphill road shaded in light green and bamboo thickets in the background bending under stress of the storm is the 'pictorial keynote of the composition.' The subtleties of colour employed in representing the thousand oblique lines of rain dashing upon the thickets, the soft grading of greenish gray constitute a masterly achievement. One can easily perceive the life-like motion of the hurrying kago-bearers, bending down under heavy load with ominous dark clouds above. (Plate 1.)

Accounts of all the pictures will probably fill volumes. But Mr. Noguchi has succeeded admirably in giving a short account of each of these. The book is divided into three parts: (1) Preliminary Essay, (2) Life and Works of Hiroshige, (3) Accounts of the Plates. At the end of the volume are ninety-nine plates on art paper. The printing of the book is excellent and the original Japanese binding seems very charming to the eyes that are used to observing the utilitarian binding of the West. Mr. Noguchi's book will remain an authoritative work on this great artist's productions for a long time to come.

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD



These lady students passed their M. A. in English from the Allahabad University

*From the left:* Miss Monoram Mehta, Mrs. L. Frank, Miss Manmohini Mulla,  
Miss Latika Das, Miss Sabita Chaudhuri, Miss Godu Kale



## TRAINING IN SOCIAL SERVICE

BY W. S. URQUHART, M.A., D.D., D.Litt., D.L.

THE work of the Bengal Social Service League has already had a fairly long history, and much has been done in connection with this institution by Dr. D. N. Maitra and others. This further expansion is symptomatic of a growing desire for social service and this, I think, might be taken also as a sign of the progress of civilization. Gone are the days when we can feel secure or comfortable within the separating walls which surround the individual or the caste, or even the nation. We are responsible for the welfare of our brethren wherever they may be situated. The spread of the spirit of social service is really a triumph of the religious spirit and is guaranteed by that spirit. There can be no social progress except such as is based on a sense of the unity of all humanity as members of the family of God. It is religion alone which presents unity from becoming artificial. Again, effort on behalf of others, especially of those who are unfortunate or degraded, can be sustained through times of failure or stagnation only by a belief in the ideal for every man, which is based upon a consciousness that in everyone there is a divine element only requiring to be freed from the coverings which overlie it, and made to shine in its own light, which is also the light of God. Finally, new beginnings are comparatively easy, but perseverance is difficult, and only a consciousness that God is working out His purposes in the world and calls for our co-operation, can defend us from that sense of the futility of all our activity which ever and again creeps upon us, especially under conditions such as surround many of us here.

In many public meetings, especially those which are called for the purposes of congratulation and farewell, it is customary to speak of "the qualities of head and heart" belonging to any particular person. We need both in connection with social service. We need the right spirit, but we require also that this spirit should discover or have discovered

for it, enlightened methods of expression. We need facilities for the training of enthusiasm, and it is just these facilities which the Training Class now about to be opened is designed to provide. But all such organizations need to be supported by a considerable body of public opinion. We need the sympathy of the community as a whole, both for the provisions of a sufficient supply of those enthusiastic workers who are personally to serve, and for the security that their service will continue to be made possible for them. There are, moreover, many people in the community, who with all the good-will in the world, nevertheless find that they cannot give personal service. They can however give support to an organization such as this, and by this means their indirect service is secured for the good of the society. Public benevolence is canalized into useful channels.

Coming to the topics which may be usefully taught in a course such as is contemplated, we may say that it is above all necessary that the students should know something about the fundamental psychological nature of men and women, otherwise their offers of assistance will be largely misdirected. Again, the prospective workers require to know about the way in which fundamental human characteristics may be developed; in other words, some instruction ought to be given in the principles of education. Again, seeing that social service has unfortunately often to be largely of the nature of a remedy, it is necessary to learn something of the diseases to which society is peculiarly liable, and the dangers which so frequently beset it. For this a knowledge of the history and development of society is especially useful, for he—or she—who knows nothing of the past cannot prepare adequately for the future. Further our knowledge should not be only of general history. Considerable inspiration can be derived from acquaintance with the life story of outstanding personalities of the past, as in this was, we may be stirred by their



example not only to build their tombs, but to carry forward their work in our day and generation. Finally, it is desirable that we, having laid in a store of general principles, should have some training in the application of these general principles to particular cases, especially to the needs of the society in which our lot is cast.

In all work of this character it is above all necessary to go forward in the spirit of optimism rather than of pessimism. If we do not believe in the ultimate victory of our cause, we cannot labour much in the furtherance of it. We have the warrant of experience and of history in demanding this spirit of optimism. For where are the pessimists to be found? Are they not to be found amongst those who live comfortable lives and shut their eyes, in self-sufficiency and complacency to the needs of others? On the other hand, the optimists are usually found to be amongst those who have set themselves to combat the evil of the world, who have gone down into the slums of our great cities or into the destitute regions of the earth, in order to grapple with the suffering of the world.

I hardly believe that there is any purely theoretical solution of the problem of suffering, but I believe most earnestly that there is a practical solution. Only that man or woman who is making some personal effort to lessen the burden of human misery can offer any solution of the problem of suffering. And the social worker can offer such a solution in the right spirit if he can believe that he is showing forth not his own work but the work of God, if he can believe that he is preparing citizens

for a future kingdom of God; and for the fulfilment of the Divine purposes in the world of men and women. If this new organization, which is to be inaugurated today, can contribute to these great ends, it will be abundantly justified, and I offer every good wish for its continued success.

[The foregoing address was delivered by Dr. W. S. Urquhart on the occasion of the opening of the Social Service Training Class, specially for the residents of the Mahila Vidya Bhavan (Women's Institute) of the Bengal Social Service League, from May 1935, at the Lokenath Hall, 1/6, Raja Dinendra Street.

It may be of interest to note here that as early as 1915 when the Bengal Social Service League was founded, it laid down the following as the very first item in its Programme of Work,—

A. Study of Social Service: By starting

(a) Social Service Training Classes (in Calcutta and other towns) for voluntary and professional social work,—where

(1) Social facts, theories and problems may be studied and discussed; and where

(2) Specific and general training may be given to students and workers, in sanitation and hygiene, maternity and child-welfare, mental hygiene and child guidance, first-aid and nursing, civics and co-operation, agriculture and industries, rural welfare, social study and survey and so on, with practical field-work:

and (b) in connection therewith,

An Information Bureau and a Library with a Museum of Exhibits (a) for graphic publicity by means of maps, charts, pictures, models, appliances, etc., (1) depicting the conditions of the country and (2) suggesting improvements and (b) for purposes of demonstration.

B. Preaching of Social Service:

C. Practice of Social Service:

The League has been steadily pursuing the programme of 'preaching' and 'practice' during the last 20 years; and has been carefully training its own workers and holding classes now and again for the training of men and women who enlist as candidates, a large number of them being sent by various organizations all over the country.]

The Hindu from his traditions and his religion regards India not only as a political unit naturally the subject of one sovereignty, but as the outward embodiment, as the temple—nay, even as the goddess mother—of his spiritual culture. India and Hinduism are organically related as body and soul.

—J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.



## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### The Mexican University

The following extracts from the *Weekly News Sheet* form part of the President of the Mexican Republic, General Cardenas' message of goodwill to the University on his assuming power:

"Those of us who have risen from the ranks of the workers have no ambition other than to see the people in a better economic position and firmly set on a course leading to cultural uplift. What we aspire to is a new fatherland, in which the efforts of all shall be pooled together, in which a fertile current of co-operation shall set in between the classes now living sundered from one another; it is urgent that intellectual workers, and those who labor in the fields and cities shall feel strengthened by mutual union and aid.

"The Revolution has granted to the University its autonomy, so that it may stay aloof from political contingencies; if the University is really to fulfil its mission, it must dwell within the law in an atmosphere of peace and calmness so that its work may be fruitful in results.

"The men of the Revolution extend a friendly hand to the members of the University in order to point out to them how far humanity has travelled on its road and what fields must by it be tilled in its struggle for betterment."

### Unrest in the Virgin Islands

Mr. Luther Evans dwells upon some of the acute problems which threaten the administration of the Virgin Islands and need redress by the United States Senate sooner or later. The following introduction appears to his survey of the same subject in the *Foreign Policy Reports*:

Persistent reports that Congressional committees will soon investigate the Virgin Islands administration convey the impression that a troublesome situation has suddenly developed in the Islands. This, however, is not the case. During the eighteen years of American sovereignty, the Virgin Islands have suffered from deeply rooted and persistent economic and political problems. The present situation is so closely related to political struggles of the first magnitude that the public is likely to be confused concerning the real nature of the issues at stake. The problems of the Virgin Islands can be solved only if they are considered on their merits, without reference to political feuds in Washington. The purpose of this brief study is to analyse the problems of the Islands and examine practicable alternatives for their solution.

After two unsuccessful attempts in 1867 and 1902 to purchase the Danish West Indies the United States government finally secured them for \$25,000,000 in gold (old style) by a treaty signed on August 4, 1916. The evidence clearly indicates that the dominant consideration of the government was that no

strong European nation should be allowed to possess the potentialities of naval power afforded by the Danish islands.

On March 31, 1917 the islands were ceded to the United States by appropriate ceremonies in St. Thomas. President Wilson placed their administration in the hands of the Navy Department as a temporary arrangement. It was intended that the law which Congress passed on March 3, 1917, authorizing the President to provide for the government of the islands, would be superseded at the next session of Congress by a permanent government act. No such act, however, has yet been passed. The islands were left under naval control until 1931, when jurisdiction was transferred to the Department of the Interior by executive order.

### Turkey Takes the New Road

Mr. D. Jones and Miss Peisen show in the *World Order* that the Turkish Republic under the able leadership of Mustafa Kemal 'may bring as an offering the best from her Oriental culture, to place beside the ideals she finds in Western civilization':—

Just as the Athenian youth of ancient Greece pledge himself to honesty, loyalty, and progress for his city, so too the Turkish youth of today takes a serious pledge to his, a new nation. His consecration is, "I am a Turk, honest and industrious. My duty is to protect those weaker than I, to respect my elders, to love my country sincerely. My ideal is to raise myself higher and to continue in the path of progress. I make a gift of my life to the life of Turkey." It is upon such a spirit as this that the new Turkish State is being built and one asks, "Can it fail?"

Back of the creation of this new republic stands the inscrutable figure of Mustafa Kemal, who was born about fifty years ago into a poor Turkish family living in the city of Salonika. He was trained in the military schools of his country and since has served his state faithfully as a military expert. While still in school he became interested in revolutionary doctrines, and participated in the organization of secret societies which were opposed to the despotism and practices of the Sultan's government. It was this attitude growing and intensifying with the passing of the years that ultimately placed Mustafa Kemal at the head of the present Turkish Republic. While the actual events of his *coup d'etat* took place rapidly, his rise to power covered a long period of years. It was a determined, ruthless struggle based upon a complete confidence in his own ability to lead his country to much-needed reforms. Upon gaining the Presidency, Mustafa Kemal immediately set to work to build a new state, to create a renewed nationalism, and to instill within the Turkish nation a restored self-confidence. Along with his desire for personal



power his policy includes two phases, Turkey for the Turks, and the Westernization of that State.

Turkey seems to be on a new high road to civilization. The future rests in her visions of the West and in her dreams of her Oriental past.

On this new road Turkey may bring as an offering the best from her Oriental culture to place beside the ideals she finds in Western civilization, and at last these two elements may meet to develop her into a lasting and honorable state.

### Supreme Men of our Time

The *Unity* writes:

The supreme men of our time—who are they? There are, or have been, four men who alone among all the millions of this age of history are destined to be remembered so long as man has memory. There are generations in the past which have given one man to the immemorial future—others which have given eight or ten. Ours, it seems to us, has given four whom the most distant posterity will not forget. *First*, among these is Mahatma Gandhi, of whom it may be said more truly than the English historian, R. H. Green, said of Washington—that he is “the noblest figure who ever stood in the forefront of a nation’s life.” But Gandhi is more than a national leader—he is a world savior. The Mahatma’s real rank is with the Buddha and the Christ. *Second* is Nicolai Lenin, the Russian revolutionist, who in an hour of chaotic stress, delivered a people from disaster, and laid deep and sure the foundations of a new civilization. We may accept or reject Lenin’s policies, like or dislike the man; but we must all agree that his colossal genius achieved one of the few supreme feats of human statesmanship. *Third*, Albert Einstein, the “monarch of the mind”! To say that this scientist is the greatest thinker of his time is not enough. It must be added that in all the history of thought, there are only two names Aristotle and Newton, to match his own. Last of these immortal four we would name Sigmund Freud. As Columbus discovered new continents in the outer world, so this Viennese psychologist discovered new continents in the inner world of the mind. In addition, he conceived and formulated a technique, like the art of navigation, for exploring these unknown regions of men’s life. These are the supreme figures of this age. Not wholly lost is a world which can produce such men, for in their very genius is the promise of new worlds yet to be upon this earth.

### Child Labour in United States

The following is a brief summary of the report of the child labour movement in the United States, reproduced from the *Monthly Labor Review*:

A considerable decrease in child labor occurred in 1933, after the industrial codes began to be effective. This is indicated by the very decided drop in employment certificates issued to children under 16 years of age, particularly for work in factories. The regulations regarding child labor, set up by the codes have raised child-labor standards in all except four States. The most pronounced effect was noted in those occupations for which employment certificates are generally required. These and other points are brought out in a survey, made by the United States

Children’s Bureau, of children receiving their first employment certificates for work in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile industries, messenger service, and certain other occupations.

### China’s Ministers of Beauty

Sister Daya in the course of discussing some aspects of Chinese art and aesthetics in the *Message of the East* says:

The mould into which Confucius sought to pour the mind of his people, had to do, it is true, with dignity and the great reserves of spirit, with etiquette based upon superiority of humanhood—if we may use the term—but it was none the less a mould, rigidly defined, and tending to fix the Chinese character in a medium which, if unmodified, would ultimately have crystallized into a prison-house of thought and action. To a large extent, this crystallization did come about, but what effect it would have had upon the artistic genius of the Chinese at that time, if left to itself, we cannot now be sure, because of the immediate counteracting influences of Buddha and Lao Tzu. Nor can we, at this present day, measure the extremes of unregulated, unsubstantial art expressions which would have resulted from a diet of Zen contemplation and the absolute freedom of Tao, undiluted by the form-sense of Confucius. Each influence played its restraining part. Yet, I would rather say, it was the Chinese mind itself, sane, balanced and aspiring, that with fine discrimination accepted only those influences which, when combined, would represent the wholeness of its well-grounded ideal and vision.

“Perfect art,” says Mr. Binyon, “satisfies both our instinct for order and our instinct for freedom... Lao Tzu, said to have been born fifty years before Confucius, inspired the reaction of the individual soul against the communistic systems of the latter. The Confucian ideas tended in time to harden and freeze—a revolt was necessary. However, Mr. Okakura has suggestively observed, ‘In this Eastern struggle between the two forces of communism and individual reaction, the ground of contest is not economic but intellectual and imaginative.’ In all creative art there is a similar contest or dualism. For all art conveys in varying proportions, but inextricably combined, ideas of order and ideas of energy or freedom... Perfect art holds the two elements in equilibrium.”

“The life-movement of the spirit through the rhythm of things,” Hsieh Ho’s first canon of painting, was however, surely liberated by Lao Tzu and by the great, deep inward reachings of the mind through Zen, rather than by means of the set forms of Confucian culture, even though it is these latter we have to think for the restraint which kept the movement of the spirit within the bounds of the beautiful. One cannot read the verses from the Tao Teh King without feeling that fluidity of freedom, which has its scriptural counterpart only in India’s great Upanishads, in the Isa Upanishad, for example.

### No recognition for Manchukuo

The question of the recognition of Manchukuo will exert considerable influence in the way of establishing peace between Japan and America. Still the *World Events* can not justify Japan’s Manchurian invasion and says:

Conciliation does not obligate us to sanction wrong. Not even our own imperialistic conquests...



which Japan is imitating, can justify toleration of the Manchurian invasion; the evil has to stop sometime and be declared an outlawed method. Yet no chip-on-the-shoulder policy will aid China, whose chief government has been working in collusion with the Japanese invaders. Rigid adherence to law and treaties ourselves, with insistence upon it by others, is a patience-trying but eventually sound policy, if not adequate, best under existing conditions.

### The Nazi Brand of Lunacy

*The Catholic World* editorially writes:

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad" was—and is—a good old apothegm. But recent events seem to indicate the need of a revised version: Whom the gods would destroy they first make ridiculous. Perhaps it is the same thing. To be ridiculous and not to know it is to be mad. So long as we can laugh—a healthy laugh—we are sane. When we cease to laugh, especially when we cease to laugh at ourselves, we are insane. When the sense of humor goes, sanity goes with it. And no sense of humor is complete unless it enables us to see how funny we are. Hence, to cure a crazy man, get him if possible to laugh at himself.

Now, for example, see Hitler and the Hitlerites. I have read a good deal about their kind of lunacy. Mrs. Eddy had the idea that one could be killed by thought. That theory may be debatable, but it appeals to the imagination. You needn't shoot a man—and go to the electric chair for it. All you have to do is to send a murderous thought in his direction. If your aim is good, he drops and that's all there is to it. But the business is simplified even more, at least as far as your conscience is concerned, if he himself plunges a thought like a stiletto into his heart. This is just what the Nazis have done.

Enough! let's observe them in the act of committing *felo de se*, first making our acknowledgments of Mr. Gunther (Vienna correspondent, *Chicago Daily News*) from whom we borrow a few of the excerpts he has clipped from the Nazi Press:

"Christ cannot possibly have been a Jew. I don't have to prove that scientifically. It is a fact."—Dr. Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda

"Hitler is a new, a greater, and a more powerful Jesus Christ."—Alois Spaniol, leader of the Nazis in the Saar.

"Though their historical forms come from the Orient, all religions are derived from German monotheism, because the Nordic race originated religion."—Professor Hermann Hollander, Nazi theologian.

"Adolf Hitler is the real Holy Ghost."—Dr. Kerl, chairman of the Prussian Diet.

"Roman Catholics are the black vultures of German nationalism and the drummers of discord in the German nation. We will not stop until we have scratched them out of the lives of the German people."—Storm Troop Leader Ammerlahn.

"The creator of mankind appeared 2,000 years ago in the form of Christ. Today God reveals himself to the German people again in the form of Hitler."—*Welt des Kaufmanns*, trade paper.

"The Germans have no feeling of guilt or that they are born sinners. Even if the German sins he does not lose direct connection with God."—Professor Frederick Hauer, of Tübingen University.

"I treasure an ordinary prostitute above a married Jewess."—Dr. Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda

"Generally speaking, the Nordic race alone can emit sounds of untroubled clearness, whereas among non-Nordic men and races the pronunciation is impure, the individual sounds are more confused and like the noises made by animals, such as barking, snoring, sniffing, squeaking. "That birds can learn to talk better than other animals is explained by the fact that their mouths are Nordic in structure—that is, high, narrow, and short-tongued. The shape of the Nordic gum allows a superior movement of the tongue."—Hermann Gauch in *Neue Grundlagen der Rassenforschung*.

"We begin with the child as soon as he is three years old. As soon as he begins to think, he gets a little flag put in his hand, then follows the school, the Hitler Jugend, the S.A., and military training. We do not let him go, and when all this is past, then comes the Arbeitsfront and takes him up again and doesn't let him go till the grave, whether he likes it or not."—Dr. Robert Ley, chief of Nazi trade unions.

"The absence of all-round abilities in women is directly to be attributed to the fact that woman is vegetative."—Dr. Rosenberg.

"The idea of National Socialism is an accomplishment of the human soul that ranks with the Parthenon, the Sistine Madonna, and the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven."—Dr. Rosenberg.

### Selfless Heroism of a Nameless Chinese Prisoner

*The Message of the East* has:

A nameless Chinese prisoner sacrificed his life for little Helen Priscilla Stam, orphaned at the age of three months by the murder of her missionary parents, it was disclosed today. W. J. Hanna of Toronto, an official of the China Inland Missions who brought the child here from Wuhu, Anhwei Province, to live with her grandparents, told the story.

After the execution of Mr and Mrs. John C. Stam at Miaosheo, Suthern Anhwei, last December, the Communist captors of the Stams were on the point of killing the child, Hanna said, but a man who had been released by communists only a few hours before from the village prison pleaded for the infant's life.

"Don't harm an innocent thing like this" he urged, "it has done no harm to us"

"Who are you?" a Communist officer asked. "Why do you intercede for the baby?"

The prisoner said he had no connection with "these foreigners," Hanna related, but begged that the baby's life be spared.

"Who will forfeit his life for the child?" the officer asked. The released prisoner volunteered, and was killed on the spot. The baby was spared, and was found after the retreat of the Reds in an abandoned house.

Hanna, who made a through investigation of all the circumstances of the Stam murder, said this account had been amply authenticated by Chinese witnesses.

### Hellenic Tragedy of Existence

At the height of her culture ancient Hellas conceived two different aspects of the tragic view of life—Homeric and Dionysian—which have been permanently enshrined in Greek dramas by later masters. Prof. Mewaldt in the *Research and*



*Progress*, a quarterly review of German Science, shows the difference between the two :

A tragic conception of life has nothing in common with resignation and scepticism ; it is even diametrically opposed to these. For such a conception involves daring, energy, and unconcern, personal risk, even to annihilation, desperate battles with gods and men, in a word : heroism. In resignation and scepticism on the other hand, under the cloak of a cool feeling of superiority are hidden nothing but weakness of the will, morbidity, a cowardly shrinking from action, in a word : making compromises with men and matters.

The Ionic epic of Homer and the Iliad in particular furnish us with the first instance such a tragic conception of life. Nations fighting for a woman who however beautiful, remains but a courtesan, the disunion of the people in the Trojan as well as in the Achaean camp, the wrathful spite of Achilles towards Agamemnon, his king, the latter's vain obduracy towards his best, most faithful and hitherto most unselfish ally—all this entanglement, not in the net of guilt, but in the net of one's own inflexible will, is tragic in itself, incessantly calling forth tragedy.

This attitude of the mind and the soul of the Hellenes was suddenly invaded by a movement which, born as the former from deeply religious instincts, cut across the heroic conceptions of life : the worship of Dionysus. Contrary to the noble, manly, serious, and well-balanced though forceful attitude of the Greek whose feeling and belief are intrinsically heroic, the new worship seemed to be a picture of rudeness, of an effeminate want of self-control and a wildness without bounds. The psychic experiences under whose auspices the new worship affected the noble families, the struggles against the new God, the heroic destruction of the fighters, are reflected in a whole series of legends. The Dionysian feeling, too, must have found an adequate part of the Hellenic character as one of the centres of its strength.

What does the tragic element of the Homeric hero consist in, and what is tragic in the Dionysian element? The hero is experiencing an incessant struggle with the world and for the world. He must untiringly battle against the unfathomable ordinances of supernatural powers, which appear to him unfavourable to man, against mean aspirations of men who are instinctively hostile to him, against the demon in his own heart, must fight with all his powers, even to self-annihilation for the universal ideal whose advocate and model he is.

He always stands up for a justice higher than it ever can be realized in this world. The purity and inevitability of the idea which he represents, and the utter impossibility of carrying it through must, in our opinion, give rise to that inner contradiction of events which we call tragic. Thus the tragic hero himself in his fight with powers beyond his control, achieves what is really superhuman. In his fight for the natural laws which he has in mind, he seems to wrong Divine Justice, because of his own accord he aims at reconstructing the apparently disturbed order of things.

It is not only the heroic personality, however, who rises above human nature to the region of gods, but also the Dionysian one. Its power grows up from profound and obscure instincts, from animal and sexual element, becoming effective in an insensible reckless frenzy, breaking laws, satisfying only its own desires and working itself up to the highest sensual lust. He pays the highest price he can, just the same as the tragic hero—his own life. But, like him, he, too, must taste the discrepancy of existence ; only in a

struggle with the world can he serve his religious belief. That is his tragedy.

Now it would be easy to prove the tragic conception of life of the Attic people from the main works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Aeschylus is pious in the pure ancient Attic sense. He sees the world from the point of view of the tragedian ; he sees the pain that comes over men because they take upon themselves the responsibility of their actions ; but he is full of a manly and glad confidence in the final kindness and justice of the gods. Sophocles is different. He accentuates the logic and inflexibility of the tragic law. The human figure of this poet stands out in a clear light against the dark background of a far stricter conception of life : he demands a calm submission to the inscrutable and hard will of the heavenly powers. The tragedies of Aeschylus reflect personalities who are firmly rooted in a community, with Sophocles the fate of the tragic personality already takes its course rather apart from such ties. Ajax's position in the military community is just as isolated and solitary as that of Antigone towards the authority of the State, and the tragedy of Oedipus, too, is not a political, but an individual human one. The individual is thus more conspicuous with him. This is the case in a yet higher degree with Euripides, because his tragic conception of life, more even than that of Sophocles, has been influenced by the sophistic movement of his time.

Only a period like that of the height of Hellenic culture could grasp and formulate the full tragedy of existence. Pericles was the last in this series : the heroic greatness and moving tragedy of this statesman once more embody the lofty mind of that epoch of Hellenic culture at its height and, as its main characteristic, the tragic conception of life.

#### Sir Patrick Geddes' Educational Advice

Mr. P. L. Boardman while paying a tribute to the memory of Prof. Geddes, the Scottish biologist, city-planner and sociologist and Darwin's favorite pupil, says in *The Commonwealth* :

Professor Geddes had three children, but unlike Rousseau he accepted the task of bringing them up himself. He regarded the tendency to let nursery school and kindergarten assume all responsibility for the young as evidence of the increasing uselessness of the American home. He firmly believed that in any nation in any age the home has inevitably the first duty and the first privilege in education.

He wanted them to grow up with a first-hand, accurate knowledge of the worlds of nature and of man ; he wanted them to develop an unspoiled appreciation of life in all its manifestations ; in the laws and beauty of the physical universe, in the human mind, in whatever lay beyond and above. Consequently, he replaced the elementary instruction of the three R's with a procedure which he called the three H's.

First, the heart. By this he meant that the first approach to learning should be through the emotions ; for example, the affection and interest which are so vital as a baby learns to talk. Likewise he put the child's first contacts with environment on an emotional basis : from physical enjoyment of fresh air and sunshine to simple wonder and delight at the beauty of nature.

Next came the hand. As his children grew older



Professor Geddes led them into physical experience with the world around their home. From mere toddling in the gardens they came to perform tasks of cultivation while their play expanded into more and more systematic explorations of the surrounding countryside. By way of introduction to the world of mechanics and trades they made boxes, not only to increase manual skill but to contrive some useful object.

And then the third H, the head. Geddes always claimed—and proved in his own family—that the natural result of emotional experiences, of whole-hearted work and play, was tremendous mental activity.

The significance of their training, as I see it is this. Public instruction in every country, whether of 1900 or 1950, is satisfied if pupils can spell "olive tree" or any other word correctly. Yet it cares nothing about those vital experiences which Geddes gave his children. They could spell "olive tree" but they also knew what such a tree was biologically historically and in spiritual significance. They knew why it was the symbol of peace, of agricultural prosperity, and incidentally they learned much of Mediterranean geography, history and culture.

### A Challenge

The following message, which originated five years back re-appears in the *Unity*:

To the Representative Heads of Christendom:

His Holiness, the Pope.

His Eminence, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The President of the Federal Council of Churches.

The Presiding Bishop of the American Episcopal Church.

Reverend Sirs:

There is being enacted today, in India, a drama, consisting of a gigantic effort, led by Mahatma Gandhi, to win the freedom of the nation by the use of non-violence, a method, in contrast with the method of force, which must find a strong appeal in all Christian hearts, especially at this season.

You are earnestly urged to interpret this great movement, to the end that you, as well as your congregations may enter into sympathy with this exhibition of spiritual power which promises so much to displace the old war program, and also to join in prayers that this non-violent method may be kept free from breaking out into blood-shed to the disruption of the peace of the world.

Edmund B. Chaffee,

Abel J. Gregg,

John Haynes Holmes,

Clarence V. Howells,

Edwin Fairley,

Sydney Strong,

Harry F. Ward,

Clergymen.

(Editorial Note: Five years ago this message, inspired by Dr. Sydney Strong, was sent to official heads of the Christian world. It was dated April 17, 1930. On this anniversary date it is republished here, in reminder that India still challenges the sympathy and support of those who would walk in the ways of the Spirit.)

### Liberty, Absolute Principle of Right

The same paper editorially writes:

Why should those who deride and deny civil liberties be protected in the enjoyment of these liberties which they would refuse to others if they had the power? This is a question which is getting more and more pertinent every day: The Communists, for example! In Russia, they have made the cleanest sweep of civil liberties known in modern times. Even the Tsars fell short of the Bolshevik standard of tyranny. In this country, as in other countries, the Communists are perfectly frank in saying that, if or when they gain control of government, they will ban freedom of speech, assembly, and press upon the instant. Yet they insist upon the full enjoyment of all these rights as guaranteed by the hated bourgeois democracy which they would destroy. Why should we bother to see that their insistence is effective? Or take the Roman Catholic Church! This hierarchy is now complaining bitterly against the persecutions visited upon their priests and communicants by the radical government in Mexico. But this same hierarchy has itself been guilty of dreadful persecutions, and, if placed in supreme control by any country, would undoubtedly deny to others the liberties they now claim for themselves. Why should we be concerned about their present plight south of the Rio Grande? In answer to these questions there is only one thing to be said, and that is, that liberty is an absolute principle of right. It is granted and guaranteed not on the basis of any pragmatic plea of expediency, although there is a potent case for liberty from the standpoint of social practicality. At bottom, the justification for civil liberties is none other than that of abstract justice. This is our ideal—that men should be free! And "men" means *all men*, regardless of race and religion, creed and class, good and evil. The liberal, in other words, like God, must be "no respecter of persons." Liberty applies even to those who would destroy liberty. This is the peril of the philosophy of principle—and also, be it said, its glory!

### Potato in Germany

The Bulletin of the *Hamburg World Economic Archives*, a State institute for political and economic science, writes on the utility of potato in the food supply of the German people if occasion, such as wars, arises:

In Germany the most important product of the cultivated farm is the potato. During the past five years the average crop yield amounted to 44000000 tons. In 1934 the yield rose to 47000000 tons. Of this total only 12500000 tons, approximately, were needed for table consumption; in other words, 28 p. c. of the average annual yield of 44000000 tons.

Primarily then the potato in Germany is a feed-crop. This does not mean, however, that its chief significance is found in that fact. On the contrary, the potato is the most important basis of the people's food supply, and if Germany for any reason should be temporarily forced to depend for food entirely upon its own resources, it will be possible to surmount the difficulties with the aid of the potato.

The role of the potato as the most important food of the people suggests the desirability of making it durable for a longer time: as a human food. Two:



ways to this end seem practicable. In the first place, potato flakes could be produced from peeled potatoes, and these could then be used at least for soups, etc. The results of experience on this point gathered in former years are already available. A second process, however, has lately attracted more attention. It enables the raw, peeled potato to be canned. Tests have proved that these preserved potatoes after several years retain the same quality as when freshly peeled. By means of this process, therefore, it would be entirely possible for Germany to create out of the annual surplus of the potato crop a fixed reserve, capable of bridging over any temporary difficulty in the food supply.

### Unemployment and Employment among Women

Henri Fuss writes in the *International Labour Review* :—

From the social standpoint, women have always had to work. Apart from an insignificant minority who have no occupation, all adult able-bodied women work, if not actually in a profession or trade, at least in the care of the household. From the economic standpoint, women workers are still indispensable in the overwhelming majority of industries, not only because without them these industries would suffer from a shortage of labour and would have to restrict their production, but also because the wages of every woman worker represent purchasing power whose disappearance would reduce the effective demand for consumption goods, and thus form a further reason for reducing production and lowering the standard of living. Contrary to a rather widespread belief, persons who work for remuneration do not deprive some one else of employment, because their own earnings give them the power to purchase goods or services that give employment to other persons. Each person's work calls for the work of others, and it is on the contrary the idleness of some that leads to the unemployment of others.

A woman who combines the care of her own household with outside employment has to expend a great deal of energy, and nearly always too much if she cannot afford to employ paid help at home. As a remedy for this, it might be possible to consider fixing strict limits for the working day of married women, but the application of such measure would probably meet with great technical obstacles. In these conditions, the only practicable solution is no doubt the uniform reduction of working hours for all workers in the same industry, whether men or women. Such a reduction would mean considerable relief to the married woman. Later on, when the hours of employment have been reduced even below what is at present contemplated, as a result of further technical progress, there will probably be a considerable increase in the employment of married women outside the home, because they will be able to combine it with their household work without the danger of being overworked. In addition, the husband too will be able to devote a large proportion of his increased spare time to household duties, which will themselves be progressively lightened by the improved equipment of the newer houses.

It will be seen, therefore, that the placing of women in various occupation, including domestic work, does not raise any fundamental difficulties. The present difficulties are merely transitory, they are due partly to the depression, but also to the unequal distribution of the national income, which is itself one of the causes of the depression. As soon as economic equilibrium

has been re-established on firmer foundations of social justice, there will be work for all, both men and women. Even as things are at present it would be a step in the wrong direction to regard openings for employment as a matter for rivalry between men and women. There are already sufficient elements of discord in human society without adding to them in this way.

### Is India Never to walk alone ?

While reviewing the present political situation in India in *Asia* S. J. Ramananda Chatterjee says "I am an old man of seventy and I myself do not care a two pence for Dominion Status." He further observes :

Hypocrisy is the homage which political cunning has to pay to political idealism. The Government of India Bill now before Parliament is hailed by its makers as an instrument of progress framed to safeguard both British and Indian interests and at the same time permit a substantial advance in self-government for India. Probably the average man or woman on both sides of the Atlantic sincerely believe that the new Bill is a genuine step forward in the right direction, that considering the complexity of problems any government in India will have to face it could not well yield more to the clamor of Indian national sentiment, that if Indians will only show themselves ready to cooperate and work the proposed constitution further advances will be rapidly forthcoming. Why so much fuss and outcry, then, from India? Really, Indians appear to be a trying people!

As proof of Indian perversity, resolutions and motions in scathing language condemning the Bill or the Joint Committee Report on which it is based have been passed by the Legislative Assembly, several provincial Legislative Councils, the Indian Congress Party, the Liberal Party, the Congress Nationalist Party, the All-India Moslem League, the Independent Party (Moslem) as well as many other organizations and countless citizens' meetings held all over India. Prominent individuals of as different backgrounds as the Aga Khan and Dr. Ambedkar, the spokesman of the Depressed Classes, have expressed their disillusionment, disappointment and dissatisfaction over the proposed legislation. Thus far no party and no representative group have approved the Bill, not even the Indian Princes, who on February 25 characterized it as unacceptable in its present form and raised six specific objections. The most that can be said is that the other day the Council of State voted in favor of giving the new scheme of government "a fair trial." In a land which is constantly advertised as torn by dissensions and internal strife, here indeed is a remarkable degree of unanimity.

The sophistry of the opponents of Indian self-rule within any measurable distance of time may be summed up in the familiar saying, "Rome was not built in a day." True, but it did not take quite so long a time to build Washington, Melbourne, Tokyo or New Delhi. The art of statesmanship, like all other arts, is and can be learnt in a single lifetime. The British baby who afterward grows up into a statesman is born just as ignorant as the Indian baby. All the famous British statesmen combined did not physiologically transmit their statesmanship to British infants in general for making these infants accomplished statesmen at birth. British infants are no more born with the general's baton or the statesman's portfolio than are Indian babies born with the coolie's spade or the clerk's pen.



## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### The Santal Woman

This is English rendering of a poem by the poet Rabindranath Tagore on the above subject, published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

The Santal woman hurries up and down the gravelled path under the *shimool* tree, a coarse grey *sari* closely twines her slender limbs, dark and compact, its red border sweeping across the air with the flaming red magic of the *palash* flower.

Some absent-minded divine designer while fashioning a black bird with the stuff of the July cloud and the lightning flash must have improvised unawares this woman's form, her impulsive wings hidden within, her nimble steps uniting in them a woman's walk and a bird's flight.



A Santal Woman

With a few lacquer bangles on her exquisitely modelled arms and a basket full of loose earth on her head she flits across the gravel-red path under the *shimool* tree.

The lingering winter has finished its errand. The casual breath of the south is beginning to tease the austerity of the cold month. On the *himjhuri* branches the leaves are taking the golden tint of a rich decay. The ripe fruits are strewn over the *amlaki* grove where the rowdy boys crowd to pillage them. Swarms of dead leaves and dust are capering in a ghastly whirl following sudden caprices of the wind.

The building of my mud house has commenced and labourers are busy raising the walls. The distant whistle announces the passing of the train along the railway cutting, and the ding-dong of the bell is heard from the neighbouring school.

I sit on my terrace watching the young woman toiling at her task hour after hour. My heart is touched with shame when I feel that the woman's service sacredly ordained for her loved ones, its dignity soiled by the market price, should have been robbed by me with the help of a few pieces of copper.

### America and the Orient—Prospects of International Co-operation

*India and the World* publishes an address delivered by Dr. Taraknath Das before the Social Science Club of the University of Maryland on the above subject. In conclusion he refers to the grant of independence to the people of the Philippines and says:

The statesmen of the United States, with mature deliberation, have decided to grant full independence to the people of the Philippines within a few years. I am fully in favor of this policy, because it will serve the best interests of the United States and promote better understanding between the East and the West. I am an advocate of friendship between the United States and China and also the United States and the Western Powers which have vital interests in the Orient. In this connection, one must remember that Great Britain has the most vital interest in the Far East. This interest is rooted in India and it has branched out to other parts of the Orient and Australia. Therefore, from my point of view, in studying the problems of the Orient, one should not ignore India as Britain's exclusive possession, but regard it as a vital factor in world politics and world economics.

To-day, the problems of the Orient form a very vital factor of World Politics. They are influencing American world policies affecting relations with all nations specially the great Powers of the West. The first duty of American statesman is to promote the welfare of the American people. This can be best served by promoting the ideals of peace and better understanding between the East and the West. Every intelligent American citizen has a self-imposed obligation to further this national mission of serving Humanity.



## Alexander in the Panjab

The following is taken from *Indian State Railway Magazine*:

They had found it hard enough to overcome an enemy who brought only some twenty-two thousand effectives into the field, and did not relish Alexander's declared intention of leading them across the Ganges which they were told, was thirty-two furlongs wide and a hundred fathoms deep and had its farther bank bristling with enemies! Kings awaited them trans-Ganges who were able to put eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand chariots and six thousand fighting elephants into the field—so they were credibly informed. This was too much of a good thing! Clearly there was a limit even to Macedonian endurance. Much grieved and incensed as he was at his army's mutiny Alexander was obliged to bow to necessity and take the homeward trail. But he had no intention of allowing posterity to believe that he, at least, had suffered from 'cold feet.' With pardonable vanity he set about marking the farthest limits of his advance by erecting monuments which he designed should stand as memorials of his prowess for all time. Besides altars to the gods he left behind him arms of dimensions larger than were worn and managers, bits and bridles of huge size—deceptive memoria to exaggerate his glory and impose upon the credulity of posterity which would thereby believe him to have been less a man than a demigod. Where are Alexander's altars now? Subsequent history makes no mention of them—legend is equally silent. Most probably they were soon despoiled—or the shifting sands may have covered them—for the topography of the Panjab has undergone many changes since Alexander's time and the rivers, especially, no longer run in their former channels.

Speaking of Porus Plutarch observes: "Almost all historians are agreed in relating that Porus was four cubits and a span high, and that when he was upon his elephant which was of the largest size, his stature and bulk were so answerable, that he appeared to be proportionably mounted, as a horseman on a horse." He must have been somewhere about seven feet tall—a veritable son of Anak! Nor was the elephant's sagacity less remarkable than its rider's thews. Like its master it fought with great courage, all through the battle until perceiving at last that Porus was overcome by the numerous darts with which he was wounded the faithful elephant, to prevent his falling off, gently knelt down and began to draw out the arrows with its trunk! Rough surgery no doubt—but do not forget that Porus was a giant!

## "The Austro-Asiatic"—A False Linguistic Family

"The fundamental relationship of the munda languages with the nicobarese, the khasi, the mon-khmer languages is established beyond any doubt"—this conclusion of Father Schmidt, reached in 1906 and so long unrefuted, has been seriously questioned by M. W. F. de Hevesy, Paris, in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. We make only a few extracts from it:

It is much to be regretted that Father Schmidt had not known somewhat better the santali language on which he based his alleged discovery; for then he would have at once noticed that he was taking a

wrong step. There are, for instance, in this language two suffixes, the most common of all, forming (besides fulfilling other functions), nouns: the suffixes *ic'* and *ak'*. Should Father Schmidt have known them, he would have never considered these suffixes as parts of munda roots: and it is just the same for the suffix *ok'* which in santali forms the reflective verbs. These are errors which alone make a great many of his comparisons useless.

Father Schmidt often uses borrowed santali words for his demonstration. Santali and the munda languages in general have largely drawn upon the aryan languages, upon sanscrit, hindi, sadani, bihari and others; then from persian, and even from arabian; and, lastly, from the dravidian languages, particularly from oraon. Father Schmidt does not take this circumstance into account, since he works with arabian words, such as *falfal* (34), *harakat* (38), *fajat* (69), *jam* (75), *tear* (125), *halik* (266), *zulm* (293), *fiawa* (337); with persian ones, such as *arra* (10), *dil* (163), *gorom* (256), *fius* (324); with dravidian words, as oraon *gadgad* and *gadu* (44), *canna* (60), *holat* (283) and others; and lastly with more than a hundred indo-aryan words, many of them being even indo-european.

Thus we are very far from the "beyond any doubt" and from the "certainty" that Father Schmidt resolutely cried out in his work regarding the position of munda. The relationship he claimed to have discovered is proved by nothing; while on the contrary everything leads one to conclude that munda languages are related to uralian and more particularly to finno-ugrian languages, and are even languages belonging to the ugrian branch of the latter stock,—a branch which so far included only the vogoul and the ostjak, both of Siberia, and the magyar (hungarian) in Central Europe.

So one can see how dangerous it would be to keep on in linguistics the use of the term "austro-asiatic."

## "Conciliation of Debt"

Agricultural indebtedness has been a problem in all parts of India, and the measures for its relief adopted in one part should be carefully considered in another. Mr. V. Ramdas Pantulu, while discussing the possible measures for the relief of agricultural indebtedness in Madras in *The New Age* refers to the board of conciliation of debt system adopted in the Central Provinces. He says:

Adoption of measures for the compulsory conciliation of debts so as to scale them down to the extent of the debtor's capacity to repay is, I think, a very necessary measure of relief which is called for in the abnormal conditions created by the acute economic depression. There seems to be much scepticism about the chances of success of such a scheme. We are however not asked to write on a clean slate. The experiment is being tried at least in one province in India, namely, the Central Provinces. A review of the working of one of the debt conciliation boards in that province, namely, Khurai Debt Conciliation Board, recently issued by the Central Provinces Government, is a very interesting document. The review says that during the period of a year and a half covered by it, 2790 applications involving debts amounting to Rs. 30.67 lakhs were received. Certificates under section 15 (1) of the act declaring that



the creditors had unreasonably refused amicable settlement were issued in 901 cases for debts aggregating to Rs. 12.96 lakhs. This means that these debts will not carry any further interest and that the creditors will not get their costs if they go to Court. To that extent it is a tangible means of relief to the debtors concerned. The review goes on to point out that agreements under section 12 (1) between creditors and debtors were executed in 1693 cases for debts aggregating to Rs. 16.17 lakhs and that debts were conciliated for a sum of Rs. 8.37 lakhs, resulting in a remission of 48.3 per cent of the demand. It is further pointed out that even in regard to secured debts 20 per cent had come under agreement. It is also reported that a certain amount of private conciliation of debts has been carried out in the area, owing to the moral pressure of the atmosphere created by the existence of conciliation boards. The Government of the Central Provinces proceed to say that *there is no evidence to indicate that operations of the Board have resulted in any appreciable restriction of agricultural credit* for current needs. The experiment tried in the Bhavanagar State under the guidance of Sir Prabhasankar Pattani is another instance of the success of a debt conciliation scheme. Those who doubt the efficacy of debt conciliation as a measure of relief of agricultural indebtedness, especially the Government of Madras, will I hope revise their opinion in the light of facts disclosed in the review of the Central Provinces Government and the Bhavanagar experiment.

### Social Legislation in Baroda

Baroda is one of the progressive States in India. Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta, M. SC., B.L., writes on "Social Legislation in Baroda" in *The Hindu Review* partly thus :

The present Gaikwad of Baroda is one of the foremost, if not the foremost, enlightened rulers of India. Long before the social workers and reformers and progressive legislators of British India thought of preventing infant marriages by legislation, the Gaikwad enacted the Infant Marriage Prevention Act No. VII of 1904 whereby the marriage of a boy below 16 and that of a girl below 12 was penalized. In 1932 the respective ages have been raised to 18 and 14. Also all marriages of persons below 8 years of age have been declared void. Not content with the mere passing of the Act, the Gaikwad has entrusted the work of exercising general supervision over the operation of the Act to the *Naga Mantri*. Unlike the British Indian Sarda Act, there are provisions in it for allowing infant marriages under certain circumstances.

A Hindu Divorce Act has also been enacted. During the last year only 58 cases for divorce and one for judicial separation were filed, although the Hindu population of the State is about 22 lakhs. "There was only one case in which advantage of the new Act was taken by a plaintiff belonging to a caste in which custom does not allow divorce. The plaintiff, who was a Deccani Brahmin lady, succeeded in obtaining divorce, there was no opposition from her husband."

The Caste Tyranny Removal Act passed last year had its origin in the recommendations of the Committee appointed to consider the system of 'gols' in Gujarat (corresponding to our *Gotra*) and the prohibition of marriages outside of prescribed 'gols'. The Committee pointed out the evils arising out of this system and recommended legislation for their removal. Under the

Act it is illegal for the caste leaders to excommunicate persons on the ground that they have contracted such marriages and for the breach of similar social customs.

### Inspection of Schools

The following appears in *The Progress of Education* :

#### As It Should Be

The inspection of education cannot be regarded as an end in itself, the ideal towards which it works, or should be, that of rendering it superfluous. It is certainly to be desired that educational progress should be maintained at such a rate as will, before very long, diminish the need for the inspector's functions of watching and trying to increase the return for public expenditure. The extent, however, to which inspection would be necessary in a perfect system worked by perfect agents is a matter which is hardly likely to call for early consideration.

#### As It Is

(For the present) it is not infrequently declared that the aggregate volume of inspection is too great, that there is duplication of central and local inspection, that the schools are harassed and their work interrupted, that manager and teachers are embarrassed and put to unnecessary expense by the different demands and "fads" of successive inspectors, or alternatively that inspection is dominated by an ideal of cast-iron uniformity and tends to suppress initiative and discourage experiment, and that the best way to get good value for public money is to get good teachers and "leave it to them."

### The Aristocratic Bed Bug

These extracts are quoted from *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

It is some consolation that, after a satisfying meal, the bedbug does not return early for another. While fleas and lice will feed more than once within twentyfour hours, the bedbug can dispense with food for weeks and even for months. It has been kept alive sealed up in a pillbox without food for more than a year. On examination after this enforced fast, the parasite was still alive but as thin and transparent as oiled paper. This ability to fast almost indefinitely enables the bedbug to bide its time successfully in houses which have been left uninhabited for months.

The reputation enjoyed by the bedbug as a carrier of disease is vaguely lurid. The list of diseases spread by bugs is, in fact, quite long. It is so fashionable and easy to credit biting insects with various diseases, particularly tropical diseases. The diseases of which the bedbug is still suspected of being a carrier are plague, kala-azar, a form of relapsing fever, a human spirochetosis closely resembling infectious jaundice, and, last but not least, yellow fever.

Obviously it is no easy matter to fight a parasite that can scale walls and climb down pipes and gutters from neighbouring houses into one's own where it can afford to fast a year, if necessary, while waiting for its chance. Sporadic efforts to track down individual bedbugs in cracks and crannies are not likely to be successful, however much they may satisfy a craving for revenge on an individual offender. He is almost certain to have relations in the near neighbourhood. A much sounder principle is that of fumigation.



Hydrocyanic acid gas is quite the most potent agent to use against bedbugs, but it is so extremely dangerous, that none except an expert should employ it.

A much safer chemical for fumigation is sulphur. The infested house is first carefully sealed up special care being taken with fireplaces, windows, doors and keyholes. The brimstone is burned in a saucer that has been placed in a larger vessel to receive any overflow that may occur. Three pounds of brimstone is required for every thousand cubic feet of space in the house. Although four or five hours are said to be sufficient to kill every bedbug in the neighbourhood, it is safer to leave the house sealed up for twenty-four hours.

If for any reason wholesale fumigation is undesirable, much can be done by spraying cracks and crannies throughout a room with petrol. A useful emulsion for spraying with a hand syringe consists of 3 parts of the soft soap dissolved in 15 parts of hot water, to which from 70 to 100 parts of kerosene, petrol or benzine have previously been added gradually, and with much shaking. The emulsion, which should be milky, can also be introduced into cracks on a brush or feather.

### Rural Reconstruction in India

The Government of India do not seem to view any planned economic system with favour. For the rural reconstruction of India some sort of planned economic system has got to be followed. Prof. Krishna Kumar Sharma develops this point, while criticizing the government attitude, in *The Indian Review* as follows:

The Government of India, however, seem to be against the introduction of a planned economic system, in this country; for according to Sir James Grigg's speech in the Assembly planned economy has not succeeded in any country. He said that America was not happy despite President Roosevelt's New Deal, that Japan's prosperity was only skin deep, that Italy and Germany were not fairing any better and that Russia, the arch planner of them, was in the throes of economic tyranny. He further remarked: "Now we know where we are. For this mild benevolent regime that now exists, we are to substitute an autocratic sway." But the real issue is whether the Indian masses are satisfied with the existing economic conditions under "this mild benevolent regime." Conditions would not have been better, probably they would have been worse, if those countries had not started economic planning. Probably it cannot be denied that conditions are better than they would have been in the absence of economic plans in Germany, Japan, U. S. A., etc. Things may not have been prosperous in the countries which had done economic planning, but they are certainly superior to those in India where no plan has so far been started as shown by the following table:

NATIONAL INCOME AND WEALTH			
	Population (millions)	Income per capita	Wealth per capita
		Rs.	Rs.
U. S. A.	122.77	2,053	9,865
Canada	10.37	1,268	8,028
U. K.	46.18	1,092	6,371
Japan	65.86	271	2,808
Br. India	271.78	82	441

### The Other Side of the Soviet System of Education

The Soviet Republic has made long strides in educating the children of the soil. But the sort of education they receive, is not at all without any defect. The following from the same paper will be illuminating:

Michail Koltzov, the gifted Communist journalist, recently discussed in an article in *Pravda* (Moscow) the present status of Soviet education in its various aspects. He says that a six-year old girl, Ludochka, educated in a children's home, knew "that it was disgraceful to be a slacker, that God was only for the bourgeois, that there was no revolution abroad, that rabbits were killed by being struck on the head, that in a certain store, felt boots were sold without special cards, that if a bag was stolen, the money was usually taken out, while the documents were left lying in a prominent place; she knew some swear words; she knew that if a nail was driven into a tyre, the truck could not move on.

She breathed heavily into my face in order to convince me that she had eaten onions. But she did not know that it was wrong to drive the nail into the tyre, that you should not eat from a knife. She and her older playmates knew about international solidarity, but did not think of offering a seat in the car to an old man, or woman. Why should I yield my seat? He has a ticket and so have I—and I sat down before him," was the children's argument.

"Our children," laments Koltzov, "are not taught sufficiently the simple rules of collective life." He affirms that "bourgeois" rules constitute good proletarian ethics and wants Ludochka to be taught these rules. He wants Ludochka, when she grows up, not only to surprise people by her dialectical, practical mind but also not to breathe into people's faces, not to eat from a knife, be less angular, become in short, a girl with whom one could fall in love.

But a Soviet teacher may anxiously ask: "If you teach children to pick up things dropped by elders, to help them in small things, politely to point out the way, when asked, not to interrupt in conversation, will not that be teaching rules of the old regime?"

### Over-crowding in Insurance Market

*Insurance World* writes editorially:

Over-crowding of the market by insurance companies is a problem that is seriously confronting many countries of the world now-a-days. In our last issue, we pointed out that Italy had given a 'polite no' to an Indian Insurance Company wanting to start business there on the ground that she had already had more than she required. Canada also provides the same spectacle of over-crowding. According to a news published in a recent issue of the *Policy*, 450 companies besides Lloyd's brokers are seeking business from a population less than that of Greater London.

It would be interesting to know how the countries of the West try to tackle this difficult problem. They restrict foreign companies and many of their companies extend their operations to foreign lands to avoid congestion.

In India also the foreign companies should be restricted to avoid overcrowding which is already great in this country. Facilities should also be given to Indian companies to extend business to foreign lands. At present few Indian life insurance companies write busi-



ness abroad. But the small number of Indian general insurance companies that have gone there have to their credit a large amount of foreign business. In 1932, such Indian companies operating outside India had a net premium income of nearly a crore, 51 lakhs from fire, 23 lakhs from marine, 19 lakhs from miscellaneous insurance business. Compared with this, their home premium income is not creditable. They received 28½ lakhs from fire, 7½ lakhs from marine, and 28 lakhs from miscellaneous insurance business.

The obvious conclusion to which everybody will be led by these statistics is that the Indian companies cannot cope in their own country with the very serious competition provided by the host of foreign companies in India. The sound position of the Indian companies cannot be questioned since it is being largely recognized in foreign lands also. So we think the only course open to India is to restrict the flow of foreign companies here as is being done by many other countries. There is no other way of escape from this uncomfortable situation of over crowding.

### Social Service in Fascist Italy

Mr. Manindramohan Moulik has given a resumé of various social service organizations in Fascist Italy in *The Insurance and Finance Review*. Of the *Dopolavoro*, the after-work recreational organization, he writes :

A striking manifestation of social service is given by the *Dopolavoro*,\* the after-work recreational organization which Mussolini designed and founded. From the most voluntary beginnings which accompanied the rise of the Fascist labour unions when the movement was in its infancy, the *Dopolavoro* has grown into an imposing organization, incorporated in 1925, with a membership of now exceeding 2 million, drawn from all ranks of producers. In return for the trifling annual contribution of 4 lire the members participate in the manifold opportunities afforded for physical and intellectual improvement. A travelling theatre, the Car of Thespis, brings high-class opera and drama to remote rural communities as well as to city workers at trifling cost; free entrance to all museums and facilities for travel enable the Italian town and country worker, to become acquainted with the treasures of art and the incomparable beauties of his countries. Special facilities place the recreations of the wealthy—skyng mountaineering, boating etc.—within the reach of the poor. Opportunities are afforded for pursuing sports of all kinds—football, tennis, boxing, swimming etc.—and for educational improvement—lectures, classes, vocational schools etc. And here again the organization is inserted in the framework of the State; it is one of the channels through which constant contact is maintained between the Government and the people.

### "Origin" of Castes

Mr. Nagendra Nath Ghose, M. A., B. L., writes on the subject in *Man in India* :

On the question of the "origin" of castes, as distinguished from the innumerable varieties of "conditions" which promote, extend, intensify or exaggerate castes once they have taken root, I should be very much adverse to looking for very recondite origins of the institution. The four chief historical

caste-organizations are the Indo-Aryan, the Roman (Patricians *vis-a-vis* Plebs), the Spartan (Citizens against Helots) and the Whiteman-Negro differentiation of the United States of America. All the three first-mentioned were pre-historic institutions of which the Indo-Aryan only has survived to this day. The Whiteman-Negro differentiation in the United State of America has grown, so to speak, under our eyes. I am personally convinced that the probable "origin" of castes becomes fairly apparent from a study of this one institution alone.

Difference in colour by itself does not explain the origin of the Whiteman-Negro caste differentiation in the United States. Illicit connections between them are frequent, and licit one's too are not rare. At the root of the differentiation lies fear and strong aversion bred out of fear. If the Negro had not come to impress the White community in general as a serious economico-politico-social "problem" from the moment the United States became self-conscious as a nation the Negroes would not have been relegated into a caste of "pariahs," as they have been in that country ever since. The colour prejudice came later as a consequence but was not the cause thereof. It is not the black Negroes only who are outcastes in the United States. The Chinese, the Japanese, Indian visitors to the States, and the Red Indians are all today inferior castes in the eyes of the American White in different degrees, proportionate to the fear and aversion with which they are regarded. And yet there still are families in Virginia who have not given up boasting of their red-blood descent from the romantic winning as bride of Pocahontas by the famous pioneer Captain John Smith. Infective analogical extension too has unquestionably played its part in this evolution of the American caste system.

The White officials in India were fairly on the way to becoming a special caste in relation to the rest of the population for similar reasons. Within recent years we have seen the Eurasians relegated into the newly designated Anglo-Indian caste from analogous motives. The Hindus' intensified caste-aversion towards the Mahommedan is owing also to closely related causes. The Patrician-Pleb caste aversion in Sparta very probably had like origins. All these are instances of castes arising or intensifying through aversion which is more or less one-sided. Caste-aversion may be mutual when there are occasions for each caste fearing the other as a "problem," or become so by analogical reasoning and provoked reciprocation. A conquering or dominating people who are constantly in fear of losing their rulers' job is exceedingly prone to develop this one-sided corporate caste-consciousness. The general feeling of aversion of the European peoples towards the Jews tends to develop into caste-hatred whenever and wherever they are felt to have become a political or economic "problem," and the Jews have reciprocated this feeling.

### Swami Upadhyay Brahmabandhav

Swami Upadhyay Brahmabandhav is still held in high esteem by his countrymen for his whole-hearted devotion to the cause of his country. We make the following extracts from a paper on him by B. Animananda in *The New Review* :

To demonstrate practically that a convert to Christianity could be as loyal as any orthodox Hindu to the heroic

\* *Dopolavoro* literally means after-work. Dopo = after; Lavoro = work.



inspiration of India's past, the Swami opened, in September, 1901, a small school in Simla Street, Calcutta. This school was conducted on the ancient Aryan ideal of *guru* and *sisya*, preceptor and pupil; and Animananda, who had been trained in *brahmacharya* (studentship regulated by the laws of celibacy, simplicity, religious observance and manual labour) in the monastery at Ubbulpur was in charge of it.

In the same month of the previous year Upadhyayji had written in *Sophia* an article on Rabindranath Tagore prophetically entitled: 'The World-Poet of Bengal'. The acquaintance of the Shami and the poet now ripened into friendship. In a conversation they had in 1901 on education, each found a kindred spirit in the other, and each believed that the other would be helpful to him in the realization of his ideal. With the work of Simla Street School the poet was in no way connected, except that, escorted by the Swami, he paid a short visit to it, when the boys rose from their seats, bowed down, and touched his feet with their hands, as they had been previously instructed. Very soon after his visit, in December 1901, the boys of the school, together with several prospective ones secured by the Swami and Rathindranath Tagore, the eldest son of the poet, formed the first batch of the *brahmacharis* of the Ashrama-Vidyalyaya at Santiniketan. In this school the poet generously accepted the title of *gurudeva*, replete with heavy responsibilities. Upadhyayji helped as an organizer and visited the Ashrama from time to time while Animananda, as teacher and house-master was with the boys night and day, and out of class hours, with the Swami's guidance and the poet's approval, supervised and participated in all the activities of the Ashrama Life. The association of the two, the organizer and the superintendent with the Ashrama soon came to an end, and in August, 1902, Upadhyayji had to found a new institution in Calcutta which was eventually christened the *Saraswata Ayatana* (abode of wisdom).

About the Swami's activities in England he writes:

While in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Swami chanced to find a copy of his own magazine, the

*Twentieth Century*. This introduced him to the late Mr. Macdonell, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, who consented to preside over a lecture on Hindu thought. Other lectures by the Swami were in due course presided over by Dr. Caird of Oxford and Dr. McTaggart of Cambridge and the 'penniless Brahman' succeeded in forming an influential committee for the foundation of a chair of Hindu philosophy at Cambridge. Similar chairs he hoped to found at Oxford and Edinburgh on his contemplated return to England in 1904. But this was not to be. The Indian lecturer he recommended was not accepted by the Cambridge authorities, and the scheme fell through.

This failure led him to turn his thoughts again to India, for he felt that it was not only Europeans who were against the caste system and the Vedanta, but that Indians themselves had become blind to the soul-elevating character of the *Varnashrama Dharma* (Caste System) and to the beauties of the Vedanta philosophy. Accordingly, he started daily in Bengali to propagate his views. This was *Sandhya*, the Evening, which sold like hot cakes in Bengal. *Sandhya's* purpose was to create self-respect among the people, to drive out fear from their hearts, and to teach them to love and venerate 'the Vedas, the Vedanta, the Brahman and the *Varnashrama Dharma*.' Then and then only, the Swami thought, would the Hindu be strong in his immemorial culture, and India take its proper place among the federation of nations. Let your *sadhana dharma* (personal observance) be what you like, he reasoned, but never renounce your *samaja dharma* (social observances). Be a Mohammedan or a Christian if conscience leads you to the one or to the other, but continue to remain a *Hindu*, a Bengali. This teaching of the Swami deserves the earnest and sympathetic attention of all students of religion.

Believing that the British educational policy was responsible for the downfall of India, the Swami hurled indignant, defiant anathemas against the ruling race. This brought on a charge of sedition against *Sandhya*, but he refused to take part in the trial and before its conclusion died suddenly and unexpectedly of a delicate operation in the Campbell Hospital. This sad event occurred on the twenty-seventh of October, 1907.

## BENES: MAKER OF A STATE AND A DRIVING FORCE IN EUROPE

By "N"

DR. Eduard Benes,\* the foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, is one of the most striking of front rank politicians in modern Europe. Clear about his aims, formed with taking close and careful account of realities, tenacious in sticking to them, ingenious and industrious in working out ways and methods to advance his hold on affairs, Dr. Benes is to-day a dominant figure behind many of the vital scenes in Europe, exercising over them a great and in several ways determining influence. The general public outside knows comparatively not much of the great rôle played by him in its extent and

intensity, for Benes has a strong preference for quiet methods. He is no showman. He avoids as much as possible figuring on screens or getting into popular press headlines. His speeches offer little of sensation. He has not his eye to dramatic effect. He is at a minimum before popular gaze.

And yet to-day he assumes a foremost position as a driving and controlling force of Europe's affairs and their future. The story of his rise to the present position and the part he plays at present which is one of greatest international significance are as interesting as instructive. To realize these clearly, one would do well to turn to the new book dealing with his career and

\* The name "Benes" is pronounced as "Benesh."



rôle written by the distinguished historian, Professor Pierre Crabites.\*

"I have never seen Benes. I have not corresponded with him. I know but few of his intimates. There is not a drop of Slav blood in my veins. I have been led to write of him because I look upon him as being Central Europe's soundest statesman. I am obsessed by fear of another war".

"The press of Europe and America has spoken of Mussolini as the man of the hour. He is colourful. His personality makes excellent newspaper copy. I am afraid, however, that his love of limelight and Italy's Austrian policy unfit him for the present emergency. French politics are now so complicated that I fear France cannot supply the statesman called by the existing conditions. England appears to be reluctant to assume the mantle of leadership."

"I am convinced that Eduard Benes is the man who has the courage, the driving power and the brain. It has struck me that his career should be made better known."

With these words practically Crabites opens his study and review.

Benes became the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia at the comparatively young age of 35. From great obscurity he jumped quickly to a leading position. He came from a peasant family and not a rich one. He had to work hard himself to support his education. Quite early in life he came in contact with groups that were actively and deeply concerned with Czech revival. Professor Masaryk, the most prominent figure among these, discerned quickly the ability and worth of Benes. There soon developed between the two a partnership which has continued unbroken. Those were hard and tense times. A broad-based national emancipation movement was being quickly developed among the Czechs, a nation with a great and historic past,† but who had come to fall under foreign domination. Austria as the dominating external Power kept a rigid control. Benes pondered on the past of his people to the extent useful to feed confidence and hope without falling to an attitude of mere contemplation or overlooking the study of modern developments and the importance of using them, estimated well the currents useful for national liberation, watched the choking effects of foreign domination, and became strongly consumed with the feeling to devote all his energy and mind for the emancipation of his people. He did not allow his feeling to take the form of impotent rage. He worked along constructive lines, aware of the nature of the circumstances and barriers. But practical realism did not mean the exclusion

of a bigger and wider ideal of which he held a clear picture. Towards this he advanced as circumstances favoured or warranted. And when he felt that conditions had come to drive on to the goal, he was quick in determining to make use of them for this purpose and most resolute and resourceful in keeping up the march to success, mastering difficulties with amazing energy and astounding ability, displaying often an almost uncanny skill and knowledge of men and affairs.



Dr. Eduard Benes

Benes was just thirty years old when the War broke out. He quickly realized the significance the latter event held for the emancipation of his people. He did not, however, overlook the strength of reverse currents. These he classified according to categories. The opening appeared as better and bigger with the battle of Marne. With that Benes made up his mind. He held before him the picture of the Czechoslovak State to be established. With tact, perseverance and industry; studying well all the currents and cross-currents at play; estimating and dealing artfully and ably with different individuals in charge of affairs especially in Italy, France and England, a regular galaxy of them with varying attitudes and opinions, Clemenceau, quick and decisive, Poincare, firm and logical, Berthelot, understanding and helpful,

\* Benes, Statesman of Central Europe (Routledge: London. 12sh. 6d.)

† A clear and connected account of this is supplied by the recent publication:—*A Short History of Czechoslovakia*. By Professor Dr. Krofta. (William and Norgate: London. 7sh 6d.)



Briand, wavering and unsettled, Lloyd George, concerned greatly at a critical period with making separate peace with Austria cutting across the plan of bringing to life the Czechoslovak State, General Smuts, England's expert on Central Europe who had his doubt whether Moravia was in Austria or Hungary, General Franchet d'Esperey, who opened separate negotiations with Hungary and confused Croatia Slovenia with Czechoslovakia, and a host of others; skillfully winning and using the services of influential publicists in foreign countries; keeping well hold on the movement at home working in close co-operation with Masaryk and dexterously capitalizing the latter's great reputation, Benes advanced the claims of the Czechoslovak State in his mind, step by step, till by the end of the War, he had secured for it a recognition in many ways greater than that obtained by Poland or even by an already existent State as Roumania. A remarkable performance and a great achievement.\* The moves taken to realize this, ably discussed and clearly described by Professor Crabites, at the same time throw interesting side-lights of general political merit, and as such greatly add to the value of his book.

The task of consolidating the new State called for skill and attention no less great than that needed for bringing it into existence. The problem was not an easy or light one. Currents of opposition were many. Persons with experience to take charge of affairs limited. Whole departments had to be created and manned afresh. Czechoslovakia, however, soon got over these and settled down as a stable State.† A great deal of the credit for this, particularly in settling various foreign complications, meeting the minority problem, and building a widely laid and efficient foreign service, goes to Dr. Benes. At present Czechoslovakia can claim as retaining well its stability, without having succumbed to upheavals that have overpowered many neighbouring States, maintaining a liberal tradition, and keeping a leading position in progressive outlook. The stability is well evidenced by the fact that Dr. Benes himself has continued without break as the country's Foreign Minister.

To-day Benes is a very active force behind various international councils in Europe. Many new moves owe their origin to his initiative. His is a directing hand behind several others. He is hard at work at drawing plans and pushing them up to meet the great tension with elements

of danger in various directions introduced and strengthened by new currents released and some developments in their wake which concern Czechoslovakia as well vitally. The drawing of the Little Entente States\* as a closely functioning unit in regard to important issues is greatly his conception and work. He has kept a strong guiding hand in the evolution of the idea of the Balkan Union.† He has maintained a grip in bringing some sharp turns in Italian policy. He is seen working indomitably for the plan of Danubian economic federation as a solution to the Austrian issue. His influence is keenly behind the new Franco-Russian negotiations. He influences profoundly the run of big international discussions, silently and from behind the scenes. He is great at pulling chains leading to key positions. Behind all these stands his close knowledge of the various currents at play. Benes is a great student, a man of wide scholarship and master of many languages. His capacity for work is immense. A life-long non-smoker and non-drinker of alcohol he is said to be in many ways of an austere disposition, but makes no fetish about these. Benes is a great negotiator, extremely patient but enormously determined. Recognizing well the value of close contacts, he never allows his State to be a mere pawn. As early as 1920 when France entered on negotiations with Hungary over the head of Czechoslovakia and vitally touching the interest of the latter, he took strong and independent action and brought out the Belgrade Treaty. In recent period when the Four Power Pact was drawn up he got his claims recognized and his aims advanced in effect, without fuming like Poland. Since then he has been exerting great weight on the direction of many developments of great international significance and is now keeping a resolute and forceful hand in the direction of affairs in Europe.

Czechoslovakia holds this month its general election. There is little doubt felt, whatever happens, of Dr. Benes returning again or continuing as the Foreign Minister. He stands out already as a dominant figure and force in European politics and the coming period is likely to bring him to greater significance. Professor Crabites' book is a publication of great contemporary interest and especially as an account of Benes's part in the direction of national emancipation movement and creation of a State, a very useful contribution to political literature, well worth careful study.

Prague,  
7th May, 1935.

\* Detailed information relating to this with accounts and surveys of great value are furnished in Benes's own significant publication:—*My War Memoirs* (Allen & Unwin: London).

† A brief account of this is given by the book: *Ten Years of Czechoslovak Politics* By Borovicka (Orbis Publishing Company: Prague. 2sh. 6d.)

\* Little Entente States comprise Roumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

† The Balkan Union at present have as parties to it, Greece, Turkey, Roumania and Yugoslavia, the two latter at the same time being members of the Little Entente.



# NOTES

## India a "Small State" in the League of Nations

Readers of newspapers know that India is among the States which are members of the League of Nations. They also know that she is the only dependent country "enjoying" the membership of the League. They do not require to be helped to guess that, as the British Government of India selects the persons who act as India's delegates (!) to the League Assembly, that Government has thereby managed to get one vote more by bringing about India's membership of the League. But they do not all probably know that, though India is, next to China, the most populous country in the world, she is considered a "Small State."

Mr. William E. Rappard read a paper some time ago on "Small States in the League of Nations" before the Geneva "Institute of International Relations" which has appeared in *Political Science Quarterly*. He begins the paper by saying :

Anyone at all conversant with the political literature of the day will readily understand what is meant by Small States, when mentioned in relation with the League of Nations. But he who idly believed that words had no other significance than that given by the dictionary might well be surprised. China, with a population about ten times as great as that of France or of Italy, is a Small State. Brazil, with an area ten times as large as those of France and Italy combined, was, until discontented with her status as such, a Small State member of the League. Spain, Poland, India, Australia, Canada, are counted as "small members" of the League, as are Sweden, Holland, Luxembourg, Albania, Belgium, Hungary, Denmark, Switzerland, Liberia and Panama.

After citing these examples the writer observes :

It is obvious, therefore, that smallness depends neither on population nor area. Nor does the status

of a Small State stand in any relation to its place in history, to its neutrality or belligerency in the World War, to its geographical situation, to its form of government, to its possession of colonies, to its degree of civilization, to its per-capita wealth, nor to its aggressive or pacific policies. In fact the so-called Small States within the League of Nations have nothing in common which distinguishes them from others, except that they enjoy no permanent representation on the Council. And they are deprived of this privilege because they are not so-called Great Powers. And they are not so-called Great Powers because they are not considered such. And they are not considered as such because in the history of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries they have not been militarily dominant or at least prominent. Small States are, as my friend Max Huber called them already before the war, "*Nichtgrosstaaten*." And they are "*Nichtgrosstaaten*" because their relative weakness is reassuring for their more powerful neighbors.

The Council referred to in the foregoing extract is the executive body of the League of Nations. Great Britain, France, Italy and U. S. S. R. are permanent members of this body, and at present 10 other States are elected as temporary members. These are Poland, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, Spain, Denmark, Argentina, Australia, Portugal, Chile and Turkey. The population of these States are 32, 14.7, 16.4, 24, 3.56, 11.85, 6.6, 6, 4.3, and 14 millions respectively. The population of India is 353 millions.

Nor is India's contribution to the expenses of the League negligible. In his paper in *Political Science Quarterly* Mr. E. Rappard writes :

Today the ratio of contributions between the States permanently represented on the Council and other States is as follows:

United Kingdom ..	105	China ..	46
France ..	79	Spain ..	40
Germany ..	79	Canada ..	35
Italy ..	60	Poland ..	32
Japan ..	60	Albania ..	1
India ..	56		



Japan and Germany withdrew from the League in 1933. Mr. Rappard writes with regard to these figures :

It will be noted that in this realistic realm of finance, we are very far from the legal theory of equality. Not only are there very great differences between burdens incumbent upon the Great Powers and the Small States, but in neither category is there anything even approaching equality. These figures show more clearly than any abstract demonstration not only the unreality of the fiction of international equality, but also the artificial character of the bipartite division of countries into Great Powers and Small States.

India is not a permanent member of the Council, nor has she ever been elected a temporary member.

The *Secretariat* of the League is its permanent Civil Service, at Geneva, and is theoretically said to be composed of nationals of nearly all Member States. But no Indian has ever held any high office in it.

The Permanent Court of International Justice consists of 15 judges and 4 deputy judges, none of whom is or ever has been an Indian. The Governing body of the International Labour Office includes a representative of the Government of India.

Though India has been treated with contempt by the League owing to her subjection to Great Britain, its most influential member, other Small States, which are small literally in every sense, have not been similarly slighted. Mr. Rappard writes with regard to the annual sessions of the Assembly of the League of Nations :

... the 14 ordinary Assemblies have had 13 presidents all drawn from Small States, that is, in turn from Belgium, Holland, Chile, Cuba, Switzerland, Canada, Yugoslavia, Uruguay, Denmark, Salvador, Roumania (Twice), Greece, and South Africa. [The Fifteenth Assembly had as its president Mr. Sandler of Sweden.—Ed., P. S. Q.]

India is absent from this list.

Similarly of 18 International Labour Conferences, 9 have been presided over by citizens of Small States. Furthermore of 50 other international conferences held under the auspices of the League in the course of the last fifteen years, which we have been able to consider from this point of view, 33 have had chairmen from Small States.

But none of these sixty-eight International Conferences was presided over by an Indian.

### *Beginnings of Tagore's Fame Abroad*

Last month Rabindranath Tagore completed the seventy-fourth year of his life.

The occasion brought him many felicitations from far and near.

He had been famous in Bengal as a great author years before he came to be known abroad. It was the translations of some of his works into English which made him known outside Bengal and certainly outside India. As regards these translations, the editor of *The Modern Review*, who had the honour of editing "The Golden Book of Tagore," wrote in the Foreword to that work :

"There is an impression abroad that no English translation by Rabindranath of any of his Bengali poems was published anywhere before the *Gitanjali* poems. This is a mistake. As far as I can now trace, the first English translations by himself of his poems appeared in the February, April and September numbers of *The Modern Review* in 1912. So far as my knowledge goes, this is how he came to write in English for publication. Sometime in 1911 I suggested that his Bengali poems should appear in English garb. So he gave me translations of two of his poems by the late Mr. Lokendranath Palit. Of these *Fruitless Cry* appeared in May, and *The Death of the Star* in September, 1911, in *The Modern Review*. When I asked him by letter to do some translations himself, he expressed diffidence and unwillingness and tried to put me off by playfully reproducing two lines from one of his poems of which the purport was, 'on what pretext shall I now call back her to whom I bade adieu in tears?' the humorous reference being to the fact that he did not, as a schoolboy, take kindly to school education in English and its concomitant exercises. But his genius and the English muse would not let him off so easily. So a short while afterwards, he showed me some of his translations, asking me playfully whether as a quondam schoolmaster I would pass them. These appeared in my *Review*. These are, to my knowledge, his earliest published English compositions. Their manuscripts are with me now."

What has been said above relates to the translation of Tagore's poems by himself. Translations of some of his short stories in prose by other hands had appeared earlier in *The Modern Review*. For instance, *We Crown Thee King* had appeared in January, 1910, and *The Skeleton* in March, 1910.

It was Sir William Rothenstein who introduced Rabindranath to the poet Yeats (who wrote the introduction to the English *Gitanjali*), Stopford Brooke, and other literary and artistic celebrities. It was Rothenstein who "proposed to the India Society that they should print, for its members, a selection of Tagore's translations of his own poems. Yeats, when the Committee agreed, generously offered to write an introduction ; he had previously gone



carefully through the translations, respecting Tagore's expressive English too much to do more than make slight changes here and there. Indeed Yeats was as keen over the issue of the book of poems as he would have been over a selection of his own lovely verses." (Rothenstein's *Men and Memories*, vol. 2, page 266.)

"The poems were published by the India Society with the title of *Gitanjali*. They were well received and were favourably reviewed in *The Times Literary Supplement*."—(*Ibid.*, p. 267.)

It was the winning of the Nobel Prize for literature which made Rabindranath Tagore famous outside Bengal, and that prize was awarded to him for his English translation of *Gitanjali*. The credit for bringing about the publication of *Gitanjali* in English belongs to Sir William Rothenstein, as pointed out above.

How did that eminent painter come to know Rabindranath as a very great literary genius? — We say, "as a very great literary genius," for Rothenstein had met Rabindranath during his (Rothenstein's) visit to India, but knew him mainly for his "strikingly handsome figure" and "inner charm." We come to know of this meeting from the following passage in his *Men and Memories*, vol. 2, pp. 249-250 :

Then Abanindranath Tagore and his brother Gaganendranath came to take me to their home at Jorasanko; a delightful house, full of lovely things, of paintings, bronzes, stuffs, and musical instruments. . . . I was attracted, each time I went to Jorasanko, by their uncle, a strikingly handsome figure, dressed in a white *dhori* and *chadur*, who sat silently listening as we talked. I felt an immediate attraction, and asked whether I might draw him, for I discerned an inner charm as well as great physical beauty, which I tried to set down with my pencil. *That this uncle was one of the remarkable men of his time no one gave me a hint.*

Sir John Woodroffe, who, with Sir Harry Stephen, had visited me at Benares, knew the Tagores well; *it puzzles me that he told me nothing about Rabindranath*, for we discussed both Abanindranath and Gaganendranath. (*Italics ours.*—Ed., M. R.)

When and how then did Sir William Rothenstein come to know that Rabindranath was an eminent writer? It was on the 27th May 1912 that the poet left for England—for the third time. The following passage in Rothenstein's *Men and Memories*, vol. 2, page 262, relates to this period :

I happened, in *The Modern Review*, upon a translation of a story signed Rabindranath Tagore, which charmed me; I wrote to Jorasanko—were other such stories to be had? Some time afterwards came an exercise book containing translations of poems by Rabindranath, made by Ajit Chakrabarty, a school-

master on the staff at Bolpur. The poems, of a highly mystical character, struck me as being still more remarkable than the story, though but rough translations. Meanwhile I met . . . Promotto Lall Sen, a saintly man, and a Brahmo, of course. He brought to our house Dr. Brajendranath Seal, then on a visit to London, a philosopher with a brilliant mind and a child-like character. They both wrote to Tagore, urging him to come to London; he would meet, they said, at our house and elsewhere men after his heart. Then news came that Rabindranath was on his way. I eagerly awaited his visit. At last he arrived, accompanied by two friends, and by his son. As he entered the room he handed me a note-book in which, since I wished to know more of his poetry, he had made some translations during his passage from India. He begged that I would accept them.

Sir William goes on to say :

That evening I read the poems. Here was poetry of a new order which seemed to me on a level with that of the great mystics. Andrew Bradley, to whom I showed them, agreed: 'It looks as though we have at last a great poet among us,' he wrote.

I sent word to Yeats, who failed to reply; but when I wrote again he asked me to send him the poems, and when he had read them his enthusiasm equalled mine. . . .

Tagore's dignity and handsome presence, the ease of his manners and his quiet wisdom made a marked impression on all who met him. One of the first persons whom Tagore wanted to know was Stopford Brooke; . . . Stopford Brooke asked me to bring Tagore to Manchester Square; 'but tell him,' he said, 'that I am not a spiritual man.'

In succeeding pages of his book Sir William Rothenstein writes how Tagore met Hudson, Woods, Ezra Pound, G. B. Shaw, Wells, Galsworthy, Andrew Bradley, Masfield, J. L. Hammond, Ernest Rhys, Fox-Strangways, Sturge-Moore, Robert Bridges and others.

### *Provision of Death Sentence for Attempt on Hitler's Life*

According to a Berlin message, dated May 26 last,

Even unsuccessful attempts to harm the person of Herr Hitler will henceforth be punishable by death, according to an article by Herr Ernst Schaefer, Director of the Ministry of Justice, in the official "Legal Gazette," explaining a number of new crimes which will be defined in the new Criminal Code now in preparation.

### *Germany Can Learn From Bengal Bureaucracy*

But in Bengal men have already been hanged for unsuccessful attempts at murder. And the law here is such that anybody who makes an attempt to commit a "political" murder, even though the attempt be unsuccessful and the man who was intended to



be murdered was, say, a village watchman, he may be sentenced to death. It must be admitted that, as the life of every man is sacred, if unsuccessful attempts at murder are to be punished, the Bengal law is more logical than the new German criminal code in preparation.

### *Indians in Kenya and Zanzibar*

In Africa white men cannot compete successfully with Indians in trade and agriculture, if the conditions be the same. Therefore, everywhere in that continent, *e.g.*, in Zanzibar and Kenya, the whites are taking advantage of their political power to ruin or drive away Indian traders and agriculturists. Every endeavour should no doubt be made to obtain just and fair terms for these Indians. But as neither the white settlers nor their official and non-official partisans and patrons in Britain have any sense of justice where Indians are concerned, we do not expect that these endeavours will be successful. Nevertheless they ought to be made from a stern sense of duty.

If India were a free, independent and powerful country, the rights of her children abroad would stand a better chance of being respected and protected.

### *University for Assam*

If the province of Assam can pay for a separate university for itself, there is no reason why it should not have one; or, rather, we ought to say that it should have one. But that province does not at present command sufficient revenue for ordinary educational expansion. And its sad financial plight has been recently described by its Governor, who has therefore refused for the present to permit the introduction of an Assam University Bill in the local council.

A university should be properly equipped. A glorified high school or even a glorified college ought not to be called a university.

If things are to be decided according to mere popular clamour, which we do not admit, it must be the clamour of the majority. Now, though the province is called Assam, the Assamese proper are a fraction of its inhabitants. The Bengalis, forming 42 per cent of the population, are the majority linguistic

group. And they are not all settlers. In many regions they have been there for generations and centuries. In fact, these regions are parts of Bengal tacked on to Assam proper. So, in deciding whether there should be a separate university for Assam, Bengali opinion also should count—particularly as a large portion of the revenue of the province is paid by Bengalis.

### *Muhammadan Communalism*

At Malerkotla some Muhammadans objected to the Hindus having a *Katha* or a recital of some sacred book in a private house, on the plea that it disturbed the Muhammadans at prayer in a mosque at some distance. As the distance is such that there cannot be any disturbance worth speaking of, the Muhammadans ought not to have objected. But they did object, and there was a riot, with many casualties. These facts are gathered from newspaper reports, for the accuracy of which we cannot vouch.

Similar things have happened recently elsewhere, for instance, in Raniganj in Bengal.

Every one is entitled to consider his religion the best and should be free to follow its dictates, without seeking to interfere with the similar freedom of the followers of other religions.

The followers of no religion should insist on others yielding to them. If a *Katha* or some Hindu religious ceremony does interfere to some extent with Muhammadan prayers in a mosque, the Muhammadans should ask the Hindus in a friendly way to consult the convenience of the former. Even if the Hindus be perverse or obstinate the Muhammadans should not take the law into their own hands, either because of fanaticism or of hope of officials siding with them. The Muhammadans do not, as they cannot, object to, buses, tram cars, taxis, private cars, etc., passing in front of mosques at any hour of the day, though they are a greater cause of disturbance to worshippers than any Hindu *Katha* or *arati*. Muhammadans ought also to consider that though the drum-beating and noisy processions during *Muharram* cause great disturbance to Hindus and others, they do not complain or seek to put a stop to *Muharram* celebrations. They ought to consider, too, that, if Hindus were



to complain that the Muhammadan's *azan* interfered with their *Katha* or *arati* or some such religious observance, the Muhammadans would accuse the Hindus of being fanatical and foolish—and justly so.

It should be borne in mind that for more than a decade the Hindus of Allahabad (and somewhere else) have not been allowed to freely celebrate the *Rama-lila*, and yet they have not taken the law into their own hands. Of course, Muhammadans and others may ascribe this law-abiding habit of the Hindus to their cowardice and religious indifferentism. They are welcome to do so. But we shall continue to hold the opinion that communal fanaticism is bad and does not pay in the long run.

As India is inhabited by the followers of many religions, the followers of every one of them ought to be tolerant, even if others be intolerant and cause annoyance. If under any circumstances, a remedy has to be sought, it should be sought through arbitration above all, or through the law-courts in the last resort, but never by riotous conduct. Of course, personal assault may be resisted. And in all cases, insult to or assault on women should be resisted to the death, if need be.

The Communal Decision (No. 1), the Communal Decision No. 2 giving the Muhammadans more than their proportionate share of jobs in the public services even on the population basis, the (anti-) India Bill giving effect to the Communal Decision No. 1, and similar other things must have been understood by intelligent Muhammadans as having for their object the keeping their community aloof from the national movement, though they may not have condemned these things. But the Muhammadan populace may have misunderstood their significance and may have made the mistake of taking them as an indirect declaration of Muhammadan superiority and a sort of charter for doing whatever is necessary to bring home that superiority to the Hindus. One of the indirect results has been the Firozabad atrocities and other undesirable consequences.

### *The Sad Plight of Firozabad Hindus*

The Hindus of Firozabad believe that the attack on them was pre-meditated and pre-arranged and that some local guardians,

of law and order, if not actually privy to them, did nothing to prevent the attack, which resulted in many atrocities, the most tragic being the death of a whole family due to incendiarism. They have repeatedly asked for an independent sifting enquiry. This 'demand' has been backed by the Hindu Mahasabha and many provincial and local Hindu Sabhas and by the whole Hindu Press of India. But the U. P. Government has remained obdurate. All autocracies mistake such obduracy for strength.

The climax has now been reached. The United Provinces Gazette of May 11 last has published a Government notification about the quartering of an additional police force in Firozabad 'on the ground of the conduct of the residents of the town.' Thereupon the Hindus of that town have sent a largely signed application to the district magistrate of Agra, in which the signatories state that the disturbances were the work of some Muhammadan evil-doers and the Hindus were the victims. Hence they protest against the language of the notification which implies that the Hindus were to blame along with those Muhammadan miscreants. They reiterate their 'demand' for a public inquiry. They question the necessity of any additional police now, but add that

"If the Government, as guardians of peace and order, think otherwise, we most respectfully request you to be pleased to make sure as to who the aggressors were, so that they alone might be saddled with the cost of the additional police."

The request of the applicants is quite just and should be complied with.

### *An "Institute for Cultural Fellowship"*

It is not for nothing that in spite of many persons working earnestly for a solution, the Hindu-Muhammadan problem continues to be a baffling one. For it is being attempted to be solved by politics alone. But primarily it is psychological. The various communities think that they have radical differences, and that such differences are there because there is inherent antagonism in their mental constitutions. So a belief has grown up that their disunion is only natural. This belief helps to keep up a perpetual feeling of mutual mistrust.



and distrust. With this sceptical frame of mind, they have turned to arithmetic for a solution, and so, calculations of percentages become everyday finer and more embarrassing. A most necessary supplement to political measures, however, would be to bring about an understanding of common excellences by means of sympathetic study of one another's cultural heritage and leave the mind to be influenced by the feeling that they have too long been soaked in one another's culture to be normally inclined to live on separatism under artificial conditions and unhealthy provocations. Though entirely lacking in any spectacular element, this kind of cultural appreciation will surely go far to promote a happier outlook.

With this object in view Mr. Atulananda Chakrabarti had written his book called *Cultural Fellowship in India* and for some time past he has been trying to start an *Institute for Cultural Fellowship*. Years ago in an article in the now-defunct magazine *Welfare* we indicated this line of cultural approach to the communal problem, and are now glad to find from a news item published by the United Press that Mr. Chakrabarti's attempt has been receiving influential support from leading savants as well as politicians.

### *Stages of the (Anti-) India Bill*

Just as at every succeeding stage of the preparations for giving India a new constitution, beginning with the Simon Commission, the proposals, suggestions or recommendations had gone on becoming more and more reactionary and harmful from the Indian point of view, so at every succeeding stage the present (Anti-)India Bill introduced in Parliament has been getting worse day by day. As originally drafted, it transferred very little power to Indian hands. By successive amendments even that little has been whittled down and made negligibly small, and not only the Governor-General and the Governors but even the ordinary members of the civil services have been made autocrats irresponsible to the Legislatures. Indian commerce and industries and shipping have been placed completely at the mercy of the British merchants, industrialists and ship-owners, and Indians know what that mercy is.

There was for some time past the cant of providing only such safe-guards as were clearly needed in the interests of India. But in reality only British interests have been safe-guarded.

### *Princely Tools Essentially Necessary*

It is not for us to praise the statesmanship and political capacity that there may be in India. But evidently what our leading men and their followers have of these things has alarmed the British rulers of India. So they have made the Government of India Bill such as to baffle all attempts on the part of Indians to make India free. One of the means adopted is to give excessive representation in the Federal Legislature to the nominees of the rulers of the Indian States, who, as is well known, are completely under the thumb of the Residents, Political Agents, etc. So the British Cabinet has been meeting all the 'demands' of these Princes in order that they may join the Federation and help the Anglo-Indian (old style) bureaucracy to fight in the Federal Legislature Indian patriotic zeal for constitutional advance.

News of how the British Cabinet has stooped to conquer is contained in the following telegraphic message from London, dated May 20 :

The explanatory memorandum on the Government's amendments to be moved in the report stage of the India Bill has been issued as foreshadowed by Mr. MacDonald in the House of Commons on May 16. It gives briefly the origin and purpose of the proposed amendments, particularly those affecting the States, in which connection it mentions clause six as redrafted. Under the redrafted clause a Ruler will be required by the Instrument of Accession to declare that he "accedes to the Federation established under this Act" instead of "accepts the Act as applicable to the State and its subjects."

Furthermore, the revised clause makes it clear that the Ruler in accepting a subject as Federal may attach limitations to Federal power to be exercised in respect of that subject in relation to his State. The clause also makes it clear that the Crown in full discretion will reject any proposals for Instrument of Accession by individual State, particularly if it appears that the terms of it are inconsistent with the scheme of federation. The memorandum mentions that in making these two points clear in the redraft it is carrying out what was always intended. It is also made clear that when once the Instrument of Accession has been accepted it will be conclusive with regard to the extent of Federal authority, both legislative and executive, in relation to that State.



The import of clause six redrafted is in effect that the States will enter the Federation on their own terms and that, though they will be able to meddle in the affairs of British India, British-Indian representatives will not have any say in the affairs of the State, except to the little extent that the Princes may condescend to allow them to have!

It is stated in the second paragraph quoted above that "the memorandum mentions that in making these two points clear in the re-draft it is carrying out what was always intended." We simply doubt it. Why could not the original draft make quite clear what was *always* intended? The English language was not famous for the poorness of its vocabulary a few months ago when the clause was drafted, nor has it become suddenly rich in the course of a few months. Neither can it be believed that British draftsmanship was woefully unskilled a short while ago and has become more skilful quite recently.

### *A Bid for Higher Emoluments?*

Simla has come to know, it seems, that the young hopefuls of Britain are unwilling to come out to this land of regrets as Officers in the army to fight for maintaining its dependence on Britain. In other words does it mean that they want more pay, allowances, etc., and they want these increased emoluments to be somehow assured to them, directly or indirectly, by or in the India Bill when it is amended in the House of Lords?

Before the Lee "Benevolences" there was this sort of indirect propaganda to obtain more money for the Civilians. And the propaganda succeeded admirably. The Civil Service was said to have lost its charms. And so, just as bridegrooms are successfully bribed with dowries to marry plain or ugly brides, so the Lee Bounties made the so-called unattractive Civil Service in India very attractive to young Britishers.

### *No Sex Bar on Services : Meant Mainly for British Women?*

Reuter cabled from London on May 23 last that

Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, moved his amendment providing that sex should be no disqualification for certain offices. He explained

that it was designed to carry out the undertaking given during the Committee Stage with reference to the eligibility of women for public service. The clause would render women eligible for them unless the appropriate authority scheduled particular services or appointments as unsuitable. Dealing with the suggestion that this concession should be extended to professions, Sir Samuel Hoare said that he had made further enquiries in India and found that the Government of India's view was definitely against making this further extension. Sir Samuel Hoare believed that there were serious difficulties in it and asked the House to consider whether it was necessary to include it in the Act which would need amending the act for the alteration. Sir Samuel Hoare suggested that *it was more advisable to leave the question to Indian Legislatures.*

Mr. George Lansbury (Labour) expressed gratitude for what he regarded as an improvement in the Bill, while regretting that Sir Samuel Hoare was unable to go as far as the Labourites hoped.

Miss Irene Ward (Conservative) moved an amendment providing that sex should not disqualify for professions. She said that the Government's decision on it would cause profound disappointment in India.

Miss E. Rathbone (Independent) supporting, pointed out that the amendment was devised expressly to meet the difficulties which might otherwise arise in connection with this question.

Sir Samuel Hoare regretting the Government's inability to accept the amendment said that *it was necessary to take into account not only the opinion of organized women in India but public opinion generally.* He reminded the House that women were already eligible for main professions and reiterated that it would be best to leave the matter to the Indian Legislatures.

Miss Irene Ward withdrew the amendment and the new clause was agreed to. (*Italics ours.*)

We certainly want that any *Indian* woman should be able to enter any service here for which she is qualified. But the British Government and Parliament have shown such scant consideration for the interests of India's men that we cannot but be suspicious when they profess anxiety for the interests of our women. So, we think this removal of the sex bar in the services is really meant to provide snug berths in India for British women (particularly those who are unmarried). The reader will remember what was said in the Central Legislature some time ago about providing unmarried lady clerks for unmarried military officers in India.

As for the professions, women are already eligible for the professions of lawyers, physicians and surgeons, and teachers and professors, and are following them. What other professions did Miss Irene Ward want them to enter?

We are simply overwhelmed with Sir



Samuel Hoare's generosity in leaving "the question to the Indian Legislatures." This generosity was unborn or quite dormant when things relating to defence, external affairs, currency, exchange, finance, commerce, industries, shipping, the appointment pay promotion dismissal transfer and reduction of the civil services, and the like were not left to the Indian Legislatures.

We felt completely fascinated when we read that Sir Samuel Hoare said "that it was necessary to take into account not only the opinion of organized women in India but public opinion generally." Surely, surely! For has not every clause and every word of the India Bill been drafted after taking fully into account Indian "public opinion generally"?

### *Disgusting Hypocrisy*

Who was it that said that language was given to men to conceal their thoughts? Or, rather, who were they who uttered words to that effect?

The epigram that "speech was given to man to disguise his thoughts" was attributed to Talleyrand by Barrère in his *Memoirs*. But though he certainly used it, he was not exactly its author. Voltaire had said before him in his 14th dialogue:

"Men use thought only as authority for their injustice, and employ speech only to conceal their thoughts."

Goldsmith has the following in *The Bee*:

"The true use of speech is not so much to express our wants as to conceal them."

Bishop South said in one of his sermons:

"Speech was given to the ordinary sort of men, whereby to communicate their mind; but to wise men, whereby to conceal it."

According to a Reuter's message, Sir Stanley Reed recently told the East India Association in London that behind the universal condemnation of the India Bill in India there was an unperceived vein of approval which ensured its acceptance by Indian leaders, that behind the seeming opposition to the Bill in India there was "a measure of agreement not always discernible". (Lord Zetland had likewise said that he did not believe what Indian politicians said—they would work the Hoare scheme though they said they rejected it.) So, according to

Sir Stanley Reed, Indians have learnt the lesson conveyed in Goldsmith's *The Bee*—they have been able to conceal (of course, from all persons except Sir Stanley) the fact that they want the India Bill. They have dissembled their love for it, though they have not kicked it downstairs!

Sir Stanley Reed is also reported to have said "that the people of India are weary of political strife, and are anxious to get on with the constructive work they have in hand." Has Sir Stanley Reed still to learn that freedom's battle once begun never entirely ceases until the battle is won, though there may be temporary breaks and occasional lulls? As for constructive work, Indians certainly want to do it. But what constructive work can be done with the help of the new constitution which is going to be thrust upon India? If by constructive work bootlicking and making the autocratic and bureaucratic citadel stronger be meant, then the new Government of India Bill would undoubtedly facilitate it. But politically-minded Indians have no liking for such work.

Sir Malcolm Hailey, who presided at the meeting at which Sir Stanley Reed spoke, was among the ablest of the provincial governors of India and had also the gift of eloquence, it is said. Such a man surely knows what is a 'liberal' and what a retrograde constitution. He has told the East India Association in London that, although Parliamentary institutions are being discarded in many countries, the British Government were still insisting on giving to India what they thought was best for her. He wanted to imply that India was being given parliamentary institutions. Did so intelligent, could so intelligent a man as he believe that the Hoare Bill really gave parliamentary institutions to India? Can he point out any free country in the world which has such a constitution as India was being cursed with? The Bill was really providing a parliamentary mask to conceal the ugly features of autocracy pure and simple. Hence, there is nothing for it but to believe that Sir Malcolm Hailey was guilty of disgusting hypocrisy when he said what he did. We are confirmed in this opinion when we read further that Sir Malcolm spoke of the Bill as a 'great liberal measure,' and said that, if India failed to grasp



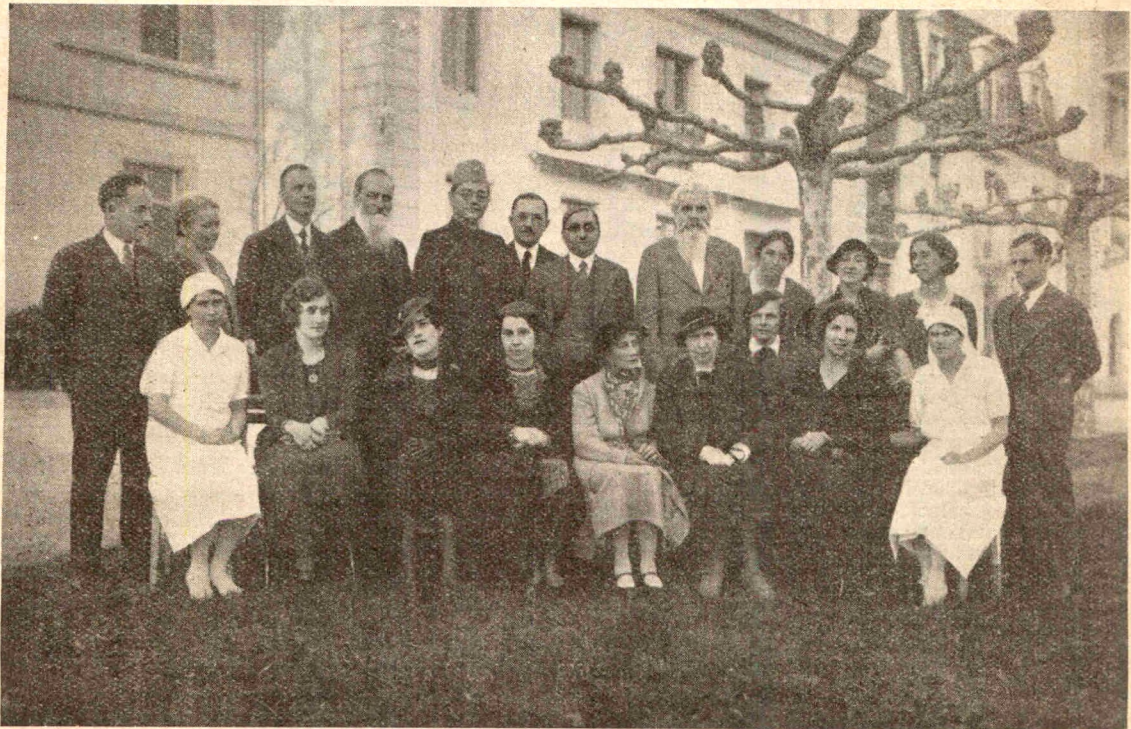
her opportunities and realize the sacrifice made by Britain, it would not be Britain which failed but India. Liberal measure indeed! Why were not Canada, Australia, South Africa and the Irish Free State offered such a 'liberal' measure? Because they know football? "The sacrifice made by Britain" is a correct expression, if it means that Britain has sacrificed the interests of India on the altar of British Imperialism.

Sir Malcolm is evidently a great disciple of Talleyrand, Voltaire and Bishop South, for, after admitting that "in view of the limitations and safe-guards in the Constitution, it was not to be expected that the Bill would be welcomed or even generally accepted by public opinion in India," and also after saying that "the basis of the Indian political demand was the claim for self-respect," he came to the quite illogical and unexpected conclusion that the Bill was a great liberal measure and India should grasp her opportunities! Of course, Indians will do so, but not in the way British Imperialists want them to.

### *Vithalbhai Patel Memorial*

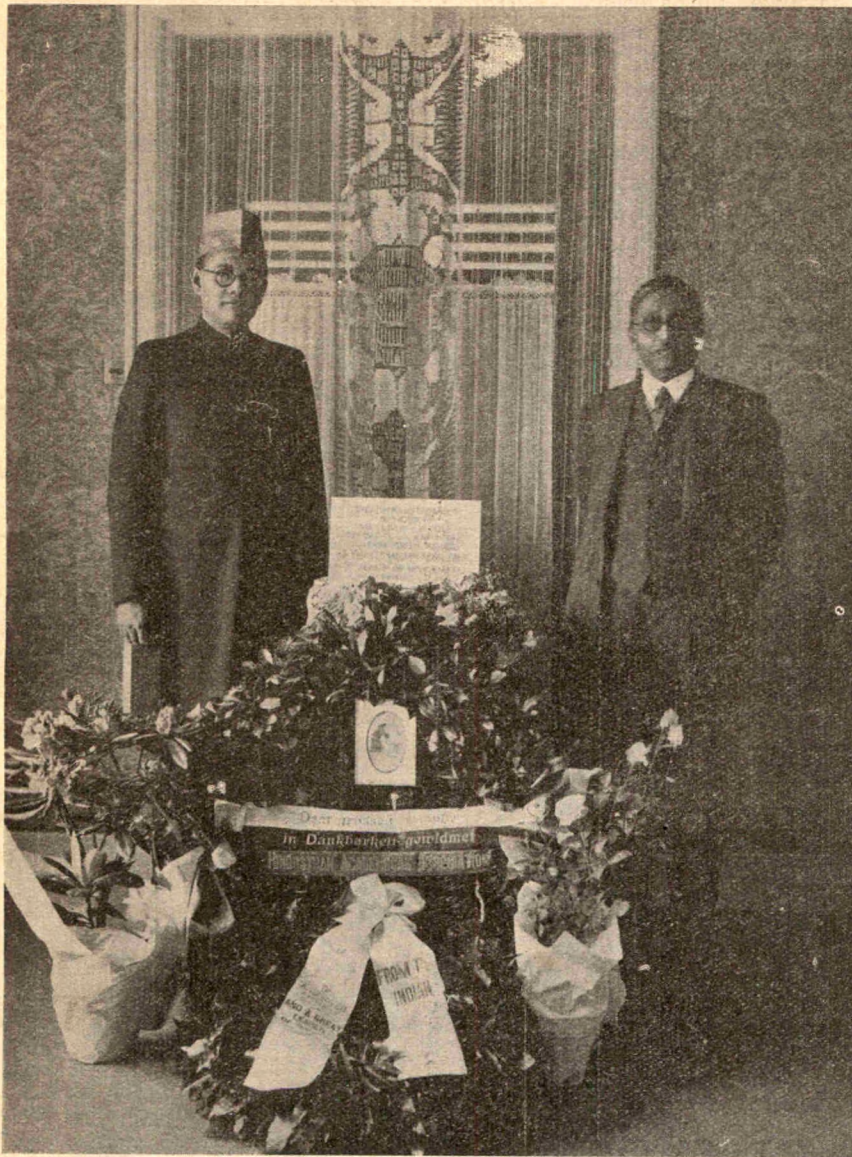
In our last issue we published some photographs of Vithalbhai Patel and of the group of admirers and friends who stood by the side of his death-bed at the time of his passing. In this issue we publish a photograph of his memorial tablet at Geneva and of the persons who were present on the occasion of its unveiling.

Such a memorial was quite fitting and necessary, even though a man's best memorial is the life-work done by him and the carrying on after his death of that on which he had set his heart when alive. Such is the work of publicity relating to India which he carried on in America and Europe with fatal injury to his health and for the continuation of which after his death he left a lakh of rupees by his will. The object of such publicity would be twofold. One would be to present to the world India's case for freedom—why it is necessary for her and for the world that she should be free and how she is fit to be



A section of the gathering at Clinique "La Ligniere" at Gland, near Geneva, where the memorial tablet to the late Mr. V. J. Patel was unveiled by Sj. Subhas C. Bose. The window in the first floor to the extreme left belonged to the room occupied by the late Mr. Patel during his illness.





The memorial tablet to the late Mr. V. J. Patel in the room formerly occupied by him in Clinique "La Ligniere" at Gland near Geneva.

Left: Subhas C. Bose Right: Mr. Jamnadas Mehta  
Below the tablet are the wreaths and flowers sent by the different Indian organizations in Europe. The tablet was unveiled by Sj. Bose on the 22nd March, 1935 and Mr. Mehta was the Chairman of the Memorial Committee

at once by the executors of Mr. Patel's will, if they have not done it already.

### *Subhas Chandra Bose's Health*

It is welcome news that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has been steadily progressing towards recovery. It is to be hoped that he will soon regain his normal health and resume his patriotic activities.

On the 24th April last a major abdominal operation was successfully performed on him by Prof. Demel, a famous surgeon of Vienna, at the Rudolfiner Haus Sanatorium in that city.

Two photographs are reproduced here, one taken one day after the operation, and the other on the 7th day after the operation, when the stitches were removed, with Dr. Demel standing by his side.

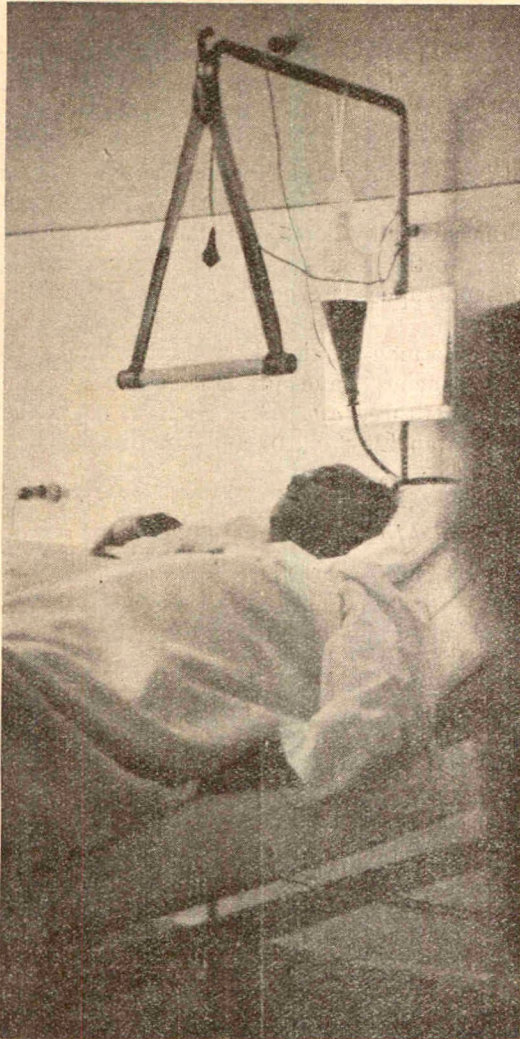
free. The other would be to contradict and counteract falsehoods relating to India.

Vithalbhai Patel had complete confidence in Subhas Chandra Bose's fitness to carry on this work and so wanted the sum to be placed in his hands. This should be done

### *An Indian Hockey Coach for Hungary*

As the Indian hockey team won the laurels in the Olympic games in two successive years and as the team which has gone to Australia is playing very well indeed, the championship





Sj. Subhas C. Bose in "RUDOLFINER-HAUS"  
Sanatorium in Vienna on 25. 4. 35, the  
day after the operation.

in hockey belongs to India. It is fitting, therefore, that a coach for the Hungarian hockey team has been obtained from India. It is an honour to Indian sportsmanship.

Mr. Rameswar Dayal Mathur has been selected in response to a request of Dr. Stephen von Pozel to the Indian Hockey Federation for sending a hockey coach to train the Hungarian team which would participate in the next Olympic game at Berlin. He sailed from Bombay on May 23 last.

#### *Raja Reshee Case Law*

Raja Reshee Case Law passed away last month at the age of 83 full of years and



Sj. Subhas C. Bose and Prof. Demel a famous  
surgeon of Vienna on the 7th day after the  
operation when the stitches were removed.  
The operation, which was a major abdominal one, was successfully performed  
on the 24th April, 1935, at the  
RUDOLFINER-HAUS SANATORIUM  
in Vienna



Mr. Rameswar Dayal Mathur



honours. The second son of the late Maharaja Durgacharan Law, he was a very successful man of business and was associated with various public bodies. He was the first non-official chairman of the Twenty-four Parganas District Board. One of the founders of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, he was its president for a quarter of a century. He was also the secretary and afterwards the president of the British Indian Association, and a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. Besides these, he was connected with the Calcutta Corporation, E. I. Railway,



Raja Reshee Case Law

E. B. Railway, Calcutta Tramway Co., etc. He was for some time a Governor of the Bengal branch of the Imperial Bank. He had extensive zamindaris and managed them with

efficiency. He became Sheriff of Calcutta in 1918, and had been decorated with the title of Raja in 1916. Though he was born with a golden spoon in his mouth, as the saying goes, he could not have achieved the success that he did but for his honesty, industry and hardheadedness. He was a well-read man. Among his many donations may be mentioned a lakh to the Chinsurah Waterworks and 75 thousand rupees to the Benares Hindu University.

His branch of the Law family and some other branches have produced scholars and men of culture, *e.g.*, Dr. N. Law, Ph. D., Dr. Satyacharan Law, Ph. D., and Dr. Bimalacharan Law, Ph. D.

### *Rishibar Mukherji*

Another link with the past has been snapped by the death of Mr. Rishibar Mukherji, retired chief justice of Kashmir, at the age



Rishibar Mukherji

of 83. During his lifetime he gave away his house, garden and a tank, etc., to the



Bankura Sammilani Medical School at Bankura, without which that useful institution could not have carried on its work. He subsequently added to his bequest, and has, it is said, left more property by his will to this school and to the Bengal Medical Education Society.

### *Rabindranath Tagore's Birthday*

Rabindranath Tagore having completed the 74th year of his age on May 8 last, his birthday was celebrated in many places. The most artistic and inspiring celebration was that by the staff and students of Visvabharati at Santiniketan. "The United Press" has given the following account of it :

SANTINIKETAN, May 8.

Long before day-break this morning groups of students, going about the Ashram singing together, awakened its inmates to their sacred duty of celebrating the seventy-fifth birthday of their revered Gurudev. Shortly after, the entire Ashram was astir, and assembled at the mango-grove, which was decorated beautifully with 'alpana,' festoons and flowers, and all kinds of auspicious symbols appro-

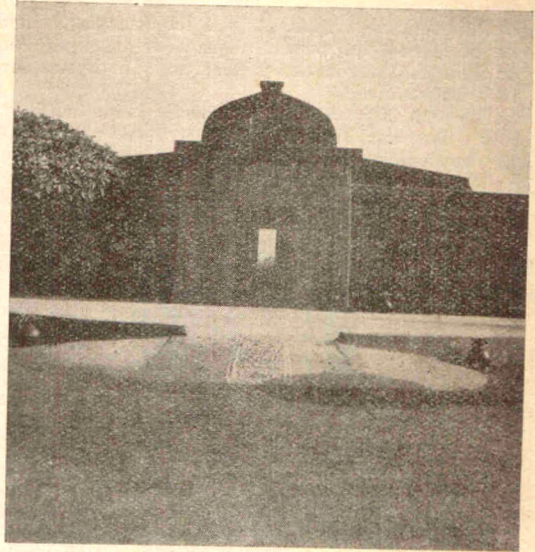


The Poet at his birthday celebration at Santiniketan

priate to the occasion, were placed before the seat which the Poet occupied. The arrival of the Poet was notified by the blowing of the conch-shells.

Then the ceremony began in traditional Indian style with suitable music, which was followed by the chanting of Sanskrit hymns invoking the benediction of God on the occasion, by Pandits Vidusekhar Shastri and Kshiti Mohon Sen, who sat on either side of the Poet. Flowers, garlands and other sacred symbols were offered to the Poet, who expressed in

a few words his feeling on the occasion, saying that, as the light burst forth in the morning chasing away the darkness of the night, so might his future life be a light unto him making him forget all the doubts and hesitations of the past. Every birthday was a new beginning; and the Poet prayed that he might begin anew the future, with all the hope and aspiration, which though bringing him nearer



The Mud-cottage "Shyamali" at Santiniketan



Auspicious offerings at Birthday Celebration of Tagore

his final end, would yet bring on the complete unfolding of his personality.

Proceeding, the Poet said that he had in the late years of his life been the recipient of formal honours on many occasions. But nothing appealed to him so much as the true offering of heart's love



from intimate friends. This touch, he said, he missed in organized receptions where there was more of formal respectfulness with very little of that sense of living contact which characterized small gatherings of familiar spirits.

The Poet concluded by saying that, before he became famous, he had more of that genuine affection for his share than at the present time, when he was often made the centre of vast assemblies which gathered together from a sense of duty due to his poetic reputation. It was love that he wanted, he said, and not formal displays of homage. And he believed that on the present occasion it was love that was offered.

The ceremony having terminated with music, a procession was formed which wended its way to the newly-built mud-hut, named "Shyamali," which will henceforth be the residence of the Poet. Then followed the ceremony of formal entry into that new house amidst the good wishes of all present.

The Poet, before entering his new mud-hut said that the house did not belong to him personally, but to all, because the designer had made of it a beautiful work of art. He then paid a gracious tribute to the architect, S. Surendranath Kar, by reading out a poem addressed to S. Kar.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the hut, decorated by exquisite sculptural reliefs, is made of rain-proof mud, walls and roof and all, which is a new experiment.

In the evening the staff of Visva-Bharati staged the entertaining comic skit *Birinch-Baba* by Parasuram. The Poet and a large number of visitors were present on the occasion.

Another thing that deserves mention is the appearance of the new Visva-Bharati quarterly under the editorship of Prof. Kripalani. The Publishing Department of Visva-Bharati has also brought out on the same memorable day the Poet's new book named "*Sesh-Saptak*," being a collection of his latest poems.

The poem addressed by the Poet to S. Kar has appeared in the current number of *Prabasi*.

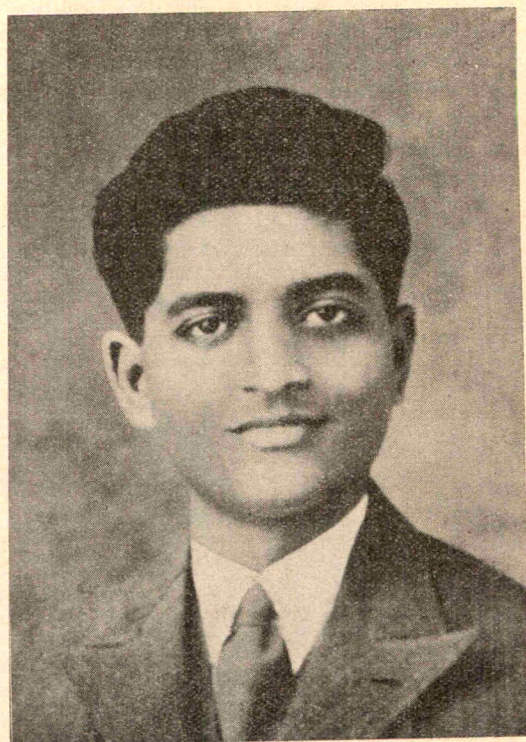
Another important celebration of the Poet's birthday was that by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (Bengali Literary Academy) in its hall on the 12th May last. The poet made a short extempore speech and then read a prose-poem from his latest work *Sesh-Saptak*, the subject of which is the 25th of *Baisakh*, his birthday.

### *I. C. S. Examination and the Provinces*

Though the passing of competitive or other examinations does not require or necessarily indicate the possession of great intellectual powers, many people in India appear to think otherwise. In any case, as there is a paucity of careers in this country, the I. C. S. and other examinations cannot be neglected by those who do not think it necessary to

keep themselves free for engaging in the non-violent struggle for freedom even to a limited extent which business, agriculture and the professions, as distinguished from the services, allow their votaries to do.

On the result of the last I. C. S. Examination in Delhi two Hindus (Mr. Sisir Kumar Banerji, who stood first, and Mr.



Mr. Sisir Kumar Banerji

Brahmadev Mukherji) and two Muhammadans (Mr. Ghulam Ahmed Madani and Mr. Agha Abdul Hamid) have been selected for appointment. The two Hindu young men are graduates of the Allahabad University. The candidate who topped the list at the last year's examination in India was also a graduate of the Allahabad University. The papers which we have seen have not published the names of the Universities to which this year's two successful Muhammadan candidates belong.

At this year's examination in Burma, Mr. Upendra Lal Goswami, *alias* Maung Pan Gyaw, a brilliant graduate of the Rangoon University who also passed the London



University Matriculation Examination, has topped the list.

Incidents like these have led the *Educational Review* of Madras to write as follows editorially in its last May number :

It is time the Presidency of Madras wakes up from its feeling of easy complacency that its academic standards are superior to those of every other province in India and there is no fear of competition from others. Whatever may have been the fact some decades ago, it is well known that during the last few years, as has been pointed out by us more than once in these columns, Madras is rapidly being outstripped by other provinces. There is the startling fact that at the last competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service held in Delhi in January, the results of which have just been published in the papers, not a single student of the University of Madras has been able to get in. The Universities of Northern India have monopolised all the four places and Madras has been left severely in the cold. It may not be wise to draw any inferences from the results of a single year, but it is a fact well known to those who have gone round the Universities of India that the other Universities are improving rapidly and students are being offered superior facilities for study and research at those centres in an increasing measure. Stiffness in the conduct of examinations was at least one unchallenged merit of the University of Madras, but apparently even that is not to continue for a long time. We are, therefore, justified in asking the University to wake up and keep up its old position of the leading University in India in academic standards.

The Panjab University has taken the steps described below.

At the instance of the Inter-University Board, the Punjab University has taken the initiative to open a class in order to provide training for candidates who propose to take the Indian Civil or Finance Service Examinations. The University has appointed a committee to organise a scheme for this Class and has appointed Professor G. C. Chatterji of the Government College, Lahore, as Adviser, who will personally guide the studies of individual students and will be in charge of the Public Service Class.

It is proposed to provide the following facilities for the Public Service Class.

(i) Personal advice with regard to suitability of candidates, choice of subjects to be selected and lectures to be attended by individual candidates, by the Adviser.

(ii) The provision of special courses of lectures in the compulsory group of subjects to meet the requirements of the I.C. S. Examinations.

At present it is proposed to provide instruction in English Language and Essay and to organise courses of lectures in General Knowledge and Every Day Science.

(iii) To extend permission to the Public Service Class to attend Honours School, or M.A. lectures in various optional subjects, which may prove useful for the higher competitive examinations.

The scheme of instruction is purely experimental at present and will be modified in the light of experience gained.

The scheme will come into force from October 1935.

### *Satya Charan Sastri*

The late Pandit Satya Charan Sastri was distinguished for his Sanskrit scholarship, ardent nationalism, high spirit of independence and devotion to the cause of Swadeshi. His Bengali work on Chhatrapati Shivaji created a sensation at the time of its publication. He was also the author of *Jaliat Clive (Clive the Forger)*, *Pratapaditya*, etc. He had travelled extensively in Tibet, Ceylon, Siam, etc. In the last-named country he found many remains and distinct traces of Hindu civilization. Whatever biographical or other similar works he wrote, he wrote after visiting the scenes of events and making local and other enquiries.

### *Bombay Government and Depressed Classes*

Bombay, May 14.

The Bombay Government have published a long resolution setting forth the Government orders regarding steps taken by the Government to enable the depressed classes to enjoy all public amenities. They emphasise that the orders should be strictly enforced so as to make clear to the public that neither the Government nor the officers are prepared to countenance any discrimination against the depressed classes in respect of free and unrestricted use of public amenities and services.

As regards schools the Government order directs educational officers to see that no undesirable restriction was imposed upon the children of the depressed classes in the schools maintained and aided by public fund.

As regards public hospitals, the Government requested the Surgeon General to instruct the Civil Surgeon and other medical officers concerned to see that no distinction was made in the treatment of patients on the grounds of caste and religion.

As regards public wells, tanks, and grants for water supply the local bodies would be reduced if they failed to take measures to secure equality of treatment. Similar orders regarding public conveyances have also been issued.

We hope the officers of the Bombay Government concerned will give effect to the resolution in all particulars.

### *Congress and Acceptance of Office*

There has been some speculation and some discussion in the newspapers and among Congressmen as to whether Congressmen should or would accept office under the new constitution. That constitution is entirely unsatisfactory. It has been gradually made more and more unsatisfactory by means of amendments in the House of Commons,



and perhaps it will become perfectly loathsome after the Lords have done their worst for India. So, seeing that Congresswalas 'rejected' it before it had been 'amended' in the Commons and made more noxious than the original draft, it is difficult to see how they can accept office under it without swallowing their words. It would not be possible for any self-respecting man to become a minister under it. If Congresswalas accept office, Lord Zetland (and also Sir Stanley Reed) will rejoice to find that Indian politicians do not mean what they say.

Of course, there is nothing wrong in changing one's mind for good reasons. And Lord Zetland and others of his way of thinking need not be grudged their triumph. But the fact is, the cause of Indian freedom cannot be promoted by working the new Constitution, and, therefore, fighters for freedom ought not to be job-hunters under it. There was a time when Government gagged prominent Congresswalas by the bestowal of jobs like judgeships. Are ministerships going to serve the same purpose in the near future?

### *All-Bengal Depressed Classes Conference*

We were present at the All-Bengal Depressed Classes Conference held on the 19th and 20th May at Jhenidah, a small sub-divisional town in the Jessore district. It would be doing injustice to its organizers, who all belonged to the "scheduled castes," to say that the gathering was satisfactory for a mofussil town. We were present at this Conference and also at the Delhi Anti-"Award" Conference and the Cawnpore session of the Hindu Mahasabha, and we can say that the Jhenidah Conference was as well attended as the Delhi Conference, which latter was admittedly largely attended, and it was not on all days of the Cawnpore session of the Hindu Mahasabha that the gathering was larger than at Jhenidah. At Jhenidah the organizers, the delegates and the visitors were all earnest and enthusiastic.

The Conference accepted the following resolutions unanimously:

#### **Bengal Depressed Classes Reject 'Reforms'**

(1) "Whereas the constitutional reforms proposals now before Parliament have denied our political aspiration; whereas these proposals are intended to

maintain and perpetuate foreign exploitation and domination, and as such have been unanimously condemned as more retrograde, expensive and humiliating than the existing system, this Conference rejects these reforms proposals in their entirety and urges the people in general to launch an effective campaign for their rejection throughout the country."

#### **Condemn and Reject Communal "Award"**

(2) "This Conference is definitely of opinion that the British Premier's Communal "Award" is anti-national, undemocratic and fraught with dangerous consequences, being primarily intended to consolidate British Imperialism in India upon the vivisection of our body politic, this Conference, therefore, rejects the Communal "Award" in all its aspects, and urges the launching of a country-wide campaign against the "Award," with a view to its replacement by a system of representation on the basis of joint electorate with adult franchise, which is the 'sine qua non' for the growth of a free and democratic India.

#### **Want Modification of Poona Pact**

(3) "In view of the unnecessary cost involved in the double system of election inherent in the Poona Pact, this Conference proposes that a Committee consisting of the following persons, with power to co-opt, may reconsider the provisions of the Poona Pact with a view to arriving at a satisfactory agreed settlement between the parties concerned. The Committee is hereby desired to announce their decision within two months and take the necessary steps for its acceptance by the authorities."

#### **MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE**

- (1) S. J. Ramananda Chatterjee.
- (2) " Akhil Chandra Dutta.
- (3) " J. C. Gupta.
- (4) " Rajani Kanta Das.
- (5) Dr. Mohini Mohan Das.
- (6) S. J. Chaitanya Krishna Mondal.
- (7) " Rasik Lal Biswas.
- (8) " Dhires Ch. Chakravarti.
- (9) Dr. Indra Narayan Sen-Gupta.

We hope the Committee will get to work without any avoidable delay and consult the representatives of *all* the scheduled castes, as far as that may be practicable.

The speech of S. J. Rajanikanta Das, B. L., the president of the political section of the Conference (as well as its social section) contained the following observations on the Poona Pact:

People were coerced into its acceptance by Mahatmaji's threat of fasting unto death, irrespective of any consideration of the merits of the Pact. At the time of the pronouncement of the Premier's Award the depressed classes seemed quite contented with the reservation of no more than 10 seats. With what logic can they at present regard the 30 seats, given them under the Pact, as absolutely sacrosanct? The double system of election of the Poona Pact is by no means a desirable feature. For the sake of maintaining intact the integrity of the Hindu society the depressed class should be prepared to re-open the Poona Pact with a view to the readjustment of respective claims by mutual agreement between the caste Hindus and the depressed classes.



As president of the social section S. J. Das maintained that

if Depressed Classes be characterized, as in the Report of the Simon Commission, by their being untouchable and unapproachable, then there is no such class in Bengal. Sir William Prentice also stated in the Bengal Legislative Council that "Untouchability was not made the test in compiling the list of scheduled castes" in Bengal.

His concluding observation was very important. He said that "if the State does not come into the hands of the people their improvement is impossible." The addresses delivered by Profs. Benoy Kumar Sarkar and Nepal Chandra Ray and S. J. Rasik Lal Biswas, Chairman of the Reception Committee, were instructive.

In every respect the Conference achieved a unique success despite heavy odds. From the very beginning designing persons carried on systematic propaganda to dissuade persons from attending it. There was raised the alarm of cholera epidemic and the bogey of police intervention. Its success undoubtedly reflects credit on the organisers, particularly on S. J. Rasik Lal Biswas. Another encouraging feature of the Conference was that the co-operation of the caste Hindus was sought, and was readily given by the local gentry in every possible way.

### *Calcutta's New Mayor*

We are glad Moulvi Fazl-ul-Huq has been unanimously elected Mayor of Calcutta. His election shows that the Hindus are not opposed to a Muhammadan, as such, occupying the mayoral chair. We are for the election of persons who are fit for particular kinds of work irrespective of the religious community to which they belong. Muhammadans had urged that ever since the creation of the office of Mayor a dozen years ago no one of their community had been elected. But these very persons forget that in several districts of Bengal, Muhammadans have monopolized the Chairmanship of local bodies for longer periods, though there is no dearth there of able, or rather, abler, Hindus. It is no principle at all which is not urged in the case of all communities, sects and castes.

Though the mayoralty is a somewhat ornamental office, that Moulvi Fazl-ul-Huq is an able and experienced man with the gift of ready speech is not a disqualification! And as for physically filling the mayoral chair, he does it as well as any of his predecessors.

### *Young Men's Inter-communal Club*

We sincerely welcome the establishment of the Young Men's Inter-communal Club in Calcutta. It was recently opened by Moulvi Fazl-ul-Huq at a public meeting held in Albert Hall. Men of high character and cultural distinction like Principal Herambachandra Maitra and others took part in the inaugural function.

### *Sikh Ladies' Resolve to Fast Unto Death*

Forty Sikh ladies have resolved to fast unto death one after another if the Sikh community be not purged of certain evils and if its leaders cannot make up their factious quarrels and stand united on one common platform under one flag.

While we cannot but respect the heroic resolve of these ladies, we must say that we do not believe in the lasting efficacy of this method of moral coercion. Mahatma Gandhi has tried it more than once, with immediate spectacular success no doubt, but neither with lasting nor with unmixed good results. We earnestly hope the Sikh leaders will make it unnecessary for the ladies to carry out their resolve.

### *Bhikkhu Ottama on Untouchability and Caste*

In the course of his tour as President of the Hindu Mahasabha Bhikkhu Ottama has spoken frankly against caste and untouchability. This has given offence to some so-called Sanatanists. We are glad he remains undaunted by their displeasure. 'Sanatan' means perpetual, constant, eternal, permanent, primeval, ancient. Do the so-called Sanatanists think that all that they observe or profess to observe and believe or profess to believe deserve any or all of these epithets?

### *Indians in International Gatherings*

Two Muhammadan ladies from India have attended the Women's Congress at Istamboul in Turkey. Kumar Munindradeb Ray Mahashay, M. L. C., has attended the international library congress at Barcelona, Spain, and has invited its next session to India. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Mr. Nihar Ranjan Ray of the Calcutta University will represent it at



the 19th session of the international congress of orientologists in Rome. Dr. B. C. Roy and Prof. Sisir Kumar Mitra will represent the Calcutta University at the universities congress in Great Britain.

### *Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas*

In India there are at present some areas which are known as excluded or partially excluded in which the present Constitution is inoperative. Schedule Six of the Government of India Bill, now under discussion, relates to and mentions these areas. Major Cadogan wanted to add many other areas to the list. That any area is not to have the 'benefit' of being administered according to the coming constitution, is not a grievance; but it is a grievance that some areas are not at present normally administered, and it would be a greater grievance to bring other areas under 'abnormal' and arbitrary administration, and thus create a gulf between normally and 'abnormally' administered areas.

### *Order of Expulsion on Chettians From Indo-China Cancelled*

OOTACAMUND, May 27.

Information has been received here that the order of expulsion on Chettian bankers doing business at Saigon has been cancelled, as a result, it is stated, of the representation made by the Raja of Chettinad during his recent stay in Paris.—(A. P.)

We are glad the order of expulsion has been cancelled. The Chettian bankers at Saigon have been instrumental in increasing trade facilities in the country and thereby adding to its prosperity. The order was unjust and unwise and ought never to have been passed.

### *Two Congress Socialist Conferences*

At the last session of the Trade Union Congress its president Mr. Hariharnath Sharma did not advocate any split with 'orthodox' Congressmen. He was in effect for capturing, energizing and utilizing the Congress.

Last month there were held two Socialist Congresses, one in the Surma Valley presided over by Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, and the other in Kerala presided over by Mr. Brelvi, editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*.

Mrs. Chattopadhyay concluded her presidential address as follows :

In conclusion I wish to impress upon you the necessity of rallying round the Congress. Ever since 1921, it is the only organization which has been fighting for freedom. No doubt the leadership is either bourgeois, or the people who have the bourgeois ideology. It represents, however, the objective strivings of the masses, and the politically conscious people are in the Congress. The content of the Congress is not bourgeois. Therefore to create any petty bourgeois platform outside the Congress and to try to duplicate it would be wrong. It will become the sham replica of the Working Class Party and cannot embrace the entire petty bourgeois. Rather than running away from the Congress, calling it bourgeois, we should in fact enter it and clarify the issue to the masses, placing before them the correct programme so that the class differentiation that is taking place in the country be reflected inside the Congress. Then alone shall we be able to capture the Congress movement and prevent the leadership from converting it into a bourgeois party.

Mr. Brelvi's advice to the Socialists is contained in the passages quoted below from his presidential address :

I hope I shall not be misunderstood by my Socialist friends if I place before them some considerations for their earnest attention. They have, of course, to be unrelenting in their endeavour to carry on vigorous propaganda, supported by organizational work among the people. But within the Congress itself, they will, I trust, be in not too great a hurry to seek to commit that great national organization to policies or programmes which it cannot immediately carry out.

I can assure them that within the Congress there is an increasing number of men, who, though not professed Socialists, share the hopes and ideals of the latter. There are others who are as anxious as are the Socialists to secure the abolition of poverty and its attendant horrors of insecurity and unemployment; they are finding in the activities of the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries' Association scope for service of the poor. These two groups, along with the Socialists, have, by their work and sacrifice, made the Congress what it is to-day, to use Jawaharlal's language "the most effective radical organization in the country."

#### INDIA'S GOOD FORTUNE

In all countries except Russia, the Socialist Party has to face the formidable opposition of other influential or powerful political parties.

Is it not our good fortune that the most powerful political organization which will control the machinery of Swaraj Government, has already committed itself to a programme which, when carried out, will hasten rather than delay the transition from Capitalism?

Will not, therefore, the Socialists best serve the cause which they have at heart, if they exploit this good fortune to the utmost without doing anything that will, by dividing the counsels of the Congress too sharply, affect its strength, which consists in its being a fully representative national organization able to evolve a programme of action that a united nation can carry out with success.

It should be their endeavour to enhance the national character of the Congress and add to its strength by inducing an ever-increasing number of workers—and by workers, I mean all those who work, whether by brain or by hand, in the fields, factories and



offices—to join the Congress and carry on the common fight for economic as well as political freedom.

### *Self-government in the Philippines*

Though the Filipinos will not get complete independence in the near future, they are getting the “substance of independence”—to use Mahatma Gandhi’s expression. Their Senate has approved of the new constitution. This will be a stepping-stone to full freedom. It is unfortunate that there was a rebellion in the islands. It is some satisfaction, however, that it was quelled without great loss of life.

### *Italy and Abyssinia*

It would be happy news indeed if all the points in dispute between Italy and Abyssinia were amicably settled. But the situation still causes anxiety.

### *British Preference for Monarchy*

The reign of His Majesty King George V, the present sovereign of the British Empire, has lasted for 25 years up to date uninterruptedly. During this period there have been revolutions in other continents and countries.

Russia was ruled by the Czar. It has become U. S. S. R., or the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Turkey was under the autocratic Sultans. It has become a republic—though ruled by a dictator. Germany was an empire, which was overthrown in favour of a republican form of government, and is now ruled by a dictator. Austria-Hungary was an empire. The two countries have become separate states—Austria a republic, and Hungary first a republic and then ruled by a regent, and there have been revolutions and counter-revolutions in both. There have been revolutions in Spain, and it is no longer a monarchy. Portugal became a republic in 1910. In Italy the King has practically no power left, and the country is ruled by a dictator. Some new States have been carved out of former empires and made republics—e.g., Lithuania, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Some new Kingdoms, too, have also been founded. There have been revolutions in Greece.

Asia, too, has seen changes. The largest and oldest empire in Asia—China, was made a republic in 1912. But there have been

disorder and changes ever since, for which the people of China alone are not responsible. There have been revolutions in Siam.

It is not necessary to refer in detail to events in North, Central and South America.

In the midst of wars and revolutions in all parts of the world, the British people have stuck to their centuries-old monarchy. This undoubtedly betokens a preference for that form of government. This preference is due to the particular kind of monarchy which prevails in Britain.

It is a limited monarchy. The sovereign is guided by the advice of his Ministers and the Ministers are chosen from the political party which can claim a majority of members in the House of Commons. And the members of this House are elected by the people. Hence, practically, the sovereign acts according to the opinion of his people. Moreover, the personal liberty of the individual here is not less, but perhaps more, than that of the citizen of a republic anywhere else. For these reasons, Great Britain may be spoken of as a Crowned Republic, of which the hereditary sovereign is the President.

For these reasons, and another implied in them, the people of Great Britain have not in recent times felt any necessity for establishing a republic. This implicit reason is to be found in the saying, “The King can do no wrong.” And it is not a meaningless sentence. As the King acts on the advice of his Ministers, if any wrong step be taken, any harmful law enacted, that is the fault of the Ministers who advised him, and such advisers can be removed by the people. Therefore, it is unnecessary for the people of Great Britain to change the monarchical form of Government and establish a republic instead. It may, indeed, be argued that if a King can do no wrong, he can also do no good—for both imply powerlessness. But the fact is, the British people can get good things done by their sovereigns by bringing about the selection of such Ministers as would give the sovereign good advice. Moreover, the people of Great Britain enjoy such civic and political rights that they themselves can bring about their own welfare through their own efforts, irrespective of what their Government may or may not do for them. They can use their



newspapers, political and other organizations and associations, their parliament and the Ministers to improve the condition of the country and the nation in all directions.

Hence they have no grievance against their King. Why should they desire to remove a person against whom they have nothing to complain of?

The contentment of the British people in general with the monarchical form of government has been due not a little to the common-sense and statesmanship and other personal qualities of some of their sovereigns. Let us consider the case of His present Majesty King George V.

### *King George V*

From what we have written in the foregoing note it should not be inferred—for it is not a fact, that there are no men and women in Britain who want to have a republic in their country. There are certainly such men and women. There are socialists and pacifists, and even communists. But the prevailing opinion appears to be in favour of monarchy. Even among those, however, who see no good in but rather consider a hereditary head of the state a grievance, there is respect and admiration for King George V the man and the statesman. One example will suffice. A gentleman of the name of David Stocks wrote from Edinburgh to *The Inquirer* of London, dated April 27, 1935, objecting to the Unitarians, whose organ *The Inquirer* is, taking part in the Silver Jubilee celebrations and stating his reasons for such objection. In the course of his letter he wrote :

"While the existence of a monarchy in a democratic age is an obvious anomaly, I am prepared to admit that the present monarch has fulfilled the duties imposed upon him in an admirable manner."

Another writer, Mr. Arthur Lamsley, has contributed to *The Inquirer* of May 4, 1935, an article on "King George of England" which sums up the leading characteristics of the King. The writer says :

"England is fortunate in her king : he is a great gentleman." A principal official of the United States Embassy, in London, said these words to me recently whilst we were discussing the world economic situation. I am sure this is the international opinion of England's monarch and why on May 6, the King's Silver Jubilee, messages of congratulation from the ends of the earth, and from every nation, will arrive at Buckingham Palace.

In a world of capricious changes, of tottering national prestige, of republics, dictatorships, and Soviet communism, alone amongst the powerful European nations, England has stood by the Monarchy and in return for her unfaltering trust has been thrice-blessed by the inestimable services of a good and wise King. . . .

Serene, resolute, and calm, with natural charm and wonderful self-possession, with confident assurance in the ability of the country to pull through its every crisis, King George has been the ideal Englishman, shunning all forms of exaggeration, loving the natural things of life and of earth by which men and women have attained nobility and dignity of character.

On eminent public occasions, when the rest of the world has been "listening-in," His Majesty has spoken with wise reserve, and always with the right words; lucid, and logical, and carefully concise sentences, constructive and definite in plan and purpose. Behind this seeming reserve there is the unhurried vitality of a dynamic force and energy of mind, alert, concentrated and creative, shattering meanness and littleness, intolerant of vaunted inefficiency, driven along by an imagination, which is comprehensive and thoroughly practical, and a mature, conservative understanding, linked with a liberal, adventurous spirit. . . .

In the long line of English sovereigns there has never been a reigning monarch who has captivated and held so securely the heart and imagination of the people, and never one who has so completely and sincerely understood them.

His Majesty's public conduct is inspired solely by his private life. . . .

To sportsmen of every nation, especially the peoples of the United States and England, perhaps this maxim which will make a universal appeal is : "Teach me to win, if I may : if I may not, teach me to be a good loser." His Majesty loves and has an interest in all forms of sport, but the only one in which he can take a personal and active part is in yacht racing with his splendid old racing cutter "Britannia."

The writer concludes his appreciation of King George by briefly referring to his domestic life and character.

One of King George's greatest delights is to be amongst his family. A lover of home life in its most profound expression His Majesty believes, setting a noble example, that under the family roof are born and nurtured those virtues which make for successful citizenship. No nation can long exist without a profound love of home life in the majority of its people.

Even those Indians who desire freedom and independence for their country—and we wish humbly to be counted among them—can appreciate such a person and wish him a long life of usefulness to his people and mankind.

One feels that, just as he assented to the Constitution of the Irish Free State on the advice of his Ministers, so would he sanction a similar Constitution for India, if advised by his Ministers to do so. But the pity is—not



only for India but for Great Britain and all the world—that Britain has not yet produced such Ministers and India, too, has not yet done what she ought to do to put sufficient pressure on the Island Kingdom to place such Ministers in power.

### *Flaw in British Loyalty*

It would not be proper to institute a comparison between British loyalty and Indian loyalty, for the political status and rights of the two countries and nations are different. We shall not, therefore, attempt any such comparison.

We have shown in a previous note that by adhering to monarchy even in recent times of trouble and revolution Britishers have given practical proof of their loyalty. Last month's Silver Jubilee Celebrations in Britain have also borne testimony to their loyalty.

But so far as loyalty implies a desire and determination to carry out the intentions, declarations or pledges of the sovereign as regards India, or to make his ideals relating to this country real, the British people and their leaders have been deficient in loyalty. It would not do for a nation to say, "We honour and love our sovereign," yet at the same time to consider the sovereign's promises as of no value or importance. For those who really love and honour their sovereign would try to secure for him the sincere and heartfelt honour and love of those to whom he had made promises by doing their part for the fulfilment of those promises. But far from any earnest effort being made to fulfil the promises made in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria and repeated by her successors, that document has been sought to be explained away as only a ceremonial document, as not a treaty, as not a parliamentary statute, and therefore having no binding force, and so on. But let us confine ourselves to what His present Majesty King George V has said on different important occasions as *King*.

After the passage of the Government of India Bill by the British Parliament in December, 1919 a Royal Proclamation was issued, from which we quote the following sentences:

We have endeavoured to give to her (India's) people the many blessings which Providence has bestowed upon ourselves.

But there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated—the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests.

The British servants of the Crown have not been in any hurry to make this "gift". In fact by the present Government of India Bill they have made it clear that, if they can help it, this boon of Self-rule will never be granted to India.

His Majesty intended to send to India His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to inaugurate on his behalf the then new Chamber of Princes and the then new Constitution in British India. But the Prince of Wales could not come. So the King's uncle, the Duke of Connaught, came instead, carrying a message from the King to the Indian Legislature, from which we take the following sentence:

For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have the beginning of Swaraj and the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other dominions enjoy.

If the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms marked the beginning of the fulfilment of the dream of Swaraj, the present Government of India Bill tolls the knell of even that beginning of Indian self-rule, rudely shattering the dream of Swaraj of politically-minded Indians.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, speaking on behalf of His Majesty and with the assent of the British home Government, said in the course of his inaugural address that "the principle of autocracy has all been abandoned" by and in the Government of India Act, 1919. If it was abandoned sixteen years ago, the present Government of India Bill affirms it with a vengeance and reinstates it.

It is in this way that the loyal highly-placed British servants of the Crown have tried to reduce to a nullity the high hopes held out by His Majesty to the people of India.

### *Bengal Government on the "Defenu Day"*

Though we get *The Gazette of India*, through the courtesy of the Government of India, we do not get *The Calcutta Gazette*. But we got a copy of an *Extraordinary* issue of the latter, dated Friday May 17, 1935. The following notification and a communique



relating to it are published in it. The notification runs as follows :

No. 6199P.—17th May 1935.—Whereas the Governor in Council is of opinion that the classes of information specified in clauses (a) and (b) of this order will tend to excite sympathy with, or secure adherents to, the terrorist movement;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the power conferred by section 2A of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 (Act XXIII of 1931), as amended by section 6 of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1934 (Bengal Act VII of 1934), the Governor in Council is pleased to prohibit absolutely the publication in any newspaper, news-sheet, pamphlet, leaflet, or other document of the following classes of information, namely :

(a) any information regarding the "Detenu Day," announced for the 19th May 1935 or which may be announced for any subsequent date, or any information regarding any meeting or any action or statement in connection therewith,

(b) any information regarding any meeting or any other action, or any statement, held, taken or made or proposed to be held, taken or made, for the purpose of calling for the release of persons detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930 (Bengal Act VI of 1930), or under the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818 (Bengal Regulation III of 1818), or for the purpose of exciting sympathy with any such person.

This notification has force only in Bengal. But it has been protested against, rightly, by the Journalists' Association not only in Bengal but other such Associations in other parts of India also as seriously encroaching upon the right of the Press to publish news. Newspapers ordinarily publish news of even many unlawful activities, without, of course, in any way supporting such activities. Now, "Detenu Day" meetings or other activities, if any, were not prohibited or declared unlawful in Bengal or elsewhere; yet the publication of news relating to them was prohibited. This does not seem to us to have been quite logical.

One object of the notification was to prevent people in Bengal from knowing whether there were any meetings, etc., anywhere on the "Detenu Day." This object has been gained, no doubt, to some extent, but not fully. For, not only are news carried by word of mouth, but, as the notification applies only to Bengal, there was nothing to prevent papers published outside Bengal but circulating in this province also from publishing news relating to the "Detenu Day."

The following Communique of the Bengal Government is an attempt to justify the notification :

CALCUTTA, the 17th May, 1935.

By their notification No. 6199P. of 17th May, 1935, published in the *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary* of 17th May, 1935, Government have prohibited the publication of any news relating to detenu day and allied subjects. Government realize that support may have been given to this movement by persons whose motives are purely humanitarian and who have no sympathy whatsoever with terrorism, and they are naturally reluctant to place any obstacle in the way of any genuine endeavour to relieve suffering or distress. At the same time it must be pointed out that Government have themselves undertaken an obligation to make such provisions for detenus and their dependants as seems to them reasonable and proper. This obligation is being carried out. Moreover, though the situation as regards terrorism has improved, the public should realize that this improvement is only kept up by the utmost vigilance on the part of those charged with the duty of maintaining public security and there have been numerous sharp reminders of the danger with which the situation is fraught, should that vigilance be relaxed. Public opinion has in general displayed a very welcome change in its attitude to this dangerous conspiracy. But the very fact that the situation has improved, and the very fact that there has been a steady growth of public opinion in opposition to terrorism, make it all the more necessary that the effect on the terrorist situation of any movement which excites wide and prominent interest in the detenus, who are detained because, and only because, of their connection with terrorism—established after an independent and most careful examination of the facts of the case—should be the subject of careful scrutiny on the part of Government whose duty it is to provide for the public safety. It is in these circumstances, and after the most careful weighing of the information at their disposal, that Government have come to the clear conclusion that any publicity given to the cause must inevitably stimulate and encourage the terrorists, and that any widely advertised expression of sympathy with them, however genuine may be the feelings by which it is prompted, must react unfavourably upon the efforts being made by Government, and in increasing measure by the people of Bengal, to eradicate this disease from the body politic. The struggle against terrorism in its present phase has been long and difficult, attended by danger and discomfort to the officers of Government and to the populace, and entailing great expenditure of public money. It would be a disaster were Government to permit the efforts of the last 5 years to be thrown away by failure to do what they are satisfied is their clear duty at the present juncture. They feel confident that all who are genuinely opposed to the terrorist movement will approve and support the action which they have thought fit to take, and will agree that, in the circumstances, it is not only justifiable but inevitable.

Government say that they realize "that support may have been given to this ('Detenu Day') movement by persons whose motives are purely humanitarian and who have no sympathy whatsoever with terrorism, and they (Government) are naturally reluctant to place any obstacle in the way of any genuine



endeavour to relieve suffering or distress." But in spite of this realization and this natural reluctance they have actually placed an obstacle in the way of the genuine endeavour of at least some persons to relieve suffering or distress.

The force and effectiveness of this attempted justification depend on two assumptions. The main assumption is that all the detenus are (or were, when free,) connected with terrorism. This is not the belief of the public, who cannot but adhere to the legal maxim that every one must be held to be innocent until he has been proved to be guilty by trial in a law-court according to ordinary legal procedure. Not a single detenu has been proved to be guilty in this way. Nay, on the contrary, many of them were deprived of their liberty and interned or imprisoned immediately after the police had failed to establish their guilt in a law-court and the court had discharged or acquitted them!

Government assert that the connection of the detenus with terrorism was "established after an independent and most careful examination of the facts of the case." The public cannot and do not place any confidence in this "independent and most careful examination of the facts of the case." That this examination is independent (what, by the by, is the meaning of the word 'independent' here?) and most careful is the opinion of only the officials concerned. They cannot afford to give up their pose of infallibility. And however independent and careful, such an examination cannot be a substitute for open trial according to ordinary legal procedure.

Another assumption is that the provisions made by the Government for the detenus and their dependants are in all cases reasonable, proper and adequate. The validity of this assumption has never been admitted by the public and numerous complaints in this regard have appeared from time to time in the Press.

It may be stated in conclusion that the step taken by Government in relation to the "Detenu Day" will not have the effect of preventing the spread and increase of sympathy with the detenus and their dependants, which is not at all synonymous with sympathy for terrorism, but may have a contrary effect.

Government are certainly aware that, whatever the detenus may be, their dependants are neither terrorists nor in any way connected with terrorism. For, if they had even the remotest connection with terrorism, the police would certainly have brought about their detention as detenus. So Government ought not to have placed any obstacle in the way of efforts being made to help those dependants of detenus who stand in need of help.

### *Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Kamala Nehru*

One of the secrets of Mahatma Gandhi's hold on his co-workers is his ability to combine impersonal love of country and nation and mankind with personal affection. This was illustrated by his coming down to Bombay to see off Mrs. Kamala Nehru, who left India last month for a long course of treatment in Europe, and whose complete recovery will gladden the hearts of Indians.

### *Christianity and Muhammadanism in India, and Public Peace*

The followers of Christianity have not all been tolerant and free from fanaticism throughout its long history. At present, however, confining our attention to its various sects in India, we find that Hindu-Christian riots are conspicuous by their non-existence or rarity. Yet Christianity is a non-Indian, Semitic faith like Muhammadanism. Its followers are to orthodox Hindus as much *mlechchhas* as Muhammadans—given to taking forbidden meat, and, in addition, permitted to drink spirituous liquors. There are Christian Churches in the vicinity of Hindu temples and dwelling-houses as there are mosques. Christian worshippers in churches have as much reason, if any, to complain of being disturbed by Hindu music or noise or religious observances or processions as Muhammadan worshippers in mosques. If Muhammadans can despise Hindus as idolators and *kafirs*, Christians also can look down upon them as heathens, pagans and image-worshippers. If Muhammadans can think of themselves as the co-religionists of the conquerors and rulers of the greater part of the country in the past, Christians can hold their heads high as professing the same faith as the present ruling nation, and it is well known that the British Empire is more extensive and



powerful than any Indian Muhammadan empire in days gone by.

Why do we not then hear of Christians complaining of being disturbed by Hindus—at least as often as of Muhammadans complaining of Hindu interference with their worship, etc.?

There is not less missionary zeal among Christians. They do stand up and care for their faith at least as much as Muhammadans.

Yet there are no or few Hindu-Christian riots.

Whatever the reason—whether it is the Christian's comparative tolerance, his comparative freedom from fanaticism, his possession of common sense, or anything else, has it injured his interests? Nobody can say it has. Let us take only the Indian Christians. Education is more widespread among both sexes of them than among Hindus and Muhammadans; they have produced scholars and authors; their average economic condition is not worse than that of the masses of the sister communities; and they are given to doing good like others. So the fact that the Indian Christians are sensible has not done them any harm in this world. As to what percentage of them goes to Heaven after death, we are unable to say anything; for there are no census reports giving comparative statistics of those belonging to different communities in India who occupy different regions or *lokas* in the next world after death.

### *Aligarh Students Reject Jubilee Resolution*

A Delhi news-letter, dated May 10, published in some dailies, reports that on Jubilee day the Vice-president of the Aligarh University Students' Union held a meeting to pass a resolution congratulating His Majesty the King-Emperor.

A preliminary objection raised by a member questioning the validity of the meeting was ruled out of order.

In his preliminary remarks, the Vice-President remarked that the King's Silver Jubilee was being celebrated throughout the world. The Vice-President then read the resolution. The proceedings were throughout marked by interruptions.

The resolution when put to vote was rejected by an overwhelming majority. Out of a hundred students, less than a dozen stood up to support it.

What was the cause of the rejection of this resolution? And what its significance?

### *A False Pretence*

It has been asserted over and over again by British officials and other Britishers that separate communal electorates with reservation of seats for some religious minority communities are meant to protect the interests of the minorities. If that be so, why do not the British ministry allow the minorities to choose either general or separate electorates in each province according to their needs? Colonel Wedgwood moved in the Commons an amendment to the India Bill provision on the subject to allow the minority community in each province to choose a general in the place of a communal separate electorate, if they so desired. He did not want to interfere with the allotment of seats to the different communities, though it is highly unjust and insulting to the Hindus. Yet his amendment was rejected by 197 to 36 votes. This shows that the majority of the British M. P.s are resolved to keep the people of India divided. The protection of minorities is a false and hypocritical pretence.

### *The Poet's Homage to the Buddha*

The Mahabodhi Society celebrated the Birth, Enlightenment and Mahaparinirvana of the Buddha in Calcutta on the 18th May last. The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, presided, and delivered an extempore address in Bengali. The following is an inadequate abridged translation of part of what he said. The full authorized original text as received from him will appear in the next issue of *Prabasi*.

He was present there to-day to make his obeisance to One whom he had always recognised in the heart of his hearts as the Greatest of Men. This was no formal homage that he was offering to-day to that superman—he had always offered him the silent homage of his heart.

Years ago, when he went on a pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya, he had been borne down by a feeling of regret that it was not given to him to be born at the time when Bhagavan Buddha lived and had his being and to feel the direct touch of his life. But soon the feeling came to him, that if he had been born at that age, he would not perhaps have been able to see and realise the greatness of Buddha in its true perspective. History bore testimony to the fact that the environments and conditions of an age in which a superman made his appearance on this earth were not always suited to a proper understanding of the true greatness of that great man. The very proximity of the age perhaps stood in the way of the true realisation of his innate greatness.

Supermen like Buddha did not belong to any particular age. Their greatness transcended the bounds of time and space, clime and age—Superman like Buddha really belonged to all ages and to humanity.